THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOC

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

With which are incorporated the Proceedings of the

Society of Biblical Archaeology

January **1939**

JANUARY 15

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PAGE

Middle East

India

Biblical Archæology

Cuneiform

Islam

Miscellaneous

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NOTES OF THE QUARTER

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1939

PART I.—JANUARY

Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabîb and his Kitâb al-Muḥabbar[1]

BY ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER

THE AUTHOR

UNFORTUNATELY very little is known about the life and personality of the author of the *Kitâb al-muḥabbar*. Abû Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb, al-Hâshimî[2] al-Baghdâdî as he is usually called,[3] was a *mawlâ* of the family of Muḥammad b. 'Abbâs b. Muḥammad al-Hâshimî.[4] Ḥabîb is stated to be the name of his mother, a freed woman of the Hâshimite family, his father's name being unknown.[5] However, in the *Fihrist* and by Yâqût who quotes the *Fihrist* he is called

[1] I have pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to Professor G. Levi Della Vida, Rome, who is following my work on the *kit. al-muḥabbar* with keen interest and who has given me much valuable advice.

[2] Sam'ânî, *Anṣâb*, 587b_{19} ff., under the *nisba* الهاشمى mentions one محمد بن حبيب الزعفرانى.

[3] His biography is found in Suyûṭî, *Bughya*, 29, quoting Yâqût and *Fihrist*; Yâqût, *Irshâd*, ed. Margoliouth, vi, 473 ff.; *Fihrist*, 106; cf. further Flügel, *Grammatische Schulen*, 67 f.; Brockelmann, *GAL.*, i, 106, and Supplement, 165 f.; see also Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 19; al-Khaṭîb, *Ta'r. Baghdâd*, ii, 277; Ibn Taghr. *K.*, ii, 321.

[4] *Fihr.*, loc. cit.; Flügel, loc. cit. Ibn Taghr., ed. Juynboll, i, 754_8 ff.; Yâqût, vi, 473.

[5] Yâqût, vi, 474_1; *Bughya*, loc. cit.; cf. also Ibn Khall., fasc. 12, p. 114_8:
وحبيب اسم امّه ولهذا لا يصرفونه فانه لا يعرف له اب ويقال انه ولد ملاعنة
ويقال انه اسم ابيه فيصرف والله اعلم وكذلك محمد بن حبيب النسابة ايضًا.

Muhammad b. Habîb b. Umaiya b. ʿAmr.[1] The date and the place of his birth are equally unknown and the only date we know for certain is that of his death, which occurred in Sâmarrâ in the year A.H. 245 (A.D. 859/860) in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. All the sources agree about this date,[2] some adding the month, Dhu'l-Ḥijja, and the day, namely the 23rd of this month.[3]

Ibn Ḥabîb belonged to the philological school of Baghdâd, as shown by his *nisba* " al-Baghdâdî " generally given to him.[4] He was considered to be a great scholar, well versed in all branches of Arabic learning, especially in poetry, history, genealogy, and grammar, of which the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* bears ample evidence. He was a pupil of Ibn al-Aʿrâbî,[5] Quṭrub,[5] Abû ʿUbaida,[6] Abu'l-Yaqẓân,[5] and Ibn al-Kelbî.[7] This last fact is of outstanding importance with regard to the *kitâb al-muḥabbar*, as Hishâm b. Muḥammad al-Kelbî (or Ibn al-Kelbî, as he is usually called) and his father Muḥammad b. as-Sâ'ib al-Kelbî are amongst the greatest authorities on the events of Arabian antiquity, on genealogy, and on customs of the *Jâhilîya*. Ibn al-Kelbî is the author of the *Jamharat al-ansâb*, a work unfortunately still unedited, of which Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb is the *râwî*.[8] As a matter of fact Ibn al-Kelbî's name appears in the principal *Isnâd* at the beginning of the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* bearing witness

[1] *Fihrist*, 106, Yâqût, vi, 474, citing *Fihrist*.

[2] See, for instance, Ḥajjî Khal., ii, 128_4, 310_7; v, 82_5, 162_{10}, etc.; v, 435_2, the date is omitted, a gap being left after سنة.

[3] Ibn. Taghr., i, 754_9; Yâqût, vi, 473; *Bughya*, 30_7. See also Brockelmann, *GAL.*, Suppl., loc. cit., and Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arab. MSS. in the Brit. Museum*, 305 f. (no. 508).

[4] Cf. *Fihr.*, loc. cit., وكان من علماء بغداد; Yâqût, loc. cit., من علماء بغداد.

[5] *Fihr.*, loc. cit.; Yâqût, loc. cit.; *Bughya*, 29 u.; cf. also the *Isnâds* in *Muf.*, 591_{11}; 593_8; *Agh*, v³, 5_3; 34_6 f.

[6] *Fihr.*, loc. cit.; *Bughya*, loc. cit.; see the *Isnâd* in *Muf.*, 268_{23}.

[7] Yâqût, loc. cit.; *Bughya*, loc. cit.; cf. the *Isnâd* in *Agh.*, xx, 160_7. For other authorities from whom he received traditions, cf. the *Isnâds* in *Muf.*, 539_9; Masʿûdî, *Murûj*, v, 101_5; ibid., 112_4.

[8] G. Levi Della Vida, in *Actes du XVIIIe Congr. Int. des Oriental.*, 236 f.

to the fact that Ibn al-Kelbî may be regarded as the main authority of Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb.[1] The most important and best known scholar among his pupils was Abû Sa'îd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusain as-Sukkarî, who is also the *râwî* of the *kitâb al-muḥabbar.*[2]

Ibn Ḥabîb's literary activity is shown in two ways: On the one hand he was the *râwî* of many poets and the editor of the works of earlier scholars.[3] On the other hand he was the author of many books. The trend of his interest may be gathered from the titles of his works, of which only few survive and only one so far has been edited.[4] We find among them works concerned more or less only (as far as one can guess from the titles) with the philological aspect of the subject, or which seem at least to have been arranged and collected from this point of view, as, for instance, such titles as كتاب الامثال على افعل[5] or كتاب غريب الحديث[5] would suggest. Others are devoted to questions of genealogy, as كتاب الشعراء وانسابهم[7], كتاب امّهات النبي صلّعم[6], كتاب النسب[8], كتاب امهات اعيان بنى عبد المطلب.[9] The historical interest seems to be prevailing in such works as كتاب تاريخ الخلفاء,[10]

[1] See below, pp. 19–22.

[2] On him see *EI.*, s.v., and, e.g., Yâqût, iii, 62 ff.; *Bughya*, 218 u. ff.

[3] Thus he is the *râwî* of al-Ferazdaq (ed. Boucher) and Ibn Qais ar-Ruqaiyât (ed. Rhodokanakis), and one of the main authorities for the *Naqâ'iḍ* of Jarîr and al-Ferazdaq, see Introduction to Bevan's edition, p. xi. He may also have been the *râwî* of the *kit. asmâ' khail al-'arab*, cf. G. Levi Della Vida's ed., p. xliv f. Cf. also *Fihr.*, loc. cit., and Yâqût, loc. cit.: among his works كتاب نقائض جرير والفرزدق, cf. Ḥ. Khal., ii, 310_7; *Fihr.*, 157_{14} he is mentioned in the list of *râwîs* of Imra' al-Qais, *Fihr.*, 158 also as that of 'Amr b. Shâ's. See also *Bughya*, loc. cit.

[4] Muḥ. b. Ḥab., *Ueber die Gleichheit u. Verschiedenheit der arabischen Stämmenamen*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1850.

[5] *Fihr.*, loc. cit.; Yâq., loc. cit.; Ḥ. Khal., i, 436_5; iv, 326_7.

[6] *Fihr.*, loc. cit.; Yâq., loc. cit.

[7] *Fihr.*, loc. cit.

[8] *Fihr.*, loc. cit.; Yâq., loc. cit.; cf. Ḥ. Khal., i, 456_2.

[9] Yâq., loc. cit.; *Fihr.*, loc. cit.

[10] *Fihr.*, loc. cit.; Yâq., loc. cit.; Ḥ. Khal., ii, 128_3.

كتاب ايام جرير التى ذكرها فى شعره.[1] The study of Qur'ân and Ḥadîth seems to have been all but entirely neglected. The only work in the list concerned at all with Ḥadîth is the philological study on the uncommon expressions in the Ḥadîth: كتاب غريب الحديث mentioned above. We shall see the same fact in the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* which, although dealing to a great extent with facts of Islamic history, is not in the least interested in theological questions or Qur'ânic problems. Concluding from the arrangement of the *kitâb al-muḥabbar*, where we find many lists arranged under various headings, and from the titles of his works, we may suppose that most of his works were written for the sake of classifying and cataloguing his material in a systematical way.

Among the Arabic scholars Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb was well known for accuracy and trustworthiness.[2] He was renowned for his scholarship and knowledge in grammar as well as in history and genealogy. There are, however, two stories which contradict each other on this subject; the first claiming his superiority even over his own teacher, Ibn al-A'râbî, the other trying to diminish his fame. In the first instance Muḥammad b. al-'Abbâs al-Yazîdî says that he had heard Ibn Ḥabîb boasting that he had asked his master Ibn al-A'râbî for the explanation of eighteen difficulties in poems of aṭ-Ṭirimmâḥ; Ibn al-A'râbî did not know how to explain one of them, saying each time: I don't know, I don't know.[3] The second story tries to show Ibn Ḥabîb's inferiority to Tha'lab: The latter relates that he went to Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb's lecture because he had heard that he was dictating the poems of Ḥassân b. Thâbit. When Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb realized his presence he stopped his dictation until Tha'lab had left, though the latter urged him to go on. As Muḥammad b.

[1] Yâq., loc. cit.; *Fihr.*, loc. cit., where ايام should be inserted.

[2] *Fihr.*, loc. cit.: وكتبه صحيحة and من علماء بغداد باللغة والشعر والاخبار والانساب الثقات, thus also Yâq., loc. cit.

[3] *Agh.*, x, 156_{23} ff.; Yâqût, vii, 8_{12} in the biography of Ibn al-A'râbî.

Ḥabîb did not use to go to the mosque and teach there Tha'lab tried to induce him to do so. When Ibn Ḥabîb at last went to the mosque people assembled to hear him and he was asked for the explanation of some difficult verses. He complied, but avoided to explain one difficult phrase. When asked again he had to admit his ignorance on this point, whereupon Tha'lab explained the expression. Muhammad b. Ḥabîb never went to the mosque again and Tha'lab kept aloof from him.[1] It is, of course, very difficult to decide how far such a story aiming at diminishing the scholar's fame can be trusted. It is told by al-Marzubânî, who also accuses Ibn Ḥabîb of having falsified the books of which he was the *râwî* and having substituted his own name instead of that of the author; thus the كتاب من لقب من الشعراء بيت قاله[2] is said to have been written by Isma'îl b. Abî 'Ubaidallâh, although it is now found in the list of Ibn Ḥabîb's works. It is equally impossible to decide whether this accusation is justified. In any case Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb seems to have been rather a prolific writer. The list of his books and editions in *Fihrist* comprises thirty-five, and in Yâqût thirty-nine works, among them five *dîwâns* of poets.[3] Ḥajjî Khalîfa mentions the names of fourteen of his works,[4] referring to some of them more than once, and in the *Bughya* we find the names of twenty-one works, among them the *dîwâns* of three poets.

[1] Yâqût, loc. cit., 475, cf. *Bughya*, 30_3.

[2] Yâqût, loc. cit , 475 ; *Fihr.*, loc. cit. ; for the accusation see Yâq., loc cit., 474 ; *Bughya*, 30_1.

[3] The two lists agree with each other if one disregards such differences as appear to be due to copyists' errors or the lack of diacritical marks, as, e.g., كتاب امهات الشيعة من قريش in *Fihr.*, against كتاب امهات السبعة من قريش in Yâqût. See also *Isāba*, iv, 443, 10ff., 665 (No. 641).

[4] Ibn Ḥabîb's works are mentioned Ḥ. Khal., i, 374_4 f., 393_7, 420_1, 436_5, 456_2 ; ii, 128_3 f , 144_1 f., 310_7 ; iii, 173_9 f. ; iv, 144_{10} f , 295_9, 326_7 f. ; v, 82_4 f., 162_{10}, 411_5, 435_1 f. ; vi, 45_5, 120_3, 376_8. For المجبر and المخبر see below.

It is strange that Ibn Ḥabîb, who was recognized as a trustworthy scholar and whose historical and genealogical knowledge, as the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* proves, was very great, does not seem to be quoted as authority as often as one would suppose. Thus Ṭabarî does not seem to refer to him at all,[1] in the *Mufaḍḍaliyât* he is quoted nine times; in the *Aghânî* he is cited comparatively often;[2] Nawawî[3] quotes a passage from Ibn Ḥabîb's *kitâb al-mu'talif wa-l-mukhtalif fi-n-nasab*,[4] and Ibn Ḥajar who refers to him occasionally even mentions the *kitâb al-muḥabbar*.[5] The work is also quoted by Ibn al-Athīr.[5a] In the *kitâb asmâ' khail al-'arab* by Ibn al-A'râbî he is quoted four times.[6] On the other hand, as mentioned above, he is one of the principal authorities for the *Naqâ'iḍ* of Jarîr and al-Ferazdaq.[7]

THE WORK

The *kitâb al-muhabbar* seems to have been the most important among Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb's works. In Yâqût's list its excellence is expressly mentioned: كتاب المحبّر وهو من جيد كتبه.[8] There has been some uncertainty on the

[1] Cf. Index

[2] Cf. Index to the volumes of the 3rd edition; *Agh.*, x, 172_{13} (first ed.): as-Sukkarî from Muh. b. Hab., ibid., lines 24, 30, and 173_{9}; x, 156_{23} ff.; xii, 40_{10} f, etc.

[3] Nawawî, 346_{1}.

[4] Cf. Wüstenfeld's edition, p vi.

[5] *Iṣâba*, iii, 753 (no. 1876) in the article on Muḥ. b Ja'far b. Abî Ṭâlib: وقال محمد بن حبيب فى المحبر هو اول من سمى محمدا فى الاسلام من المهاجرين, cf. *kit. al-muhabbar*, fol. $98a_{1-4}$ In *Iṣâba*, iv, 446 (64), *sub* Umâma bt. Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muttalib he quotes a passage from the *kit. al-muḥ.* (قال ابو جعفر بن حبيب فى كتابه المحبر) which is not in our manuscript. *Iṣâba*, iv, 854pu f under Umâma bt. al-Ḥakam b 'Abd ar-Raḥmân b. Mas'ûd ... al-Anṣârîya Ibn Ḥajar says: ذكرها ابن حبيب فى المبائعات, most probably referring to the chapter اسماء النسوة المبائعات رسول الله صلى الله عليه (cf. fo. $141b_{16}$–$150b_{3}$). See also *Iṣâba*, iv, 443 10ff., 665 (no. 641).

[5a] *Usd*, v. 490_{2} ff.; in other passages, Ibn Ḥabîb's name is mentioned.

[6] Ed. G. Levi Della Vida, Leiden, 1928, p. xliv.

[7] See p. 3, note 3.

[8] Yâqût, loc. cit., 475.

title of this work. In the *Fihrist* [1] it is called كتاب المخبر, which title also occurs in Ḥajjî Khalîfa.[2] Such a mistake is easily explained: a form like المخبر or المخبّر "the informant" or "narrator" ("nuntius" in Ḥajjî Khal., v, 435, transl.) seemed to be so much more obvious than the rather uncommon word المحبّر "the adorned one, the gilt one". The title-page of the only copy still extant calls the work المحبّر, the word being vocalized and the ح being marked with the distinctive sign. Thus there seems to be no doubt possible as to the correctness of this title.[3]

In the choice of a title for his works Ibn Ḥabîb shows some preference for this verbal form; in the bibliographies as given in *Fihrist*, Yâqût, and *Bughya* it occurs several times. We find there a *kitâb al-mushajjar*, *kit. al-muwashshâ*, *kit. al-muwashsha'*, *kit. al-munammaq*.[4] All these titles seem to indicate that the work deals with a great variety of topics, as indeed is the case with the *kitâb al-muḥabbar*.

The Manuscript

Only one copy of this important work has survived, which is now in the British Museum, Oriental MS. 2807.[5] It consists of 168 folios (4_a–172_b), the size of each page being $10\frac{1}{4}$ by

[1] *Fihrist*, loc. cit.

[2] v, 435_1 f. (No. 11574). Cf. *Fihrist*, ii, p. 49, n. 25, to vol. i, p. 106; it is difficult to decide whether or not the كتاب المجبر found in Ḥ. Khal., ii, 128_3 f., 144_1 f; v, 411_5 f, and discussed in this note is to be considered as identical with the *kit. al-muḥ.* The entry in Ḥ. Khal., ii, 128_3 f., seems to speak against this identification: ... كتاريخ الخلفاء لابي جعفر محمد بن حبيب المتوفى فى سنة ٢٤٥ سماه المجبر; تاريخ الخلفاء occurs in Ibn an-Nadîm's as well as in Yâqût's list of Ibn Ḥabîb's works as an independent work.

[3] Cf. Rieu, loc. cit.

[4] Cf. Yâqût, loc. cit.; *Bughya*, loc. cit. See O. Spies, *Die Bibliotheken des Hidschas*, in *ZDMG.*, 90, Heft 1, p. 119, Anm. 1.

[5] See Rieu, *Supplem. to the Catal. of Arabic MSS. in the Brit. Museum*, p. 305 f., No. 508.

6¾ inches, 17 lines 4½ inches long "written in bold and rather cursive but distinct *Naskhî*, with a sprinkling of vowels, apparently in the 13th century,"[1] thus the manuscript was described in the Catalogue. It will be worth while to add a more detailed description to this summary statement.

On the whole the manuscript has been carefully written and the text was faithfully reproduced from the copy. Although the copyist was sparse in vocalizing his transcript, vowels are generally added where there could be any doubt about the reading, especially in verbal forms. The lack of vowelling is sometimes felt in the genealogical lists where the vocalization of a name is often doubtful. On the other hand those consonants which generally are the cause of difficulties are carefully marked with the diacritical signs. Thus ح, ر, س, ع are throughout discriminated by the *muhmila*, ج, خ, ز, ش, ض, ظ, غ, generally provided with diacritical marks; only ب and ى being left undiscriminated very often, and ت, ث, ن, sometimes. Some orthographical points should be noted: the ا is generally omitted in such names as سفيان, الحارث, مالك, النعمان, ابراهيم, خالد, which are almost always written سفين, الحرث, ملك, النعمن, ابرهيم, خلد, and also other names are occasionally written without it, as, e.g., صلح instead of صالح or صٰلح. اا is occasionally written for آ, as in اا كل or اازر; ٍ throughout for ئ; آ for اء; ء is omitted almost generally.[2] Copyist's errors seem to be rare, one instance occurring on fol. $14a_5$, where al-Walîd b. 'Abd al-Melik is said to have led the pilgrimage nineteen years after his death. Omissions of words or sentences occur occasionally, but these have been added

[1] A. Ghandour Bey, in *ibid.*

[2] These are, of course, common features in Arabic manuscripts.

in the margin by the copyist himself, who has carefully marked the place where the marginal addition should be added in the text. So far I have been able to find out only one instance where a few words are omitted; on fol. $89b_{13}$ three words seem to be missing as a comparison of the passage with the parallel text in the *Naqâ'id* shows.[1] Of course it is possible that there are omissions in the hundreds of genealogies, but it will be almost impossible to find these out as many of the names occurring in these genealogies are entirely unknown and not found anywhere else. Dittographies occur occasionally, in some instances already observed by the copyist himself and crossed out. In a few places a blank occurs where the scribe either was unable to read his copy or where he found it already defective, as on fol. $109b_3$.[2] The manuscript itself is well preserved, only occasionally the paper is broken, but nowhere so badly as to render the words illegible, and only towards the end of the work (from fol. 165*b* onwards) the inner margin (i.e. the end of the lines on the verso and the beginning of those of the recto page) of lines 8 to 10 are blurred by water.[3] Unfortunately the manuscript is not complete, breaking off in the middle of a chapter (on the فرّارون) on fol. 172*b*. A note at the bottom of the page dated 651 [4] proves that the manuscript was already imperfect at that time.

There are a few marginal notes which are interesting as they give us a glimpse of the history of the manuscript. On fol. 34*a* we read the word وقف, which shows that the manuscript was once given to a mosque or a library as a pious

[1] In the list of the جرّارون : قيس بن عاصم السعدى [قاد مقاعسًا كلها] يوم النباح, cf. *Naq.*, 1023_{11} ff.

[2] « الارقم وهو الاحنسى وهو.

[3] The mark of the water is visible in triangular shape from fol. 119*b* to the end of the MS. but has not done any damage to the writing otherwise than stated above.

[4] Rieu, loc. cit., reads 751; see below, p. 12.

donation. On folios 46*a*, 84*b*, and 87*a* a reader has made an entry, obviously induced to do so by the fact that he has read in the text the name of his ancestor Hâtim at-Tâ'î or 'Adî b. Hâtim at-Tâ'î. The entry on fol. 46*a* reads ('Adî b. Hâtim at-Tâ'î is mentioned in line 15): طالع هذا الكتاب افقر العباد واضعف العباد محمود بن الفصى من عدى بن حاتم الطائى بين كاتبه وبين عدى سبعة عشر | جدا يسأل المغفرة لهم اجمعين يا رب العالمين.

The entry on fol. 84*b* provoked by the occurrence of the name of 'Adî b. Hâtim at-Tâ'î in line 11 f. reads: طالع فى هذ[ا] الكتاب المبارك العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى محمود بن عدى بن حاتم (follows a genealogy of sixteen links) . . . الطائى المعروف بابن الفصى رحمهم الله تعالى وعفا عنه | وهذ[ا] النسب متصل مسلسل حسب ما ذكر فرحم الله من ترحم عليهم اجمعين.

Fol. 87*a* has an entry by the same man following on وقال حاتم الطائى فى تحريم الخمر والفجور: نسله ولده عدى وقلعة [*sic!* read وقُلِعَتْ] عينه يوم الجمل مع الامام على بن ابى طالب وكان من رفقته فى القتال مداوما سيره مع النبى محمد صلى الله عليه ولد له مسعود بن عدى . . (names follow another fifteen) وولد لمحمد محمود وولد لمحمود يحيى المعروف بابن الفصى وكلا منهم معروف بجده وفيهم من له ذرّيّة كثيرة وفيهم من له بأعْيَنٍ.

A similar note is found on fol. 93*b*, where 'Adî b. Hâtim at-Tâ'î is mentioned in the list of men who lost their eye in a battle: طالع فى هذا الكتاب افقر العباد محمود بن . . . (follows a genealogy of fifteen links, one name being left out by

عدى بن حاتم الطائى الذى حرم الخمر على (writer of note)
نفسه قبل ان ينزل تحريمه وقال فى ذلك شعر [sic]

وانى لارجوا ان اموت ولم انل متاعا من الدنيا فجورا ولا خمرا

"This book has studied the poorest of servants Maḥmûd b. Muḥammad . . . b. Ḥâtim aṭ-Ṭâ'î who forswore (to drink) wine before its unlawfulness was revealed; and in connection with this fact he said a poem: I hope that I do not die without having given up the amenities of this world, libertinage and wine." [1]

The last marginal note was made in connection with the text, adding names to the list under the heading اسماء المؤلفة قلوبهم من قريش وغيرهم on fol. $163b_{11}$ ff. A line was drawn underneath line 17 in order to separate the note from the text. This entry is particularly interesting as it refers to Ibn Ḥajar who himself quotes the *kitâb al-muḥabbar*:[2]

ثم ان قوله [3]ومالك بن عوف | [4]والعلاء بن جارية قال ابن حجر
فيه نظر | فانهما جاءا طائف فى من اه [=انتهى]
وفاته من المؤلفة قلوبهم | على ما ذكر القسطلانى عن بعضهم | . . .

(Here follows a list of twenty-six names. This must be an error on the part of the writer of the note, for al-Qasṭallânî, on Sûra 9, 60, gives only four.)

On fol. 140*b* someone has "decorated" the page by writing بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | قال ما in large letters, drawing every letter three times, thus بسم الله, etc.

On the title-page under the title written by the copyist of the manuscript himself there is an entry on the *râwî* of the work, as-Sukkarî, written in a modern hand:—

[1] This verse occurs also in the text on fo. $87a_{13}$ but is not found in Ḥâtim aṭ-Ṭâ'î's *dîwân* (ed. Schulthess, Leipzig, 1897), nor anywhere else.

[2] See above, p. 6.

[3] *Iṣâba*, iii, 710, 13 (1786).

[4] *Iṣâba*, ii, 1184 (10007).

للعلامة ابى سعيد الحسن بن الحسين بن عبيد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن العلاء بن ابى صفرة | جمع شعر جماعة من الشعراء منهم امرؤ القيس والنابغة الذبيانى والجعدى | وزهير ولبيد وغيرهم العتكى المهلبى النحوى اللغوى الراوى الثقة المكثر توفى | رحمه الله سنة ٢٧٥ او سنة ٢٩٠ اه من دستور الاعلام بمعارف الاسلام للعلامة سيدى | محمد الشهير بابن عزم المغربى التونسى نزيل مكة شرفها الله تعالى

"(The *kitâb al-muḥabbar*) of the scholar Abû Sa'îd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Ubaidallâh b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmân b. al-'Alâ' b. Abî Ṣufra [1] who collected the poetical work of all the poets among whom (was) Imra' al Qais, an-Nâbigha adh-Dhubyânî and al-Ja'dî, Zuhair, Labîd, and others, al-'Atîkî al-Muhallabî [1] the trustworthy and prolific grammarian and philologist, who died, may Allâh have mercy on him, in 275 or 290. (This information was taken) from (the work) *Dustûr al-a'lâm bi-ma'ârif al-Islâm* [2] by the scholar Saiyidî Muḥammad who is known under (the name of) Ibn 'Azam [2] al-Maghribî at-Tûnisî who settled in Mekka, which Allâh has honoured."

On the bottom of the page we find the following entry: قد دخل فى ملكة الفقير وهذا من نعم الله ابى على الحسين | بن عبد الرحمان الانصارى فى سنة ١٢٦٦.

The colophon at the bottom of fol. 172*b* reads: والله اعلم الحمد لله وحده تم نسخة فى احد عشر جمادى الآخرة سنة ستمائة واحدى وخمسين. From this colophon we can infer that the scribe of the manuscript had before him an incomplete copy. Although the note is continued in an almost illegible scrawl,[3]

[1] i.e. he belonged to the family of the famous governor of the Umaiyads al-Muhallab b. Abî Ṣufra al-Azdî al-'Atîkî.

[2] Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL.*, ii, 173, 7, 1.

[3] I am indebted to Professor Levi Della Vida for the reading of the colophon.

the first two words show the features of the writing of the scribe of the manuscript.

THE CONTENTS

The *kitâb al-muḥabbar* gives information on a great variety of subjects. Beginning with a survey of the history of the world it soons turns to events nearer to an Arab's interest, the history of the Arabian Peninsula before and after the advent of Muḥammad. The author's principal endeavour in the book, however, is not to give the full report of the events, but to give a skeleton account of them laying emphasis on the collection of the facts rather than relating the course of the events. Thus the book contains a great number of lists: lists of the *maghâzî* and *sarâyâ*, lists of governors, lists of the leaders of the pilgrimage from the beginning of the Islamic era up to the date of Ibn Ḥabîb's death supplemented by as-Sukkarî who died A.H. 275 [1] and an unknown author up to A.H. 279. Lists of people who limped, lists of people whose mother was a Christian or an Abyssinian woman, lists of people who bought their freedom are instances of this adduced at random. The main feature of the work is the mass of genealogical material which is nowhere else found in such completeness. It strikes an uncommon note, too, in that these genealogies are widely concerned with the relationship on the mother's side going back to the mother, the mother's mother, the mother's mother's mother, and so on, often bringing the genealogy back in this way to the remotest times of Arabian antiquity. We cannot examine here the question how far such genealogies may be trusted (and in fact there are a few instances of contradictory statements with regard to genealogy in the work itself); in any case, however, it is but seldom that other authors consider this side of genealogy.[3] This interest in questions of genealogy

[1] Or 290, thus *Bughya*, 219_8.

[2] See below, p. 19.

[3] Ibn Sa'd occasionally mentions the mother's mother or the mother's maternal grandmother of, say, a caliph, but he does not go much farther.

and kinship is also shown in a chapter headed أسلاف رسول الله صلى الله عليه (fol. $37b_{11}$–$41a_5$) which gives a list of all persons who were the Prophet's relations only by the fact that they were related to one of the Prophet's wives. One can imagine that such relationships, or claims of being related to the Prophet, even if remotely, played a role in the life of the Islamic state, for instance with regard to pensions (*'aṭâ'* and *rizq*) or the claim for an office and similar things, and that it was considered useful and important to make a comprehensive list of all those persons who could claim any relationship to the Prophet. Lists of a similar kind do occur in other works, as, for instance, an enumeration of those who were present or killed at Badr [1] or of those who emigrated to Abyssinia.[2] But what gives the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* its value and its distinctive character is not only the completeness of the material but also the preference shown for this way of classifying it.

Among these lists mention may be made of two more which seem to me to be especially interesting and valuable. These are the lists of women of the Quraish and Anṣâr who did homage to the Prophet (fol. $141b_{16}$–$150b_3$) and the much shorter list of women amongst the *mushrikûn* (fol. $150b_{4-17}$), which gives only the names of six women who did not become Muslims together with their husbands (by the way, quite an interesting piece of evidence for the independence of Arabic women in ancient times). The other is the list of women who had three husbands and more (fol. $151b_7$–$157b_8$). Although the fact that divorce was easy in Arabia and that women used to marry and be divorced and remarry often

Ibn Ḥabîb seems to have specialized in this side of genealogical research, as is shown by the titles of others of his works: as, for instance, *kitâb ummahât an-Nabî*, *kit. ummahât a'yân B. 'Abd al-Muttalib*, *kit. ummahât as-Shî'a min Quraish*, and a *kit. man nusiba ilâ ummihi min ash-shu'arâ'* mentioned in O. Spies, *Die Bibliotheken des Hidschas*, in *ZDMG.*, 90, 1, 119 (no. 119).

[1] Cf., for instance, Ibn Hish., p. 485ss.

[2] Cf. Ibn Hish., p. 208ss.

to be divorced again is well known, such a list giving only the names of the woman and her successive husbands is very impressive. Such lists are of considerable value for the student of Arabic and Islamic history, as they may help to explain many facts recorded in the Arabic chronicles which have hitherto been unexplained, and also explain the connections of personalities to each other and the interdependence of events. In many cases these lists are interrupted by a tale in connection with a man or an event mentioned, but wherever such an interruption seemed necessary to the author it is done as briefly as possible. Brevity is, on the whole, a characteristic trait of the composition of this work.

The importance of this book does not only lie in these lists. There are a great many narratives and anecdotes concerned with both pre-Islamic and Islamic subjects. Many of these are entirely new, others found only in few other sources. The chapters on فُتّاك الجاهليّة (fol. $69a_{15}$–$77b_3$) and فُتّاك الاسلام (fol. $77b_4$–$84a_{15}$) or the chapter on the ancient fairs اسواق العرب المشهورة فى الجاهلية ومبائعتهم (fol. $94b_4$–$96a_9$), for instance, contain rich material entirely or almost entirely unknown. The chapter on customs of the *Jâhilîya* السنة التى كانت الجاهلية سنّتها فبقى الاسلام بعضها واسقط بعضها (fol. $109b_4$–$120a_{16}$) is especially valuable, not only because its content is important and partly new but also as it collects material otherwise dispersed. I was particularly interested in a detailed description of the *meisir*-game and its rules, and of the different prayers addressed to the various idols at the pilgrimage.

Two more instances may be quoted: Fol. $6b_{1-6}$ the era of عام الغدر is mentioned. The only parallel which I have been able to find so far is in al-Bîrûnî, *al-âthâr al-bâqiya*, p. 34_{7-10}. The names of Aus and Ḥaṣaba, the sons of Aznam b. ʿUbaid b. Thaʿlaba b. Yarbûʿ b. Ḥanẓala b. Zaid Manât b. Tamîm, who attacked and killed Mâlik in the sanctuary of

the Ka'ba, are not found anywhere else; Ḥaṣaba b. Azmam b. . . ., however, occurs in a genealogical chain in Ibn al-Kelbî's *Jamharat al-ansâb.*[1]

Fol. $44a_{16}$–$44b_1$ (in the chapter on the expeditions of the Prophet) we read: وفيها بعث بِشْرَ بن سُوَيد الجُهَنى الى بنى الحرث بن كنانة فاعتصموا منه بغيضة[ٍ] فأَضْرَمَها عليهم فلما رجعوا قال لهم النبى صلى الله عليه بِئْسَ ما فعلتم. "And in this year [anno 5] (the Prophet) sent Bishr b. Suwaid al-Juhanî against the B. al-Ḥârith b. Kinâna who took refuge from him in a thicket. He burnt it down while they were in it. When they returned the Prophet said to him: evil is what you have done." This seems to be the only place where this expedition is recorded, as neither the expedition nor the name of its leader seems to be mentioned elsewhere.

But even in those parts of the book to which parallels can be found in the works of other authors accessible to us the information given in the *kitâb al-muhabbar* very often differs from that in the parallel texts. This assertion holds good especially with regard to dates, even of such well-known events as the date of the accession and the death of the caliphs. An instance of the difference between the version in the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* and a parallel in another source is the story of al-Qaṭṭâl al-Kilâbî (fol. $82b_1$ ff.) which is found also in *Aghânî*, xx, 158 ff. But although Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb and his *râwî* as-Sukkarî are quoted as authorities in this parallel text, the narrative as told in *Aghânî* differs from our text. The chapters on the women called 'Âtikah and Fâṭimah among the Prophet's ancestresses may be adduced as another example of such divergences. Ibn Sa'd in his *Ṭabaqât*, i, 1, p. 32, has a chapter on the same subject: ذكر الفواطم والعواتك اللاتى ولدن رسول الله صلى الله عليه. The *Isnâd* given at the head

[1] Kind communication from Professor Levi Della Vida. It is noteworthy that the *'âm al-ghadr* is not mentioned in *TA*. s.v. *ghadr*, which shows that this era had entirely fallen into oblivion in later times.

of the chapter is: قال اخبرنا هشام بن محمد بن السائب, i.e. the *Isnâd* agrees with that given at the beginning of the *kitâb al-muḥabbar.* Nevertheless, there are differences between the two representations of the same subject; Ibn Sa'd not only mentions thirteen women called 'Âtikah among Muḥammad's ancestresses against Ibn Ḥabîb's twelve, but he also reaches them by different genealogical ways. The same can be observed right at the beginning of the work in the calculation of the time which passed from the Creation of the World to Muḥammad's time. Such a chapter is found almost generally at the beginning of historical works by Arabic authors. Of course, the subject offers the best opportunities for substituting figures according to the author's fancy; but apparently a common style had developed and most authors count the g e n e r a t i o n s (قرون) and not the y e a r s between one patriarch and the other, between the Flood and the Immigration into Egypt, and so on. In the two chapters devoted to this subject in the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* Ibn Ḥabîb does not count by generations but by years, which of course is rather dangerous. Here and also in later chapters dealing with biblical legends and history [1] again Ibn al-Kelbî is the authority for Ibn Ḥabîb's version as well as that of other authors (e.g. Ibn Sa'd, i, 1, p. 26_{7} ff., and the appropriate passages in Ṭabarî and others). In this particular instance Ibn Ḥabîb protects himself against possible critics by stating himself (fol. $5b_{14}$ ff.) that the differences in the statements of the various authorities are very great and that Allâh knows best.

Especially in the middle part of the work the narrative is frequently interrupted by verses. Such verses occur also in the first and third part, but not so often. The more frequent occurrence of poems in the second third of the book coincides with, and is explained by, the fact that in this section we find most of the narratives and no longer only lists of names

[1] See below, p. 21.

which occupy the greater part of the first section and abound again towards the end of the book. Many of them have not been found at all in other works, others could yet be traced only in few sources, while in some cases only one or two of the verses are quoted in other works. In a few cases even the poet's name could not yet be identified from other works. Thus, the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* adds to our knowledge of Arabic poetry.

Although the work is not dated we can infer the approximate date of the compilation of its bulk from internal evidence. The list of sons-in-law of the caliphs ends with al-Wâthiq (fol. $24a_{7-8}$) who died in A.H. 232 ; as the sons-in-law of al-Mutawakkil in whose reign Ibn Ḥabîb died are not included in the enumeration of sons-in-law of the Prophet, the caliphs, and other personalities of outstanding importance, the conclusion may be drawn that the book was written in the reign of al-Wâthiq in or before A.H. 232 The same conclusion is borne out by the list of crucified persons which ends with a man, Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Mâlik b. al-Haitham al-Khuzâ'î, crucified by al-Wâthiq (fol. $169a_{4\,f}$). The list of people whose heads were cut off and exhibited ends with Ishâq b. Ismâ'îl at-Tiflîsî whom al-Mutawakkil executed (fol. $170b_1$).

As far as can be judged at the present stage of the examination of the book none of the other lists goes beyond the events lying within the scope of Ibn Ḥabîb's own life.[1]

Muḥammad b Ḥabîb can safely be regarded as the author of information on events which have happened between the

[1] Cf., for instance, the list of the chiefs of the caliphs' bodyguard (fol. $131b_9$–$133a_{10}$) ending with al Mutawakkil (whose reign began 232), that of the men of Baṣrah and Kûfah who bought their freedom (fol. $120a_{17}$–$123a_4$), that of the persons crucified or otherwise executed, mentioned above, that of the secretaries of the caliphs (fol $133a_{10}$–$134a_7$) which is not even continued up to 232 or 245. In the course of preparing the edition of the whole work each name will have to be carefully examined with a view to identifying the person and his time; it may then be found in some cases that the person lived *after* Ibn Ḥabîb's time, which would mean only that the information did not belong to the original work. In this introduction, however, it is impossible to go beyond the general statement.

time of al-Wâthiq's death and 245, the date of Ibn Ḥabîb's death, and which the latter may have added after 232. But all information which goes beyond this date was of course added to Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb's original work. In one instance this appears quite distinctly. It occurs in the enumeration of the caliphs and the leaders of the *Ḥâjj* (fol. $18b_{15}$ ff.) which is continued from the year 245 up to 279. These additions were made by the *râwî* as-Sukkarî and by some other person.[1] In this connection mention may be made of the following passage in the first chapter (fol. $5a_1$ f.): فمن مبعث النبي صلى الله عليه الى سنة خمس واربعين ومائتين مائتان وخمسون سنة. As 245 is the year of Ibn Ḥabîb's death it seems not unlikely that this note has been added by as-Sukkarî as a sign of honour for his master.

THE SOURCES AND THE *ISNÂD*

The problem of the sources of the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* is not easily solved and the solution is made more difficult even by the haphazard way in which Ibn Ḥabîb treats the *Isnâd*. Only very seldom does he mention his authority and even when he does so it is not always quite evident how much of the information has been derived from the authority quoted.

The *râwî* of the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* is Abû Sa'îd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Ubaidallâh b. al-'Alâ' b. Abî Ṣufra as-Sukkarî,[2] as appears from the *Isnâd* at the beginning of the work given below. As-Sukkarî is mentioned further on fol. $4b_2$, $5b_{16}$, $19a_9$, $39a_{17}$, $48a_1$, $143b_{16}$, and $164a_7$ f.. Ibn al-Kelbî seems to be the principal authority for the work, as not only does

[1] The date of as-Sukkarî's death is related differently, either 275 or 290 (thus *Bughya*, p. 219_8). Against Rieu's opinion expressed in his note on the MS. in the Catalogue of the Brit. Mus., loc. cit., that this passage in the *kit. al-muh.* "favours the later of the above dates" speaks the fact that the list is not continued beyond the accession of al-Mu'taḍid in the year 279. It seems more likely that either a copyist or a reader has made this entry, perhaps in the margin of his copy which has later been inserted in the text before as-Sukkarî's concluding note: وقال ابو سعيد السكرى اخبرنى محمد بن حبيب ابوجعفر بهذا كله.

[2] See, for instance, Yâqût, iii, 62 ff.; *Bughya*, 218 u.ff.

his name appear in the *Isnâd* with which the book begins, but as he is also the scholar whom Ibn Ḥabîb mentions most often. This statement is corroborated by the fact that Ibn al-Kelbî is known to have been Ibn Ḥabîb's teacher; the probability is increased by the fact already mentioned above that the author of the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* was the *râwî* of Ibn al-Kelbî's *Jamharat al-ansâb*. Therefore we may assume that especially in the genealogical passages of the book Ibn Ḥabîb makes use of material handed over to him by Ibn al-Kelbî.[1] On the other hand it must be admitted that there are differences between the text of the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* and parallel texts even when Ibn al-Kelbî is referred to explicitly as authority for the parallel text. An instance of this has already been given.[2]

The *Isnâds* in which Ibn al-Kelbî is mentioned are the following:

قال ابو سعيد الحسن بن الحسين السكرى اخبرنا ابو جعفر محمد بن حبيب قال ابو حاتم البجلى عن هشام بن محمد عن ابيه عن [3]ابى صالح عن ابن عباس رضى الله عنه (fol. $4b_{2\text{-}3}$)

حكى ابن الكلبي عن ابيه عن ابى صالح عن ابن عباس

(fol. $8a_{8}$ f; the same sequence also fols. $57b_{15}$ and $58a_{6}$.)

قال ابو سعيد قال ابن حبيب ذكر ابن الكلبي عن ابى محمد المرهبى عن شيخ من ذى الكلاع قال سمعت [4] كعب الاحبار يقول وجدت فى بعض كتبنا (fol. $48a_{1}$ ff.)

[1] A proof for the correctness of this statement may be seen in the fact that in the *kit. al-muh* we find names for which the only other source is the *Jamharat al-ansâb*, e g. عبد الله بن الاسود بن عوف, fol $45b_{15}$, سلمة بن سادر e.g. fol. $26a_{1}$; a few of the verses occur also only in works of Ibn al-Kelbî's in the *kitâb al-khail* and in the *Jamhara* (kind communication from Professor Levi Della Vida). Cf, however, Tab. i, 1667_{16} ff.

[2] There remains the possibility that the other scholars got their information through a different *riwâya*; however, in comparison with later authors, e.g. Ṭabarî, Muḥammad b Habîb has the advantage of having studied with Ibn al-Kelbî himself.

[3] Cf. *Fihrist*, 95, in the article on Ibn al-Kelbî.

[4] See below, p. 23, n. 4.

قال وذكر ابن الكلبي قال حدثني فروة بن سعيد بن عفيف قال
سمعت [1]ملك بن مرارة الرهائي يحدث قال (fol. $48a_5$ f.)
فحكى ابن الكلبي عن [2]ابي سهل عن ابيه (fol. $79b_{14}$ f.)
وحدثني [3]ابو فراس محمد بن فراس السامي عن هشام عن ابيه
(fol. $105a_2$)
تسمية ملوك حمير عن هشام بن الكلبي (fol. $128b_7$)
وقال هشام بن الكلبي كان ابي وعوانه وشرقي يقولون (fol. $138a_5$)
قال ابن الكلبي occurs: fols. $5a_{6, 7, 11, 13}$; $5b_1$; $17b_{8 \text{ marg.}, 9}$;
$92a_5$; $135a_6$; $164a_7$; في قول ابن الكلبي: fol. $5b_{15}$; قول ابن الكلبي: fol. $137b_{13}$; وقال ابن الكلبي: fol. $161a_1$; وقال ابن الكلبي ايضاً: fol. $138a_8$ f.; وقال هشام: fol. $136b_9$.

The subjects with regard to which Ibn al-Kelbî is quoted are: Biblical history and legends: fols. $5a_{6, 7, 11, 13}$; $5b_{15}$; $48a_{1, 5}$; $135a_6$; $136b_9$; $138a_{5, 8 \text{ f.}}$; $161a_1$; History of the World before Muḥammad: $128b_7$; $137b_{13}$; the Prophet's biography: fol. $8a_8$; Early Islâm: $57b_{15}$; $58a_6$; $105a_2$; $164a_7$; Biography of the caliphs: $17b_8$ marg.; Genealogy: $92a_5$; "*Futtâk al-Islâm*": $79b_{15}$.

Muḥammad b. as-Sâ'ib al-Kelbî, Ibn al-Kelbî's father, is referred to in the following passages: fols. $4b_9$; $5a_5$; $5b_{3, 4, 5, 6}$ (Biblical history and legend); $96b_{14}$; $105a_5$; $162b_3$; $169a_8$ (Early Islâm); in addition to these passages he occurs in the *Isnâd* on fol. $4b_3$ and $8a_8$. Most probably the information given under his name has also come to Ibn Ḥabîb through Ibn al-Kelbî.

Among the chapter headings of the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* there are many which recall the titles of works of Ibn al-Kelbî's. The following table will show this.

[1] Ibn Sa'd, v, 387.

[2] Is he identical with Abû Sahl mentioned Ibn Sa'd, v, 5: Abû Sahl as-Sâ'dî, of whom Ibn Sa'd himself did not know anything but his name?

[3] Ibn Sa'd, vii, 1, 89, an Abû Firâs is mentioned without any details.

Ibn Habîb.	Folio.	Ibn al-Kelbî.[1]
asmâ' ashâb al-kahf	$125b_{14}$–$126a_{5}$	*kit. ashâb al-kahf.*
mulûk Kinda	$130a_{6}$–$130b_{14}$	*kit. mulûk Kinda.*
aswâq al-'arab al-mashhûra fi-l-jâhilîya wa mubâya'atuhum . .	$94b_{4}$–$96a_{8}$	*kit. aswâq al-'arab.*
azwâj Rasûl Allâh . .	$29a_{10}$–$37a_{10}$	*kit. azwâj an-Nabî.*
hukkâm al-'arab . . . . . and cf. *man hakama fi'l-jâhilîya hukman fa-wâfaqa hukmu'l-Islâmi.*	$48a_{3}$–$49b_{13}$	*kit. hukkâm al-'arab.*
cf. *asmâ' min mulûk al-ard kullihâ min al-jinn wa'l-ins fî qauli Ibn al-Kelbî* . .	$137b_{13}$–$138a_{15}$	cf. *kit. al-jinn.*
cf. *asmâ' mulûk al-Hîra al-Lakhmiyîn wa-ghairihim* .	$126a_{12\text{-}17}$	cf. *kit. al-Hîra.*

The following are other works of Ibn al-Kelbî's which are likely to have influenced Ibn Habîb or even to have been his direct source, as we find corresponding chapters in the *kitâb al-muhabbar* dealing with the same subject :—

kit. ummahât an-Nabî.
kit. ummahât al-khulafâ'.
kit. hadîth Âdam wa-waladihi.
kit. mulûk al-Yaman min at-Tabâbi'a.
kit. al-asnâm.
kit. mu'arrafât min an-nisâ' fî Quraish.

It may be said, however, that besides these writings Ibn al-Kelbî's works generally were used by Ibn Habîb since the ground covered by the *kitâb al-muhabbar* coincides with that in which Ibn al-Kelbî was interested.

Thus we are justified in saying that most probably Ibn al-Kelbî was the principal authority for Ibn Habîb's *kitâb al-muhabbar* although it will be necessary further to examine the problem of the source in each case individually. Thus only we shall be able to answer the question with some degree of certainty.

But Ibn al-Kelbî was not the only authority from whom Muhammad b. Habîb derived his material for his voluminous

[1] The titles have been taken from Yâqût's article on Ibn al-Kelbî, in which the *Fihrist* is quoted, vol. vii, p. 249 ff.

work. None of them, however, is quoted as often as this teacher of his. The following list of *Isnâds* will show this :—
ذكر ابو حاتم البجلي عن الهيثم بن عدى عن بعض اهل الكتاب
(fol. $4b_{10}$).

The information given under this *Isnâd* is concerned with Biblical history. Al-Haitham b. 'Adî is well known as a scholar with shu'ubite tendencies who collected much material on Arabic antiquity in order to use it against Arabic tribal pride.[1] It is perhaps not without significance that al-Haitham is reported to have written a *kitâb al-muḥabbar* [2] which title may have influenced Ibn Ḥabîb in the choice of a title for his work. I am not certain about the personality of Abû Ḥâtim al-Bajalî ; the only information I am able to give is that in Sam'ânî, *kitâb al-ansâb*,[3] I found ابو حاتم بن حبان القبيض بن الفضل من اهل الكوفة مولى بجيلة. It is well known that very often the ultimate authority for biblical legend or alleged biblical history is said to have been "a man of the people of the book" (بعض اهل الكتاب), or a Jew,[4] as is the case in this *Isnâd*. A Jew is the authority in the *Isnâd* on fol. $5a_4$: قال محمد بن حبيب اخبرني بعض اليهود بنهر ناثان, where attention may be drawn to the fact that this river is otherwise unknown. Still more vague is this *Isnâd* (fol. $5b_{16}$ f. on Biblical history and legend) قال ابو سعيد اخبرني محمد بن حبيب ذكرني بعض مَن لقيته, in which it is not even stated to what group the authority belonged ; it is, however, not impossible that this man, too, was a man of the *ahlu'l-kitâb*. Al-Haitham b. 'Adî is further mentioned on fol. $4b_{16}$, again as authority on Biblical history and legend.

Well-known scholars are adduced in the following *Isnâd*,

[1] See, e.g., Brockelmann, *GAL.*, I, 140, Suppl., 213 ; Yâqût, vii, 261 ff.
[2] Yâqût, vii, 266_4.
[3] *GMS.*, fol. $66a_{20}$.
[4] Cf. I. Wolffensohn, *Ka'b al-Aḥbâr u. s. Stellung im Ḥadîṯ u. d. isl. Legendenliteratur*, Frankfurter Diss., 1933.

although again one anonymous authority is linked with them. The passage in which this *Isnâd* occurs is concerned with the *Jâhilîya.* وذكر [1]احمد بن محمد بن اسحاق قال حدثنى ابى عن شيخ من اصحابنا له قدر قال حدثنى الوقاص عن الزهرى عن [2]ابى حية عن [3]ابى ذر رحمه الله (fol. $50b_9$ ff).

Ibn al-A'râbî, another of Ibn Habîb's teachers, appears in the following two *Isnâds* : قال محمد بن حبيب اخبرنى بهذا الحديث ابن الاعرابى (fol. $50b_9$ ff, on events of the *Jâhilîya*), and : قال محمد بن حبيب وسمعت ابن الاعرابى حكى عن المهلب (fol. $81a_5$: *Futtâk al-Islâm*).

Al-Wâqidî, who occurs four times in connection with traditions on early Islâm, may also have been the source for other parts of the book, probably for the chapter on the Prophet's *sarâya* and *maghâzî* ; the chapter in which his name is quoted on fol. $103a_2$ deals with battles in the early epoch of Islâm. He is mentioned on fol. $30b_1$; $103a_2$; $141b_{17}$, and in the following *Isnâd* : وقال [الواقدى] اخبرنا بذلك الحكم بن عبد الله عن [4]الاعرج (fol. $142a_6$).

The following *Isnâds* are arranged according to the order in which they occur in the text :

قال ابو سعيد اخبرنى محمد بن حبيب ابو جعفر بذلك كله
(fol. $19a_9$: History of the caliphs)

ذكر [5]اسحق بن اسمعيل الطالقانى عن [6]جرير عن [7]ليث عن [8]مهاجر
(fol. $138b_9$ f. : History of the world before Islâm)

[1] Cf. *Aghânî* (3rd ed.), i, 14_{10} f = al-Haramî b Abî l-A'lâ', see also ii, 272_1 f. ; iii, 28_8, 319_9, 327_8, 370_3.

[2] Tabarî, i, 3048 Abû Haiya al-Mâzinî, Ibn Sa'd, vii, 1, p. 46, Abû Haiya at-Tamîmî, ibid., vi, 165 ; Abû Haiya al-Wâ'idî.

[3] Ibn Sa'd, ii, 2, p. 112.

[4] Cf. Ibn Sa'd, vii, 1, p. 154_{10} f · الحكم بن الاعرج روى عن ابن عباس وله احاديث.

[5–8] See p. 25.

قال ابن حبيب حكى[1] المسّيي عن عبد الله بن معاذ الصنعاني عن نعمن (fol. 164a_4) and cf. ibid., 7 f.:

قال ابو سعيد حدثني انا المسّيي بهذا وكان ابن حبيب يقول حكى المسيي (Early Islâm).

ذكر الفضل بن دُكين عن بَشير بن سَلْمان قال كنتُ فى كُتّابه (الضحاك بن مُزاحم i.e. of)[1a] (fol. $164a_{14}$ f.: Learned men and lawyers)

قال حدثنى [2]عنبسة بن عبد الواحد القُرشى عن [3]اسمعيل بن ابى خلد (fol. $164a_{16}$ f.: Learned men and lawyers)

قال [4]ابو مُسْهِر حدثنى [5]صدقة بن خلد قال حدثنى مروان بن جناح عن عبد الواحد بن قيس

(fol. $164b_6$ f.: Learned men and lawyers)

[5] In Ṭabarî, iii, 620 (and 1121 ?, the question mark is by the editor) mention is made of Abû Yûnus Isḥâq b. Isma'îl, without *nisba*, but together with az-Ziyâdî and al-Qawârîrî; in Sam'ânî, 363*b*, is found *Abû* Ish. b. Ism. at-Ṭâliqânî, a scholar from Baghdad, died 224.

[6] (*a*) Jarîr b. Ḥâzim: Ibn Sa'd, vii, 2, p. 36, born 85, died 170; (*b*) Jarîr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamîd ar-Râwî: Ibn Sa'd, vii, 2, p. 110: born 107 in Kûfah, died in Raiy.

[7] Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, 39 ff., al-Leith b. al-Muzaffar b. Naṣr b. Saiyâr, friend of Khalîl (100–175); Ibn Sa'd, vii, 2, p. 104: al-Laith b. Sa'd, Abu'l-Ḥârith, a *mawlâ* of the B. Qais: born 93 or 94, died 165. But probably the former is referred to in the *Isnâd*.

[8] Ibn Sa'd, v, 334: al-Muhâjir b. Qunfudh b. 'Umair b. Jud'ân b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taim b. Murra, who reported traditions from the Prophet.

[1] Isḥâq b. Muḥammad al-Musaiyibî: Yâqût, vii, 12_{14}; Muḥammad b. Isḥâq al-Musaiyibî: *Aghânî* (3rd ed.), 17_{15}.

[1a] Both this *Isnâd* and *matn* are found in the article on aḍ-Daḥḥâk b. Muzâḥim in Ibn Sa'd, vi, 210_{11} f. On al-Faḍl see *Fihr.*, 227_1 ff., 306_{25}, and vol. ii, 23_{31} ff., 99_{19} f. He is quoted very often in Ṭabarî, cf. Index s.v. Abû Nu'aim al-Fadl b. Dukyan. For Bashîr b Salmân cf. Ibn Sa'd, vi, 251_1 f.

[2] Ibn Sa'd, vii, 2, p. 71, the name only.

[3] Ismâ'îl b. Abî Khâlid, *mawlâ* Bajîla, cited very often in Ṭabarî, cf. Index. Ibn Sa'd, vii, 2, p. 240, died 146 in Kûfah.

[4] = 'Abd al-A'lâ' b. Mushir al-Ghassânî, Ibn Sa'd, vii, 2, p. 174, died 218.

[5] Ibn Sa'd, vii, 2, p. 171_{20} f. صدقة بن خالد السمين.

ذكر ذلك [1]عثمان بن ابى شيبة عن [2]اسحق بن منصور عن [3]محمد بن راشد عن [4]جعفر بن عمرو بن امية

(fol. $164b_{17}$ f. : Learned men and lawyers)

حكاه (scil. Muh. b. Hab.) عن ابى عبد الله القصّاب

(fol. $165b_{6}$: Early Islâm, list of crucified people)

In addition to these *Isnâds* reference is made to the following authorities :—

ابو العبّاس بن الواثق	fol. $18b_{16}$ f.	(History of the caliphs in the additions of as-Sukkarî).
المدائنىّ	fol. $21b_{4}$	(Early Islâm).
[5] محمد بن عمر المازنىّ	fol. $58b_{3}$	(Early Islâm).
[5a] العائشىّ	fol. $66b_{1}$	(Early Islâm).
[6] الحرامىّ	fol. $96b_{15, 16}$	(Early Islâm).
[7] الزيادىّ	fol. $138b_{10}$	(History of the World before Islâm).
[8] محمد بن بكّار	fol. $164a_{16}$	(Learned men and lawyers).
[9] القواريرىّ	fol. $165b_{3}$	(Early Islâm).

[1] Yâqût, i, 37_{14}, 224_{1} ; ii, 127_{11}.

[2] Yâqût, ii, 231_{12} ; Tabarî, i, 114 ; iii, 2508

[3] Ṭabarî, i, 2316, 3227 : السلمى.

[4] Ibn Sa'd, v, 183 . Died in the caliphate of al-Walîd b. 'Abd al-Melik, az-Zuhrî reported traditions from him.

[5] Cf. *Fihrist*, 47_{26} f. : ابو زيد المازنى روى عنه محمد بن حبيب.

[5a] Sam'ânî, $379b_{1}$ ff and $404a_{17}$ ff : 'Ubaid Allâh b Muh. (or 'Amr) b. Ḥafṣ . . . al-Qurashî, died 228.

[6] = Ibrâhîm b. al-Mundhir, *Aghânî* (3rd ed), i, 29_{10}.

[7] Yâqût, iii, 145_{6} ff = al-Ḥasan b 'Uthmân b. Ḥammâd b. Ḥassân b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmân b. Yazîd Abû Hassân az-Ziyâdî who is a pupil of al-Haitham b. 'Adî's, died 242 or 243. But see also Brockelmann, *GAL.*, Suppl. 168 : Abû Isḥâq Ibrâhîm b. Sufyân az-Ziyâdî, died 249.

[8] Ibn Sa'd, vii, 2, p. 87 . died in Baghdâd, anno 238.

[9] = 'Ubaid Allâh b. 'Umar, Ibn Sa'd, vii, 2, p. 89 ; died 235 in Baghdâd.

Sometimes بعضهم (fol. $4b_{17}$), قال بعض الناس (fol. $8a_{17}$), and قيل, يقال occur, the latter two often when a date or a name is doubtful and more than one version is given.[1]

Ibn Ḥabîb's carelessness in quoting his sources is somewhat astonishing at a time when his contemporaries are very careful to quote their authorities in full and to note every variant in their tradition minutely, giving the name of the scholar from whom the author had received it. Nevertheless, the fact that for both epochs, for the *Jâhilîya* as well as for the epoch of Islâm, Muḥammad b. Ḥabîb's book provides much new material is of no little importance. As Ibn Ḥabîb is a contemporary of Ibn Sa'd (died 230), and is older than Ibn Qutaiba (born 213, died 270, or 271, or 276), who is said to have used the *kitâb al-muḥabbar* for his *kitâb al-ma'ârif*,[2] Dînawarî (died 282), Ya'qûbî (whose historical work was composed *c.* 267), and, last not least, Ṭabarî (born 224 or 225, died 309), our most important source for the history of Islâm, the *kitâb al-muḥabbar*, is a valuable instrument for comparing, checking, and corroborating the material contained in the works of these authors.

[1] It is amazing that Abû 'Ubaida, who is said to have been his teacher (cf. above, p. 2), is not mentioned at all I have omitted references to such well-known scholars as al-Madâ'inî, Ibn al-A'râbî, etc. But some authorities I was unable to identify at all. The references given are in some cases not more than attempts at an identification ; I am rather doubtful about some of them.

[2] See Brockelmann, *GAL.*, Suppl., p. 166.

Some Sumerian Tablets of the Third Dynasty of Ur

By T. FISH

ABBREVIATIONS

BE. :	*Babylonian Expedition*, Series A, vol. iii, part 1.
Boson, TCS.	*Tavolette Cuneiformi Sumere*, Milan, 1936.
CBS. :	*Unpublished tablets in the University Museum*, Philadelphia.
Chiera, STA. :	*Selected Temple Accounts*, Philadelphia, 1922.
Contenau, HEU :	*Contribution à l'Histoire économique d'Umma*, Paris, 1915.
Contenau, UDU. :	*Umma sous la Dynastie d'Ur*, Paris, 1916.
Deimel, UT. :	"Ummatexte," *Orientalia*, 1924–7.
Fish, JR. :	*Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1932.
Genouillac, TEO. :	*Textes économiques d'Oumma*, Paris, 1922.
Genouillac, CP. :	"Collection de Pupil." *Babyloniaca* 8, 1, Paris, 1925.
Genouillac, Tr.D. :	*La Trouvaille de Drehem*, Paris, 1911.
Hackman, TDU. :	*Temple Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur from Umma*, Yale University Press, 1937.
Hussey, ST. II :	*Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum*, part ii, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1915.
ITT. :	*Inventaire des Tablettes de Telloh*, Paris, 1910, etc.
Jean, ŠA. :	*Šumer et Akkad*, Paris, 1923.
Jestin, TSS. :	*Tablettes Sumériennes de Šuruppak*, Paris, 1937.
Keiser, CB. :	*Cuneiform Bullae*, New York, 1914.
Keiser, STD :	*Selected Temple Documents*, New Haven, 1919.
Legrain, TRU.	*Les Temps des Rois d'Ur*, Paris, 1912.
Lutz, STR. :	*Sumerian Temple Records*, part i and part ii, California, 1928.
Schneider, DDT. :	*Die Drehem- und Djohatexte*, Rome, 1932.
Schneider, GDD. :	*Die Geschäftsurkunden aus Drehem und Djoha*, Rome, 1930.
Schneider, KDD. :	*Keilschrifttexte aus Drehem und Djoha*, Rome, 1925.
Thompson, Dict. :	*A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology*, Oxford, 1936.

THE tablets published here for the first time belong to the British Museum and to the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. I am indebted to Mr. Sidney Smith for permission to publish the British Museum tablets and to Dr. L. Legrain for permission to publish the tablet in the Pennsylvania University Museum.

The transliteration follows that of Deimel's *Šumerisch-Akkadisches Glossar*.

I. *en-nu-gá*

This term occurs in the following contexts :—

lú en-nu-gá. Lutz, STR., part i, No. 42.

šà-en-nu-gá. Hackman, TDU. 307, 6.

ki-en-nu-gá-ta gur-ra. Schneider, GDD. 108, 4.

en-nu-ta////. BE. Series A, III–i, 3.

en-nu-šè. ITT. v, 9753.

en-nun-ta è-a. British Museum 105545 (given below).

But it occurs particularly with *tìl-la*, thus .—

en-nu-gá tìl-la. Lutz, STR., part i, 10 ; BE. Series A, III–i, 40 ; Chiera, STA. 2, 11, 19 ; B.M. 103048 (given below).

en-nun-gá tìl-la. Boson TS. 23, I, 6 ; Fish, JR. 567.

en-nu-nun-gá tìl-la. Keiser, STD. 183, 4.

en-nun tìl-la. Keiser, STD. 192, Contenau, UDU. 44.

en-gá-nun tìl-la. Fish, JR. 556, R8.

en-nu-gá ì-tìl-lam. CBS. 8090 (given below).

The term *en-nu-gá*, i.e *en-nu-un-gá*, Semitic *maṣṣartu*, is translated "watch" and "depot" (e.g Legrain, TRU.). But the Sumerian word has also the Semitic equivalent *ṣibittu* which means the "keep" or "prison". And the following tablet suggests that the Sumerian term *en-nu-gá* had some such meaning, but not exclusively, in Ur-III.

CBS. 8090 [1]

Obverse: (m) Da-da-mu dam-qar, dumu Ad-da-kal-la lú-gi-bil.

Reverse: mu-kù-šu-na-ba-an-díb-ba-šè, en-nu-gá ì-tìl-lam.

Translation: Dadamu the agent, son of Addakalla the *lú gi-bil*, because of money taken in his hand (possession), is lodged in the "keep".

[1] According to the manuscript catalogue of the collection in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, in use when I copied the tablet some years ago, this tablet was "found at Abu Hatab". I know of no other Ur III tablet from this site

-gi-bil. On a Fara text (Jestin, TSŠ. 49, R4) written lú-gibil. On Ur III texts, very seldom, and in form *lú-gi-bil* (ITT. ii, 859; Deimel, UT. 12, 5).

Jestin translates "apprentice" (p. 34). But this is, perhaps, not suitable here. lú-gibil$_4$, *muṣṣalu,* enemy, is not suitable either.

-tìl-la. tìl, *ašâbu,* is distinguished from durun, *ašâbu,* in ITT. i, 1463, line 5: *NN. Ur-lum-ma-da, ì-da-tìl, Giš-maš-e-ne-ki-ka ì-durun-durun-ni-éš.* Elsewhere (ITT. i, 1363) *ib-durun-durun-ni-éš,* also of dwelling in a town. Perhaps *durun* stands for domicile, and *tìl* for mere temporary lodging in a house or institution such as the *en-nu-gá.* The cause which led to such lodging of the agent suggests involuntary residence and "lock-up".

A British Museum tablet, hitherto unpublished, would refer to the release of persons lodged there:—

B.M. 105545

(m) Ab-ba-gi-na dumu Lugal-en-nun
(m) A-kal-la dumu Dug$_4$-ga
(m) A-ta-ba-al-la
Ugula Ab-ba-gi-na
(m) Ur-lugal-bandá dumu Ki-lul-la
(m) Ur-e$_{11}$-e
(R.) dumu Ba-zi-gi
Ugula Lugal-é-maḫ-e
en-nun-ta è-a ("Went out from the 'keep'")
itu šu-numun-ta itu////////
mu en-nun-ki ba-ḫun.

The term of residence is sometimes stated. Thus: "from the month *še-kin-kud*" (Keiser, STD. 183); "from the month *še-kar-ra-gál-la* to the month *pap-ú-e* the 30th day" (ib. 192); "from the month *še-kin-kud* to the month *itu-ri*" (Fish, JR. 567); varying terms (Fish, JR. 556; Contenau, UDU. 44); "from the month *^{d}Lisi-gùn* 1st year of Gimil Sin

to the month *ᵈDumu-zi* 2nd year of Gimil Sin" (Lutz, STR., part i, No. 10).

But only on the Pennsylvania tablet given above is the reason for such temporary residence given.

II. Tablets recording Operations of the *Dam-qar*

In addition to the above, the following are of interest :—

B.M. 106064

Col. 1. I ma-na I gín 1/6 (gín) 2 še kù-ud, si-ni-íb, mu en-unu$_6$-gal ᵈInnini ba-ḫun
5 gú síg mu en-ᵈInnini ba-ḫun
kù-bi ½ ma-na 3 1/3 gín
7 gú-síg, kù-bi 2/3 ma-na 2 gín, ki-Pa-te-si-ka-ta
// 90 su$_{11}$-lum gur, kù-bi 1 ma-na, ki-Ur-ᵈŠul-pa-è-ta
///ma-na síg, kù-bi 1/6 (gín) 10 še, šám-àm KU-mul

šu-nigin 3 ma-na 16 2/3 gín 12 še kù-ud

Col. 2. sag-níg-ga-ra-kam
šà-bi-ta
2/3 (gur) 5 silá esir-é-a, kù-bi 1/6, níg-KU tu-ru-ḫu-um
2 gú im-laḫ-laḫ, kù-bi 1/6 (gín) 6 še,
2/5 (gur) tè-si-è, kù-bi 24 še, níg-KU tùn-lugal

1/30 (gur) 5 silá làl-sig$_5$, kù-bi 10 gín, dub Lú-kal-la
1/5 (gur) esir-é-a, kù-bi 1/3 gín 12 še, dub An-bu$_6$-zi
3/30 (gur) še kù-bi 20 še, šà-gal anše-bar-an, Ḫu-li-bar, dub Lú-gi-na
4 (?) silá KU-mul, kù-bi 3 2/3 gín 10 še, dub Lugal-gar-lagar-e
2 silá ià-giš, kù-bi 1/6 (gín), dub A-du
1/30 (gur) esir-é-a, kù-bi 12 še, dub A-gu

Col. 3. 1/5 4/30 (gur) tè kù-bi 15 še
10 ma-na im-laḫ-laḫ kù (*sic*) 1 še, dub Lú-ᵈEn-líl-lá

---

zig-ga bal-a
3/30 (gur) 3 2/3 silá ià-šaḫ, kù-bi 1 2/3 gín 3 še, dub Ni-kal-la
3 1/30 2 silá ià-šaḫ gur, kù-bi 2/3 ma-na 5½ gín 18 še, dub Ur-ᵈŠul-pa-è
1/5 2/30 (gur) giš ma-ud, kù-bi 2/3 gín 15 še
3/5 (gur) giš ḫašḫur-ud, kù-bi ½ gín 18 še
1/5 1/30 (gur) 2 silá geštin-ud, kù-bi 2 gín
2½ silá làl, kù-bi 1 gín ¼
4/30 gú-gal, kù-bi 1/3
3 gú 45 ma-na im-laḫ-laḫ, kù-bi 22½ še

---

níg-KU du_6-kù

Reverse
Col. 1. dub Lugal-gar-lagar-e

2/3 ma-na kù-ud, Lú-kal-la šu-ba-ti
1/3 ma-na kù, dub nu-ra-a, Lú-kal-la
šu-nigin 2 ma-na 7 1/3 gín 1½ še kù-ud,
zig-ga-àm
lal-ni 1 ma-na, 9 1/3 gín 10½ še kù-ud
níg-šid-ag Šes-kal-la dam-qar
itu pap-ú-e
mu Ša-aš-ru-ki ba-ḫul.

This tablet is of a type of which the following are the best examples so far published: Chiera, STA. 22 and 23; Jean, ŠA. LXXVI; Genouillac, TEO. 5680, 6037, 6046, 6052, 6056, 6162. These, like the British Museum tablet transliterated above, are Umma texts. They seem not to occur in so full a form in the collections from other sites. It happens that the first line of the British Museum tablet is identical with the

last lines of Genouillac, TEO. 6056, in quantity of money and in year of date. On Genouillac's text the amount of money is described as the *lal-ni*, i.e. the balance of the capital (*sag-níg-ga-ra*) after expenditure (*zig-ga*). On the British Museum tablet that same amount is described as the *si-ni-íb*, i.e. the "remainder" from the same year, Bur Sin 5. The agent (*dam-qar*) is the same in both texts: Šeškalla. Hence the B.M. tablet is the sequel to Gen., TEO. 6056 in the series of balanced accounts (*níg-šid-ag*) of the agent Šeškalla.

The number of tablets of the type of the British Museum tablet published here, is very small in comparison with the large numbers of tablets of other types published from Umma. The reason is, no doubt, that most tablets are day-to-day records of receipt and expenditure, whereas tablets of the type we are considering cover expenditure over a longer period, and concern a special class, the *dam-qar*.

The essential elements of such tablets are the following:—

1. Statement of amount of money and/or goods with their money equivalent, from various sources (as *si-ni-íb*, i.e. remainder from a previous year which is named, or as *dub*, i.e. account, of one or more persons, or as *ki-N-ta*, i.e. from one or more persons).

2. The total amount (*šu-nigin*) in a single denomination (always money except Jean, ŠA. LXXVI, where throughout only barley (*še*) is mentioned).

3. This total is described as "capital" (*sag̃-níg-ga-ra*).

4. The main body of the tablet is introduced by the term *šà-bi-ta*, i.e. "out of this" (capital sum), and consists of a list of goods with their equivalent in money (with which, no doubt, they were purchased) and the names of the persons accountable for the transaction (*dub-NN*).

5. The total (*šu-nigin*) of the several amounts of money expended (*zig-ga-àm*) is then stated. If the amount of money expended is greater than the capital sum given in the early part of the tablet, the excess (*dir*) is stated; if it is less (as in our tablet) the balance (*lal-ni*) is given; if neither more nor

less than the capital is expended no comparison is needed or made.

6. Finally the entire tablet is described as *níg-šid-ag*, except in Gen., TEO. 6046, where we have *sag-níg-ga*, i.e. capital.

We have :—

níg-šid-ag Šeš-kal-la dam-qar (B.M. 106064; Gen., TEO. 6056)
níg-šid-ag Ur-[d]Dumu-zid-da dam-qar (Chiera, STA. 22; TEO. 5680)
níg-šid-ag Pad-da dam-qar (Chiera, STA. 23)
níg-šid-ag Sag-kud-da dam-qar (Gen., TEO. 6162)
níg-šid-ag Inim-ma-ni-zi dam-qar (ib. 6052)
níg-šid-ag dam-qar-ne, Lú-kal-la (ib. 6037)
níg-šid-ag še, Lú-kal-la, ki-Urda-ta (Jean, ŠA. LXXVI)
sag-níg-ga-ra dam-qar-ne (Gen., TEO. 6046).

Hence the conclusion seems justified that tablets of this type are balanced accounts (*níg-šid-ag*) setting forth in the first part of the tablet the capital resources on hand and, in the rest of the tablet, the amounts drawn on the capital for various items of expenditure. The capital (cf. TEO. 6046) and the expenditure are assigned to the *dam-qar* or trader; probably not a private trader but one in the employ of the temple or temple-state.

One element of the scheme of the tablet deserves notice. In each column of the tablet there is one or more blank spaces which vary in depth from a space sufficient for four or five lines to spaces sufficient for two lines of writing. By this device the items recorded on the tablet are separated into groups. These groups are described by a phrase immediately following the blank space. Thus in Col. 1, *sag-níg-ga-ra*, capital, describes the items which have preceded it. Hence the other phrases *ẓig-ga bal-a*, *níg-KU du$_8$-kù* which immediately follow blanks in other columns refer not to what follows, but to what precedes.

There is no descriptive phrase after the blank space in column 2. The reason for this is that each item has already been described as *níg-KU* of something. Had each item been *níg-KU* of the same thing, the description would have followed the blank space, as in column 3 where the preceding items are all described as *níg-KU du$_6$-kù*. In Rev. 1, first part, there is no need of a descriptive phrase after the blank because the items have already been described as " receipts " of Lukalla, but in one instance the tablet was not sealed (*dub nu-ra-a*).

Two of the descriptive phrases are difficult :—

(i) *zig-ga bal-a*, " expenditure *bal-a*." As already noted, the phrase describes what has preceded, i.e. a list of items all set out in exactly the same form : commodity, its money value, *dub* (tablet, sealed) of N (thus referring to the written source whence the summary statement has been taken). Because none of these items is, in the tablet, associated with cult or cult-objects, it would seem that the equation *BAL* = *naqû* is unlikely here. *Bal* = *enû*, with the possible meaning " to exchange ", would suit very well, and would indicate that the items recorded on the lines following the last blank space are mere exchanges of the several commodities for money.

(ii) *níg-KU*. Probably *níg-díb* ; cf. KU-ba in lú-kur$_6$-KU-ba-me (*Orientalia* 34, pp. 33, 34, where pre-Sargonic Lagash instances of *KU-ba* are cited). In Ur III we have *dumu KU-ba-me*, ITT. iii, 6128, R1 ; v, 9563 ; *lú níg-KU-ba-gé-ne* (Contenau, HEU. 14, 4 ; Fish, JR. 764 ; Genouillac, TP. 34, 8). *díb* = *kânu* ; hence *níg-díb* a thing appointed, " ear-marked ", so to speak, for the objects mentioned.

The contexts of *níg-KU* on Ur III Umma texts are given in Schneider, *Das Drehem und Djohaarchiv*, 2 Heft, 1 Teil, p. 68 f. For Ur III Lagash, cf. e.g. Hussey, ST. II, no. 3 (*níg-KU lú-girím ᵈŠul-gi-ra girím gin, níg-KU zag-mu-ka*) and no. 52 (*níg-KU é-girím/girím šu-numun/girím ezen-ᵈŠul-gi/girím še-kin-kud*).

In our text we have (i) *níg-KU tu-ru-ḫu-um*, otherwise

unknown to me; (ii) *níg-KU tùn-lugal*, only here; *tùn*,= *pâšu*, axe ? or some part of royal paraphernalia; (iii) *níg-KU* du_6*-kù*, the famous shrine, occurs also Gen., TEO. 5680, iv, 26; Chiera, STA. 22, ii, 11. Boson, TCS. 361, r. 2: *níg-KU* du_6*-kù ba-an-si-si*; Fish, JR. 741, 2: *gi-kaskal, níg-KU* du_6*-kù-ga*; and on an unpublished tablet in the British Museum, 105442, where date palm, white wine, honey, gypsum are *níg-KU* du_6*-kù-ga, ki-Ur-*^{d}*Dumu-zi-da-ta, Ur-*^{d}*Šul-pa-è šu-ba-ti*; this Dumuzida is probably the person who is described as a *dam-qar* often on Umma texts and on B.M. 105345 (unpublished).

An unpublished B.M. text, 111786, mentions butter, date palm, and *giš gipar* as *níg-KU ezen-*^{d}*Šul-gi-Ki-an-ki*, from Ur-^{d}Šul-pa-è, account of (dub) Da-a-ti. Šu Sin year I.

Du_6*-kù* in Enlil (ki) (Genouillac Tr.D. 3, R6; Schneider, KDD. 4, 3). du_6*-kù* ^{d}*En-lil* (Keiser, CB. 45, 19). But not, I think, at all on Nippur texts so far, except as month name.

The stuffs mentioned in the tablet are: *síg* wool, su_{11}*-lum* dates, *im-laḫ-laḫ* gypsum (also from *dam-qar*, Schneider, GDD. 253, 2); *tè-si-è* salicornia, *làl* honey, *esir-é-a* bitumen, *še* barley, *ià-giš* oil of sesame, *ià-šaḫ* swine fat, *giš-ma-ud* and *giš-ḫašḫur-ud* species of date palm (cf. Deimel, *Orientalia*, 16, p. 55), *geštin-ud* white wine *or* "dry grapes" (cf. R. Campbell Thompson, *Iraq*, 1938, p. 27), *gú-gal* a variety of bean, and *KU-mul*. All these occur on the parallel texts of this type cited above and elsewhere on Umma tablets.

It is unfortunate that tablets of Ur III which mention these things do not tell us much of the uses to which they were put. But the following contexts are of interest. We need not consider the common things, barley and wool, whose use for food and clothing and as wages are well known.

im-laḫ-laḫ, gypsum; cf. Thompson, Dict., p. 148 f.; there are few references on Ur III tablets. The most interesting I know is JR. 561, 45 *silá esir-a*, 10 *silá im-laḫ-laḫ al-gaz-gá*, 2 ^{giš}*ig ḫar-ra, ba-ab-su-ub*, i.e. bitumen of the moister sort (cf. Thompson, loc. cit., p. 42) and crushed

(*GAZ* = *emêsu*) gypsum, on the framework of two doors, were smeared (*SU-UB* = *maššâšu*).

esir-é-a, the moister bitumen, used in building; cf. the interesting tablet Schneider, GDD. 202 which records quantities of *esir-é-a*, *esir-gul-gul*, *ià-giš*, and *ià-šaḫ*, followed by the phrase *é-dir dù-a* " when the *é-dir* was built ".

tè-si-è, alkali (Thompson, loc. cit., p. 15). *tè* occurs frequently on Umma " Botenlohnurkunden " with other commodities, mostly food and drink, useful on a journey. It would be useful as a soap for washing eyes or mouth (cf. Thompson, loc. cit., p. 15). An Umma tablet, Schneider, DDT. 155, gives an " audited " inventory made by Daturra the overseer of the *lú-túg*, usually translated " clothier ". The things mentioned in the list are garments of various kinds and *tè* and *im-laḫ*. The, as it seems, association of lye and gypsum with garments suggests, I think, that they are part of the stock of the clothier, and were, probably, used for washing the clothes, so that the *lú-túg* was, amongst other things, a sort of laundryman.

The other commodities mentioned on the text, dates, fats, honey, and wine, are sometimes associated with cults, chiefly on Lagash tablets of Ur III. And they are so associated on our tablet. For *KU-mul* cf. Deimel, Š.Lex. 566, 151, and e.g. Gen., TEO. 5680, vi; 6037, ii; 6162, i, for additional references. It would seem to be a foodstuff. *GÚ-GAL* = *ḫalluru* a species of lathyrus, cf. Thompson, loc. cit., p. xliii, note 1.

B.M. 113129

9 1/5 4/30 esir-é-a gur
110 gú esir-ud
kù-ta šám-a
ki-dam-qar-ta
mar-sa-aš
dub-Lugal-e-ba-an-šag$_5$
mu en- ^{d}Nannar kar-a-zi-da ba-ḫun

I.e. bitumen and pitch bought with money from the agent, for the *mar-sa*. *MAR-SA*, undoubtedly a name for a special class of workers (cf. *lú mar-sa*, ITT. v, 9531, 9664; *šà-mar-sa-me*, Keiser, STD. 264; Deimel, UT. 69; *mar-sa-ta*, ITT. iii, 4871, 6126, 6554; *mar-sa-šè*, ib. v, 9572). Note that, as in the B.M. tablet above, ITT. iii, 5094, and ib., v, 9572, mention *mar-sa* in connection with bituminous substances. But these and other contexts do not give any clue to the precise function of the class.

B.M. 105412

3½ gín kù-ud
šám-àm Nin-ù-šim-e dumu-sal Al-lu
ki-Lugal-sig$_5$-dam-qar-ta
mu-du
Gu-du-du
(R) šu-ba-ti
itu sig$_4$ giš-ù-šub-ba gar-ra
mu-uš-sa ^{d}I-bí-^{d}Sin lugal

Translation: 3½ shekels of silver, the purchase price of Ninušime the daughter of Allu, from Lugalsig the agent, brought. Gududu received it. 1st year of Ibbi Sin.

394.

The Structure of the Arabian and Persian Lute in the Middle Ages

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

THE most popular instrument of music with both the Arabs and the Persians during what we term the Middle Ages was the lute. It was to them what the lyre and cithara were to the Greeks of old. At the same time it was not an instrument of the people. It was *the* instrument of the professional musician and all music theory was made conformable to its technique.

So highly was the lute esteemed that one writer composed a book about it entitled the *Kitāb al-'uqūd wa'l-su'ūd fī awṣāf al-'ūd* ("The Book of the Unanimities and Felicities in the Praises of the Lute"). Its author was the famous mathematician Ibn Yūnus (d. 1009). Some specimens of these and similar eulogies may be found in the *Nihāyat al-arab* of Al-Nuwairī (d. 1332)[1] and the *Safīnat al-mulk* of Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl (d. 1857).[2]

Yet whilst so much has been written about this "Queen of Instruments", and we know almost every technical musical detail, i.e. the number and position of its strings as well as the number and precise location of its frets, we know very little of the actual construction of the lute, although this information is to be found in several Arabic and Persian writers from the ninth to the fifteenth century. In view of this it is my intention to give extracts from these authors.

To European musicographers these specifications have some value, firstly because it was from the Arabs that Europe borrowed the lute (Arabic *al-'ūd*), and secondly because we have no information concerning the structure of the European lute during the Middle Ages, the earliest being contained in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Latin, 7295), which dates from the opening of the fifteenth century.

[1] Cairo, 1923, vol. v, p. 114 seq. [2] Cairo, 1891–2, p. 467 seq.

§ 1

First of all it must be remembered that the instrument was called *al-'ūd* because it was made of wood (*'ūd*), the name having been adopted when the wooden-bellied lute superceded the skin-bellied lute of the *rubāb* type.[1] It is true that other explanations are given for the origin of this name by both Arabic writers and Orientalists but, in most cases, without any logical grounds. The most recent of these explanations has been given by the late Baron Rodolphe D'Erlanger who, with Sīdī Muḥammad al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī, gave us that excellent translation of Al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* (*La musique arabe*, i, Paris, 1930 ; ii, Paris, 1935). In this work Baron D'Erlanger stated that the great Arabic lexicographers Al-Jauharī and Al-Fīrūzābādī gave another sense of the word *'ūd* as meaning a " tortoise ", and from this he argues that the word is merely a translation of the Greek χέλυς. In point of fact neither the *Siḥāh* of Al-Jauharī nor the *Qāmūs* of Al-Fīrūzābādī contain any such statement !

§ 2

The earliest account, meagre as it is, of the structure of the lute, concerns the instrument used at the court of Khalif Hārūn (d. 809) by the famous minstrel Ziryāb. The instrument constructed by the latter, although the same size as the lute generally used, was one-third lighter. Ziryāb appears to have been the first to use silk strings for his lute, and these were not spun in hot water as was the custom. The gut strings used by him were made from the gut of a young lion. According to him, this gut gave a much purer tone (*tarannum*) and it was not affected by changes of temperature. Further, it stood the strain of the plectrum (*midrāb*) much longer. Incidentally it was Ziryāb who introduced a plectrum of eagle's talon instead of that of wood which had formerly been used.

[1] See my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, pp. 91–9, and the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iv, 985 seq.

Ziryāb is also credited with having introduced a fifth string on the lute. Hitherto there had only been four strings, viz. the *zīr* (or highest string) which was yellow, the *mathnā* (or second string) which was red, the *mathlath* (or third string) which was white, and the *bamm* (or lowest string) which was black.[1] The new fifth string was placed by Ziryāb between the *mathlath* and *mathnā* strings, a different proceeding from that which obtained in the East.

It is not until the time of Al-Kindī (d. *ca.* 874) that we get precise specifications. He was one of the first writers on the theory of music in Arabic and we possess fragments of four of his treatises on the subject.[2] Three of these are in the Staatsbibliothek at Berlin, whilst another is in the British Museum. It is from one of the former manuscripts that I quote the following extract on the structure of the lute. Unfortunately, the fragment begins in the middle of the author's account of the dimensions of the instrument, but we are still able to get a fair picture of the size of the lute of his day.[3]

Seemingly the depth of the lute was half of the breadth at the widest part. At this widest part was the beating-place of the strings (*maḍrib al-awtār*). This was usually a strip of tortoise-shell affixed to the belly so as to prevent the plectrum (*miḍrāb*) from damaging the slender wood of which the belly was made. It was fixed at a distance of 6·75 cm. (= 3 *aṣābī*) [4] from the bridge-tailpiece (*musht*), because greater resonance in the instrument was found at this widest part. As the depth of beating place was a tenth of the length of

[1] Al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ii, 84, 86. Idem, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, . . . translated . . . by Pascual de Gayangos, i, 411; ii, 119.

[2] See my article "Some Musical MSS. Identified", *JRAS.*, 1926, p. 91.

[3] Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, 5530.

[4] Scale of measurements :—*iṣba'* (Arab.), *angusht* (Pers.) = 2·25 cm. : *iṣba' maḍmūm* (Arab.), *angusht munḍam* (Pers.) = 4·5 cm. : *shibr* (Arab.) = 27 cm.

the strings, the measurement from the nut (*anf*) to the bridge-tailpiece (*musht*) must have been 75·25 cm. Then follows a passage on the thickness of the wood [1] :—

"It is necessary that its [the lute's] sound-chest (*jism*) should be as thin as possible, and that this should be general, so that there is not in the back (*ẓahr*) any place thinner nor thicker than any other place. And likewise in its belly (*baṭn*), because a difference in the thinness or thickness of its parts would interfere with the evenness (*istawā*) of the [sound of the] strings and the concord (*ittifāq*) of the notes."

The material from which the strings are made and their thickness are then described :—

"And as for the strings, they are four.[2] The first of them is the *bamm* [or lowest string]. And it is of thin gut made up of four strands (*ṭabaqāt*) firmly twisted together. It is of equal gauge throughout, there being not a finer nor thicker gauge in one place than another. After this is the *mathlath* [or third string], and it is similar to the *bamm* [string] except that it is made up of three strands. After this is the *mathnā* [or second string], and it is not so thick as the *mathlath* [string] as it is made up of only two strands. It is, however, of silk, but is of the same gauge as if it were made up of two strands of gut. After this is the *zīr* [or highest string], and it is less than the *mathnā* by one strand. . . . And it is of silk and of the same gauge as if it were made up of one strand of gut.

"So the *bamm* [string] is made up of four strands because it is the foundation of the principal notes, which are the bass notes (*al-nagham al-kibār*), which issue from the widest part of the larynx. . . .

"And there are two reasons why the *mathnā* and *zīr* [strings]

[1] According to the *Ḥalbat al-kumait* it was from the wood of the pistachio tree that it was made.

[2] Five strings were certainly known during the first half of the ninth century. See the *Kitāb al-aghānī*, v, 53. Al-Maqqarī, *Analectes*, ii, 86–7. In another treatise by Al-Kindī, British Museum Manuscript, *Or.* 2361, fol. 236v., five strings are mentioned.

are made of silk, unlike the *bamm* and *mathlath* [strings, which are made of gut]. The first reason is that silk, when stretched taut, is finer in tone than gut. The second reason is that these strings require a tautness, on account of their high pitch, which one or two strands of gut are not capable of sustaining."

§ 3

A little more information is to be gleaned from the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century) whose *rasā'il* have so often been printed. Here is what the author of the *risālat al-mūsīqī* has to say [1] :—

"It has been said, 'Seek help in every art from its own people.' So we say that the people of this art [of music] have said that we ought to make the instrument which is called the lute (*al-'ūd*) of wood (*khashab*), its length and its width and its depth being in the most excellent proportions. These are that its length should be half as much again as its width, and its depth should be the half of it [i.e. half of the width]. And the neck (*'unq*) should be a quarter of the length. And its boards (*alwāḥ*) [2] should be thin and made from light wood. And its belly (*wajh*, lit. 'face') especially should be of thin, hard, and light wood, such as will resound when [the instrument is] played.

"Then come the four strings, each one being thicker than the other, in the most excellent proportions. And this is that the thickness of the *bamm* [string] is one-third thicker than the *mathlath* [string], and the thickness of the *mathlath* [string] is one-third thicker than the *mathnā* [string], and the *mathnā* [string] is one-third thicker than the *zīr* [string]. And . . . the *bamm* [string] will be made up of sixty-four threads (*ṭāqāt*) of silk, and the *mathlath* [string] of forty-eight threads, and the *mathnā* [string] of thirty-six threads, and the *zīr* [string] of twenty-seven threads."

[1] Bombay edition, i, 98.

[2] This refers to the slender strips of wood, graduated at the extremities, out of which the beautiful arched back of the lute was made.

According to this writer all the strings were made of silk, whereas Al-Kindī recommends silk for the two higher strings only.

§ 4

Perhaps the most interesting of these writers on the construction of the lute is a certain Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, commonly known as Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān al-Mūsīqī (fourteenth century), whose *Ḥāwī al-funūn wa salwat al-maḥzūn* exists in a solitary exemplar in the Dār al-Kutub at Cairo.[1] Here, in substance, is what Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān has to say about the construction of the lute :—

"Take seasoned larch wood (*sharbīn*) which is without flaws, and cut very thin for the belly of the lute. It should be of two or three pieces rather than of one piece. The back should be of thinner wood than the belly, but it should be cut in narrow strips, equally measured, which are placed side by side. The best lutes are made of eleven strips, although thirteen strips are sometimes used, so that the back may be nicely vaulted. The paper [fastened inside] which holds the strips together, should be of the best *manṣūrī*. . . .

"The neck should be made slender, so that the hand may close around it when it is held. A strong peg-box (*banjaka*)[2] must also be made, and likewise the pegs (*malāwī*). Attention must also be paid to the bridge-tailpiece and nut (*anf*), as they are both important.

"As for the belly (= *ṣafḥ*, flat surface), and its ornamentation (*naqsh*), this latter should be neatly done and securely fixed, otherwise a buzzing sound will result when you play down [the fingerboard] with the fourth finger (*khinṣir*). It is advisable that this ornamentation should not be high. Rather let it be flat.

"As for the bridge-tailpiece, it should not be weighted by anything, and should not be made of ivory, ebony, gold,

[1] Press mark, *funūn jamīla*, 539.

[2] Called the *banjāk* in Villoteau, *Description de l'Égypte*, 1st edition, i, 850.

or any precious thing, because it makes the sound of the lute dull. The decoration of the lute is made with aloes wood, sandal wood, or camphor tree wood, but all this is simply for show.

"The dimensions of the lute should be as follows :—

"Its length should be 180 cm. (= 40 *aṣābi' maḍmūma*). Its width should be 72 cm. (= 16 *aṣābi' maḍmūma*). Its depth should be 27 cm. (= 12 *aṣābi'*). The bridge-tailpiece should be placed at about 4½ cm. (= 2 *aṣābi'* odd) [from the bottom]. The neck should be 29·25 cm. (= 1 *shibr* + 1 *'aqd*) in length. The peg-box should be 29·25 cm. in length. The number of the pegs should be eight unless there is a *zīr ḥādd* string when there will be ten strings, but this is not known in our times.[1] . . .

"The best lutes are those which are uncarved and undecorated, and are made from one kind of wood. If it is desirable that it should be decorated with ebony, this should be as light and thin as possible, and sparsely used.

"Extreme heat and cold spoil a lute. So does the sea air, body perspiration, the fire, the sun . . . and wrapping it up. . . . Cracking and bumping spoil it as do boils on the wood."

This lute, as described by Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān, is of considerable dimensions. It is a real archlute such as we sometimes see delineated in Arabic and Persian manuscripts.

§ 5

In a contemporary Persian work, the *Kanz al-tuḥaf*,[2] we also have a description of the structure of the lute, although what is more interesting is an account of the manufacture

[1] Here we see that each of the four (or five) strings was doubled, i.e. two strings were tuned to the same note, as they are to-day.

[2] Its date is fixed by a chronogram which is either 1346, 1355, or 1362. Manuscripts are to be found in several libraries. In the present case it is the British Museum copy, *Or.* 2361, fol. 261v, which has been used.

of silk and gut strings. Of the construction of the lute the author says :—

"The wise are agreed that wood of medium weight is requisite in the making of a lute. The wood must be well matured and not green. The best wood for this purpose is *shāh* wood which comes from Darya-bār, although sometimes the wood of Sardis is found good.

"As for the dimensions of the lute the length should be 162 cm. (= 36 *angusht mundam*), the width 33·75 cm. (= 15 *angusht*), and the depth 16·875 cm. (= 7½ *angusht*). The measurement of the bridge-tailpiece should be 13·5 cm. (= 6 *angusht*).

"Another authority says that the length of the lute should be one and a half times as much as its width, and the depth should be one-half of its width.

"The length of the neck should be a quarter of the length of the lute, and a fingerboard (*lahw* = board) should be placed on the face of the neck.

"Strings are made of either silk or of gut. With silk strings, they should be white, smooth, of equal gauge and well finished. These are boiled in water and ashes, and are then washed two or three times in pure water and dried in the shade.

"The strings are then twisted into the following gauges. The *bam* string is made of 64 threads, the *mathlath* of 48, the *mathnā* of 32, the *zīr* string of 24, and the *ḥād* string of 16.

"A paste of moderate consistency is then made of gum and a little essence of saffron. This is rubbed on the strings with a piece of linen until it has penetrated into all the parts, when the string is dried.

"As for gut strings, the gut from sheep is better than gut from goats. Some say that white sheep gut is better than black gut, but this is an exaggeration. . . .

"If the gut be fine the *bam* string is made of three-ply, but, if coarse, of two-ply. Some make the *mathlath* string similarly, but really it should be less than the *bam* string by

one ply. The strings are stained with saffron or whitewash, this being rubbed into the strings until they are dry."

From the dimensions stated this instrument must also have been a chitarrone or archlute.

Another type of lute was the *rubāb*. It was a double-chested instrument still quite common in the Middle East. In the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* we are told how the tone of this instrument was improved as follows :—

"Some people powder glass and mix it with glue, which is then poured on the sound-chest in order that the tone of the instrument may be increased."

In the year 1837 a harp-maker of London, named J. F. Grosjean, took out a patent for improving the quality in the tone of stringed instruments. His "improvement" was precisely what we have already seen in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf*. Here is what the London harp-maker says in the *précis* of his "patent".[1]

"My improvement consists in applying vitrified or crystallized matters to sounding-boards . . . whereby I am enabled to obtain greater fullness and richness of tone. . . . Powdered glass ground very fine is sifted evenly over the sounding-board, which has previously been warmed and coated with cement."

§ 6

Finally, I give an extract from a work entitled the *Kitāb kashf al-humūm* (fifteenth century), the solitary exemplar of which is preserved in the Ṭōp Qapū Sarāy Library at Stamboul.[2]

"The name *'ūd* (lute) is derived from *al-'awda* ("the return"), meaning that the days of pleasure may return

[1] *Abridgments of Specifications relating to Music and Musical Instruments*, A.D. 1694–1866. London, 1871, p. 125.

[2] There is a photostatic reproduction of it at the Egyptian National Library at Cairo (*Funūn jamīla*, 1), and the present writer possesses a manuscript copy of the Stamboul exemplar.

[in the joy of the music of the lute]. And the small lute with six strings is called the *shashta*, and it is the *ṭarabrab*.[1] . . .

"Al-Khwārizmī[2] asked Abū'l-Ghāliyya ibn Sāmān [or Sulaimān] about the lute. He said, on the authority of Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Karīm al-Nīsābūrī, that there were four essentials to the lute, viz. wood as thin as possible, a tone as sweet as possible, strings as fine as possible, and form and contour as perfect as possible. . . .

"It is agreed that the lighter the wood the better the tone. The ancients used four kinds of wood, which is the best method, viz. beech (*zān*), elm (*dardār*), walnut (*sāz*),[3] and vine (*mais*), all of which have qualities which do not exist in other woods.

"Beech gives a ringing tone and is polishable; elm gives a fineness and is soft; walnut lasts for ever, is safe from the moth-worm (*sūs*), and has a sweet smell. Any other wood used along with it is likewise safe from attack by the moth-worm. Vine . . . has a quality only to be found in the treasury of kings. If these four woods are unobtainable, others may be used but they are not so good.

"The first man who made the ten-stringed lute was Al-Fārābī[4] and the reason is this. A man died in the city in which he was living, and as he was one of the leading men . . . Al-Fārābī went to the funeral. . . . Whilst in the cemetery he passed a tomb which was uncovered where he saw a corpse . . . showing the legs and the veins. He counted the veins in the legs and found ten. It was this which prompted him to make a lute with ten strings."

Yet the author says that the best lutes had twelve strings.

[1] *Ṭarabrab* or *ṭarab rabb*, like *shashtā*, is a Persian word, and means "Possessor of Joy". There are other Persian instruments of music with similar names, e.g. the *ṭarab zūr* and *ṭarab al-futuh*, both of which are described by Ibn Ghaibī. See *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, IV, 987. *Cf.* *ṭarabrūb* in *ZDMG.*, xx, 492.

[2] His full name is Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ayūb al-Khwārizmī.

[3] *sāz* = *shīz* = *sāsam* (walnut).

[4] This is not the great Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Tarkhān al-Fārābī, but a certain Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Fārābī.

This was due to another irrational belief about the veins in the human body.

"The body of man is divided into three hundred and sixty veins . . . and so the best lutes are furnished with twelve strings, each string having thirty threads. Since 12 × 30 = 360, the strings are in complete sympathy with the physical constitution of man, . . . and if a man holds the lute, and plays it with his hand, the [three hundred and sixty] veins in his body are touched and are in sympathy with the notes of the lute." [1]

Many of the early Arabic and Persian writers delight in these and similar conceits. The most commonly accepted idea was that the wood of the lute was resonant because it had absorbed the music of birds which had sat on the branches of the tree from which the wood was cut. Another writer insists on the close affinity between the silk of the strings and the wood of the sound-chest of the lute because silkworms feed on the leaves of trees. Perhaps the most extravagant of these stories is the one told by Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) that if a lute were strung with a string of sheep gut and a string of wolf gut, no harmony would result because of the natural antagonism between the sheep and the wolf!

[1] These extracts occur on pp. 111, 115, 126, 127, 131. The MS. is paginated not foliated.

Some Additions to Professor Jeffery's *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an*

By Professor D. S. MARGOLIOUTH

IN the 38th section of his *Itqān* the polygraph Suyūṭī furnishes a summary of a monograph called *al-Muhadhdhab fī mā waqa'a fi'l-Qur'ān min al-mu'arrab*, in which he dealt with the question whether the Qur'an contained any foreign words, and if so, to what language they belonged. The orthodox felt some difficulty about admitting the existence of such an element in the language of the Sacred Book, which claims to be in perspicuous Arabic; it was, however, difficult to maintain that the proper names which occur in the volume were all of Arabic origin, and certain other words have an obviously foreign appearance. Suyūṭī himself compromises by admitting in such cases the foreign etymology, but maintaining that the words had received Arabic naturalization.

Professor Jeffery's work, forming volume lxxix of the Gaekwar of Baroda's Oriental Series, and dated 1938, is practically an exhaustive treatment of the subject, based on extraordinarily wide linguistic knowledge and no less wide acquaintance with what has been previously written about the words in question. The soundness of his judgment is throughout conspicuous. A good many puzzles indeed remain, e.g. the connection of the word *Ḥanīf* with natural religion and in particular with Abraham. We are scarcely better off in the case of *Nazoraios* in the New Testament.

I propose to suggest a few additions to Professor Jeffery's list.

1. In Surah xxxiv, 13 the Jinn learn that Solomon is dead because of a termite gnawing his منساة; in consequence of which Solomon collapsed. This word has occasioned difficulty: certainly the Prophet's uncle and protector is

quoted for the word, and indeed according to Lisān al-'Arab by the grammarian al-Farrā, though whence he got the line is not clear; it is not to be found in the odes ascribed to Abū Ṭālib in the *Sīrah*, which are certainly spurious. According to an authority quoted by Tāj al-'Arūs al-Farrā even suggested an emendation, من ساته, supposing that ساة here stood for سية, the curved end of a bow. To this there was the objection that Solomon was unlikely to be leaning on a bow. The verb whence منساة is said to be derived is given the sense "to drive" cattle, but whether a stick used for this purpose would suit the luxurious Solomon may be doubted.

I do not remember to have seen it suggested, though I think it must have been, that the Arabic word is a transformation of the Hebrew משענת to which Mandelkern assigns the meanings *fulcrum, scipio, baculus, sceptrum*. The verb whence it is derived means "to lean"; and doubtless the sense required in the Qur'anic verse is "sceptre". Solomon's connection with the Jinn goes back to the difficult words in Ecclesiastes ii, 8, where the author among his acquisitions enumerates שדה ושדות. By the time of Josephus his relations with the demons had assumed serious proportions. The *Aggadah* does not appear to have preserved anything analogous to the Qur'anic narrative; the Hebrew word for "sceptre", meaning something to lean upon, is likely to have been used in it.

2. In Surah ii, 261, there is a story of a man who was put to death by Allah for a hundred years, after which he was resuscitated. Asked how long he had remained (unconscious), he replied: a day or part of one. No, he was told, a hundred years; so look at your food and drink لم يتسنه. The note of Ṭabarī (Comm. iii, 24) on this passage is unusually interesting, since it records how one Hāni', client of the Caliph 'Uthmān, with *nisbah* al-Barbarī, acted as intermediary between the Caliph and the editor of the Qur'an, Zaid b.

Thābit: he was sent by the latter to ask which was right لم يتسنن or لم يتسنه and the Caliph chose the latter. Ṭabarī records variations as to the person consulted. He also mentions a third reading لم يتسن. It seems to be agreed that the sense of the word is *changed*, i.e. neither food nor drink has gone bad; this gloss is traced to Wahb b. Munabbih, and scarcely differs from the rendering *does not stink*, which derives the form from the group اسن or سن. The sense *changed* is obtained indirectly from the word سنة "year", on the assumption that a verb *to year* might mean *to be affected by the passing of the years.*

I would suggest that we have here a Hebraism, the word being referable to the Hebrew שנה "to be changed", Piel שִׁנָּה "to change" (transitively), both of which have a tendency to imply a change for the worse. Since the person who underwent this experience might have found the corruption of his food and drink a more convincing proof that he had been dead a hundred years than their preservation, this detail occasions some surprise. It would, however, seem clear that their preservation is meant.

3. Where Arabic words are practically identical with such as are found in other Semitic languages of which we possess earlier monuments, it is at times difficult to decide whether they are *ursemitisch* or borrowed: even *Lautverschiebung*, where it occurs, is not always a safe guide. It is a great merit of the Qur'an that it taught the Arabs their language, and where there is reason for thinking that the sense of a word was inferred from its usage in that book, there is a probability in favour of its having been introduced into the language therein.

The word which suggests this consideration is نتقنا in Surah vii, 170, واذ نتقنا الجبل فوقهم كانه ظلة *and when We . . . the mountain over them as though it were an umbrella.* In parallel passages recording how a mountain was raised over the heads of the Israelites (ii, 60 and 87; iv, 153) the verb

corresponding with that which has been left untranslated is رفعنا *We raised.* What then is the exact sense of نتقنا ? If Ibn al-Athīr in his *Nihāyah* is right, the word was extraordinarily appropriate to the operation described: it means, he says, ان تقلع الشئ فترفعه من مكانه لترمى به *your uprooting a thing and raising it from its place in order to fling it.* Since the Israelites (as the Surah proceeds to assert) were afraid the mountain would fall upon them, the verb which contains the three ideas of uprooting, raising, and flinging suits the situation exactly. Only it seems more probable that the sense was inferred from the Qur'anic passage than that the language had a verb involving all three notions. Hence it is permissible to suggest that the Arabic verb is borrowed from the Hebrew and Aramaic נתק. Mountains according to Job xxviii, 9, have "roots"; and this verb is applied to the pulling up of roots in Ezekiel xvii, 9. For its employment in the later literature Levy gives it the sense *losreissen, ausreissen.*

Ibn Duraid in his *Jamharah* (ed. Krenkow, ii, 26) gives as the meaning of the Arabic verb نفض "to shake out", as when you shake out the contents of a vessel; he quotes for it a verse of the Rajaz writer 'Ajjāj (found, but corrupt, in Ahlwardt's edition xxiii, 3), where it is used of a camel shaking vermin out of the rider's cloak. It would seem then that Ṭabarī's rendering اقتلع "uproot" goes back to some one who was acquainted with the Hebrew and Aramaic sense of the group.

4. A similar doubt, as to whether the word is *ursemitisch* or borrowed, occurs in the case of حسبان, which is identical with the Hebrew חשבן, Aramaic חושבן. This word occurs vi, 96, in the Heb. Aram. sense "reckoning": *He made . . . the sun and the moon* حسبانا, meaning doubtless a means of reckoning dates. In lv, 4, الشمس والقمر بحسبان seems similar, though the word looks like a misreading of يسبحان *they twain give praise*, since what follows

is *the star and the trees prostrate themselves.* But in a third place the rendering "reckoning" seems inappropriate. This is xviii, 38, where the speaker says: *Peradventure my Lord will give me something better than thy garden, and send thereon a* ḥusbān *from heaven, and it shall become slippery soil.* Ṭabarī cites authorities who gave it the sense *punishment*, which indeed might be a synonym of "reckoning", but what is wanted is something more material, having the effect of doing away with all the vegetation. Hence numerous guesses were offered for the interpretation: Ibn Kathīr thinks violent rain must be meant; other suggestions are lightning, fire, hail. Now the word in its Syriac form has some material sense, of which Payne Smith cites two examples from a pre-Islamic writer, John of Ephesus: only in both cases it is some personal possession, apparently an article of wearing apparel, as in the first example it is one of the things *on* a person who is stripped by robbers; in the second it comes between books and vessels. Payne Smith, who translated the Syriac text, gave the word the sense "pillow", which is one of the meanings given the Arabic word: and that in this sense it is an Arabic borrowing from Syriac may be assumed. There would be little difficulty about supposing a cushion to be sent down from heaven, only the result stated in the verse, the levelling of the ground, would be surprising. If the word in this sense is really derived from ܚܫܒ, and not altered from some foreign word, it may be suggested that it is specialization of the Hebrew or Syriac in the sense of *a device*, a usage found twice in the O.T., once indeed in the sense of *engine* (2 Chron. xxvi, 15), such as is used in war. I should be inclined to render the word in the text of the Qur'an by *device*, meaning some means whereby the levelling of the soil would be effected, the speaker not specifying further.

5, 6. The following two words are dealt with by Professor Jeffery, but I venture to disagree with his conclusions. In Surah lxxxiii, 18, *the book of the virtuous* is said to be in

عليين, which is then glossed as *written book*. In verse 7 *the book of the evildoers* is said to be in سجين to which the same gloss *written book* is attached. These glosses are dismissed as worthless by Ṭabarī and his successors. For عليون Professor Jeffery accepts the view of Fränkel who identifies it with עליון, a divine name found in the O.T. and elsewhere. If this were right, there would be no occasion to regard the Arabic word as foreign. It may be suggested that the first letter should have a point, and that it is the Syriac *gelāyūnā*, the גליון of Isaiah viii, 1, where it is some sort of tablet on which something was to be written. The words which follow in the Qur'an (verse 21) يشهده المقربون *to be witnessed by high officials* remind one of what follows in Isaiah: *and I took unto me faithful witnesses*. The gloss of Bar Bahlul on the Syriac word is سجّل طومار which justifies us in identifying the other word سجين with the Syriac ܣܶܓܠܝܘܢ.

The substitution of *N* for *L* in *sijjīn* for the sake of the rhyme is parallel to *Jibrīn* for *Jibrīl* (Gabriel). The use of the غ to represent ג at this period might be harder to illustrate; it is to be observed, however, that the letter in both Hebrew and Aramaic had two pronunciations.

The glosses in the Qur'an are therefore correct, though it is noticeable that in Rabbinic usage the *gillayon* was *ein noch unbeschriebenes Schreibmaterial* (Levy). The difference between the two "books" would seem to be that the one containing the record of the evildoers is closed, that of the virtuous open.

The following words may be explained from Æthiopic.

7. In xl, 38 Pharaoh says to Haman, *Build me a tower peradventure I shall reach* الاسباب اسباب *of the heavens and come in sight of the god of Moses*. The word left untranslated is used elsewhere in the Qur'an in the sense of "rope"; this does not seem appropriate here, and Ṭabarī

reports various suggestions, *roads, gates, dwellings.* These are all guesses, none of them felicitous. Dillmann gives examples of the Æthiopic ኣስበብ፡ in the sense *excubiae, excubitores, stationes,* and the supposition that the Arabic word which is identical has the meaning "guardhouses" in the Qur'anic verse seems to be rather plausible. In Isaiah xxi, 8 the word משמרת, properly "guardhouse" is rendered by Gesenius *specula* "watchtower", an elevated place whence objects at a distance could be seen. What Pharaoh wishes is to get a sight of the god of Moses, if such a being is really in heaven, and if Haman will build him a tower reaching the level of the watchtowers of heaven he will compass this object. In the Book of Esther Haman builds a gallows fifty cubits high; in Genesis xi the builders of Babylon say, "let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven." This passage is somewhat nearer the narrative in Surah xxviii, 38, where Haman is told to *kindle for me upon the clay and make for me a tower, peradventure I shall come in sight of the god of Moses*; since the builders of Babylon say *Go to, let us make brick and burn them thoroughly.* Since the first meaning assigned to the verb فرع is *ascendit montem,* it might seem that Pharaoh by this project was justifying his name.

8. In Surah xliv, 23, where the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites is described, Moses is given the order واترك البحر رهوا *Leave the sea . . . verily they are a host that shall be drowned.* This is the only place in the Qur'an in which the word *rahwun* occurs, and it is clear from Ṭabarī's note that its signification was unknown, and had to be guessed from the context. Ḥarīrī supposed it to mean "tranquil", as he writes (Maq. xxxix, ed. de Sacy, p. 432), لم نزل نسير والبحر رهو والجو صحو "we ceased not travelling with the sea calm and the weather fine," but this sense does not suit the Qur'anic passage, since the sea was neither calm nor stormy, a passage having been hollowed out, the water on each side

being like a great mountain (xxvi, 62). Hence for "calm" authorities cited by Ṭabarī substitute "undisturbed", i.e. leave the sea as it is, do not restore it to its previous condition. I am inclined to regard the word here as the Æthiopic ርኅው፡ "open", of which Dillmann gives several examples: thus Acts x, 11, "he saw the heaven opened," xvi, 27, "seeing the prison doors open," and many other passages. This sense suits the scene with which the text of the Qur'an is dealing, in which a way has been left open in the sea through which the Israelites passed: Moses is commanded not to close it, but leave it open for the Egyptians, on whom it will close, so that they will be drowned. Dillmann's statement about the letter ኅ is *pronuntiata antiquitus sonuerat sicut* خ *Arabum, posthac cum* ሐ *et* ሀ *confusa est.* The words *antiquitus* and *posthac* give little clue to the time at which the confusion began.

9. In Surah xliv, 18 we read that among the injunctions of Moses to the people of Pharaoh was ان لاتعلوا على الله. This is ordinarily rendered *and exalt not yourselves against Allah.* This may be right; but we seem to obtain a more natural sense from the Æthiopic usage of the same group, ዐለው፡ which is familiar in the sense of *rebel.* Dillmann's renderings include *rebellem vel refractarium esse, desciscere, deficere*, and he furnishes numerous examples; in historical texts the word is used for "to revolt". The same usage is found in xxvii, 31, where a letter of king Solomon to the people of Saba is reproduced, beginning الاتعلوا علي واتوني مسلمين, where the meaning is clearly *disobey me not, but come to me submissively.* We are, I think, justified in regarding this usage as an Æthiopism.

10. In xxxiii, 19 there occurs the phrase اذا ذهب الخوف سلقوكم بالسنة حداد evidently meaning *when their fear has departed, they abuse you with sharp tongues.* The verb سلق is given no fewer than eleven senses by Freytag, and it evidently has several sources. One of them is to be

found in استلق "to lie on one's back", to the stem of which its relation is similar to that of سبق to بق. Another is a stem found also in Aramaic, meaning "to ascend". The most common sense of the word, "to boil," is that of the Aramaic and late Hebrew שלק, whereas "ascend" is that of סלק. For the sense "abuse" we must go to Æthiopic, where the derived form ተሳለቀ፡ has the sense *illudere, ludibrio habere*. Of this Dillmann gives numerous examples. Perhaps the Qur'anic usage may be regarded as an Æthiopism.

11. The two angels of ii, 96 who taught people spells destructive of connubial happiness, Harut and Marut, have been the subject of many conjectures. The second of these names seems to be identical with the Æthiopic ማሪት፡ *Mārīt*, rendered by Dillmann *divina, fatidica*. The masculine form, *Mārī*, is given the additional meaning *magus*; it seems to be likely that this Æthiopic word is the source of this angel's connection with magic; and Babylon where the two angels are located is the home of magic.

Tunc Babylon Persea licet secretaque Memphis
Omne vetustorum solvat penetrale Magorum

(Lucan, Pharsalia, vi, 150).

The Qur'an favours the form *qātūl* for foreign names, giving *Yājūj* and *Mājūj* for Gog and Magog, *Qārūn* for Corah, *Hārūn* for Aaron, *Jālūt* for Goliath, etc. Both these angels' names are accommodated to this scheme, and Hārūt is to the Syriac *Herta* "strife" what Jālūt is to Goliath. Possibly Lagarde's etymology may explain why these beings became angels, though the tracing of Qur'anic matter to Old Persian mythology seems hazardous: the etymologies given above explain their connection with magic and strife.

I must in finishing once more express my admiration for Professor Jeffery's work.

414.

The Ships of the Arabian Sea about A.D. 1500

By (†) W. H. MORELAND

THE origin of this note is to be found in a passage in Mr. C. N. Parkinson's *Trade in the Eastern Seas* (Cambridge, 1937), where, in connection with the Portuguese enterprise in the East, the suggestion is made that Asiatic seamen were deterred from rounding the Cape by want of courage rather than technical equipment. The passage is as follows (p. 6).

"Judging merely by knowledge of navigation and shipbuilding, there was nothing to have prevented Asiatic seamen from rounding the Cape and discovering Europe. As far as mere possibility goes, it must be remembered that a Chinese junk was once sailed to Europe, although it took a European to do it. It was through Courage that Europeans, and especially Englishmen, found their way to the East."

The last sentence, by the way, strikes me as being rather less than just to the Portuguese: it was they who found the way to the East, while Dutchmen and Englishmen followed in their wake; and if it is necessary to award the palm for courage, I think it should go to the pioneers. The question raised by this passage is, however, whether Asiatic seamen had in fact the technical equipment necessary for such a voyage; and the first approach to an answer must be that it is not safe to generalize about Asia.

In the fifteenth century, and earlier, there were, at the least, two different types of sea-going vessels in the Asiatic seas, the strongly built, iron-fastened junks of China, and the frail stitched ships of the Arabian Sea.[1] In earlier times their spheres had overlapped, junks sailing regularly to India

[1] I say nothing about the ships of the Bay of Bengal because I have found no contemporary data regarding them. All we know is that the old methods of building on the Coromandel Coast, whatever they were, were transformed under Dutch and English guidance in the course of the seventeenth century. The junk build was found also in the ports of Java and Sumatra.

and beyond, while Arab vessels reached the coast of China; but owing to seasonal, and perhaps other, causes, these long voyages were not good business, and eventually the main trade routes were organized in three sections, divided by the Malay Peninsula and India. In the fifteenth century a few junks from China still reached India, but most of them stopped at Malacca: Indian-owned ships covered the section between Malacca and the Indian coasts; Arab-owned ships dominated the Arabian Sea. It may well be true that some of the junks could have rounded the Cape, but it was not their business to do so. If any Asiatic seamen were tempted to make that voyage, it was the Arabs (in the wide sense explained below) rather than the Chinese; and if they did not sail as far as the Cape, the reason was certainly not lack of courage. The general position is indicated concisely in the first chapter of the *Cambridge Modern History* (i, 29), where the author, the late E. J. Payne, enumerating the factors in favour of the Portuguese enterprise, wrote as follows:—

"Eastern vessels indeed were scarcely capable of being so employed [i.e. for fighting]. The hard woods used in constructing them forbade the use of iron nails, and their heavy planks were rudely made fast with cocoanut cordage and wooden pins. Steering gear and ground-tackle were of a rudimentary sort; even a moderate gale rendered the ship scarcely navigable, and the guns were useless except at close quarters."

This is one of the several passages in the *Modern History* where I feel the need of footnotes, for Payne's work lay principally in Atlantic regions, and I want to know the source of his statements regarding the Arabian Sea. From the bibliography relating to this chapter, I gather that among other sources he must have drawn, directly or indirectly, on one of the conflicting versions of Marco Polo (discussed below), because it is only there that I have found the allegation that the absence of nails was due to the hardness of the wood; but since there are no detailed references, the only

course available is first to bring together the evidence showing that the ships were structurally weak, and then to examine the underlying cause of the weakness.

I pass briefly over the subsidiary defects enumerated by Payne: the anchors were, according to contemporary accounts (e.g. Varthema, in Hakl. Soc., i, 32, p. 152), merely lumps of rock; the rudders are sufficiently described in the extract from John of Montecorvino which follows; while I recall a story of a sea-fight which mentions that the lines governing the rudder ran outside the ship, so that they could be cut before boarding (Couto, IV, ii, 456). For trading or exploring, as opposed to fighting, the strength or weakness of the ships is primarily a question of their build, and it is desirable at the outset to get a clearer idea of this than a landsman can form from Payne's condensed description.

As a starting point we may take two models of stitched vessels, a *dhow* and a *bodan*, which can be seen in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, and to which my attention was directed by Mr. G. P. B. Naish, an officer of that institution. These models were constructed late in the nineteenth century by a boatman at Muscat, that is to say in the region where stitched vessels of small size were then still employed; it is reasonable to assume that the builder did not innovate, and we may take these vessels to represent the traditional build. The two models are very similar, the most noticeable difference being that while one has a sharp stern, in the other the stern is square; the observations which follow are based mainly on the latter, which I was able to examine in detail.

There are no ribs, and nothing that can be called timbers or framework. The vessel is made up of two bulging sides, joined together at the bottom and at the ends. Each side is built up of horizontal planks with the seams flush, and covered on the inside by long, narrow pieces of wood known technically as stringers. Two holes are bored at intervals near each edge of each plank; twine is passed through these and then round

the stringers, so that the sides are quite literally sewn together. In the same way the two sides are stitched together at the bottom and the ends. A narrow plank by way of keel is stitched on to the bottom joint: a strip of wood is stitched on to the joint at the bow; and the rudder is held by stitches to the joint at the stern. There is a small portion of deck at the bow, and another at the stern, both fastened by stitches, but most of the vessel is open. Neither nails nor treenails are used anywhere in the construction.

In the same collection there are two models of the surf-boats, known as *masula*, of the Madras coast. These are constructed in the same way, being merely stitched together; but they have flat bottoms with no keel, while at the top the boat is stiffened by cross-pieces stitched to the sides.

All the early accounts of the ships of the Arabian Sea insist on stitching as their most obvious characteristic; but none of them mention how the stitches were made on the inside, and there is no reference to the use of stringers. It is possible then that the latter feature is comparatively modern, and that in the earlier period the ships were clinker-built, that is to say, the planks overlapped, and were stitched directly one to the other. This, however, is a minor point. Whether the ships were clinker-built or had flush sides with stringers, the essential features were the absence of ribs or frame, and the stitching. These would give great pliancy, and it is doubtless this fact which accounts for the local survival of stitching in small craft, where pliancy is an advantage.[1] But with larger vessels, say of 100 tons (of the period) and upwards,[2]

[1] Sir Bartle Frere wrote from Western India about the middle of the nineteenth century: "Stitched vessels are still used. I have seen them of 200 tons burden; but they are being driven out by iron-fastened vessels, as iron gets cheaper, except where (as on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts) the pliancy of a stitched boat is useful in a surf." (Yule's *Marco Polo*, i, 117. For the full title of this reference, and others, see the concluding note.)

[2] The ton then represented about 60 cubic feet of cargo space: the butt (used by Italian seamen) represented about half this figure. I discussed the ton in Appendix IV of *India at the death of Akbar* (London, 1920).

this build means weakness, increasing progressively with the size. The ships of the Arabian Sea built in this way would be perfectly serviceable for the purpose for which they were intended, to sail the well-known tracks at the right seasons, running for shelter from the short-lived storms which alone are to be feared in those months; but they could not be expected to stand prolonged battering such as they would have experienced had they sailed beyond Madagascar to South Africa.

The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

Stitching was an old practice in this region, for Yule noted (*Marco Polo*, i, 117) that stitched vessels are mentioned in the *Periplus*, but for the present purpose it will suffice to give the observations contained in four narratives of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, those of Odoric, John of Montecorvino, Jordanus, and Marco Polo. Odoric, describing Hormuz, wrote as follows (Yule's *Cathay*, ii, 113): "In this country men make use of a kind of vessel which they call *Jase* [Persian *jahāz*, a ship], which is fastened only with stitching of twine. On one of these vessels I embarked, and I could find no iron at all therein." John of Montecorvino, writing of the Arabian Sea, gave more details (op. cit., iii, 67). "Their ships in these parts are mighty frail and uncouth with no iron in them and no caulking. They are sewn like clothes with twine. And so if the twine breaks anywhere there is a breach indeed! Once every year, therefore, there is a mending of this, more or less, if they propose to go to sea. And they have a frail and flimsy rudder like the top of a table, of a cubit in width, in the middle of the stern; and when they have to tack, it is done with a vast deal of trouble; and if it is blowing in any way hard, they cannot tack at all. They have but one sail and one mast, and the sails are either of matting or of some miserable cloth."[1]

[1] I suspect this expression to be less than fair to the sails. The Dutch found Indian sailcloth, woven from cotton, a tolerable substitute for canvas.

Jordanus wrote as follows from Malabar (Hakl. Soc., i, 31, p. 53): "The vessels of these Indies be of a marvellous kind. For although they be very great, they be not put together with iron, but stitched with a needle, and a thread made of a kind of grass. Nor are the vessels ever decked over, but open, and they take in water to such an extent that the men always, or almost always, must stand in a pool to bale out the water."

Jordanus described junks (p. 54) as well as ships. "The vessels which they navigate in Cathay be very big, and have upon the ship's hull more than 100 cabins, and with a fair wind they carry ten sails, and they are very bulky, being made of three thicknesses of plank, so that the first thickness is as in our great ships, the second cross-wise, and the third again long-wise In sooth 'tis a very strong affair." Other descriptions of junks given by Ibn Batuta (summarized in Yule's *Cathay*, iv, 25) and by *Marco Polo* (Yule, ii, 249) confirm the contrast between the strong, iron-fastened junks, and the weak, stitched vessels of the Arabian Sea.

Finally, we come to Marco Polo, and, as often happens with this author, we have to take account of conflicting versions. First there is the Old French text, published in vol. i of the *Recueil de Voyages* of the Société de Géographie (Paris, 1824), more recently edited by L F. Benedetto (Florence, 1928), and translated by A. Ricci in the *Broadway Travellers* (London, 1931). This text is now accepted as undoubtedly authentic, and as the earliest version. The material portion of Ricci's translation is as follows (p. 45). "Their ships [*sc.* those of the Hormuz merchants] are very bad, and many of them are wrecked, because they are not put together with iron nails, but sewn with twine made from the husk of Indian nuts. . . The ships have one mast, one sail, and one rudder, and have no deck. After they are loaded, however, the cargo is covered with a piece of hide, and on the top of the cargo thus covered are placed the horses that are taken to India to be sold. They possess no iron to make nails, and so have recourse to wooden treenails, and to stitching with twine.

It is hence a matter of no little peril to sail in those ships. I assure you that many are lost, for violent storms are frequent in the Sea of India." The fourth sentence in this version is not quite literal: the text runs, "*Il ne ont fer por fer agus: et por ce font peron de lign et cuisieure de fil,*" or, "they have no iron to make nails; and therefore make *peron* of wood and stitching of twine," the meaning of *peron* being a question for discussion.

Next we have Pauthier's text, translated by Yule (i, 108), which here follows the Old French very closely, but instead of *peron de lign* it has *chevilles de fust,* which means "wooden pegs, or pins," and may well refer to treenails, as Yule rendered.

Next we have the Latin version known to critics as Z. This text has just been printed from the Toledo MS. of the fifteenth century as the second volume of *Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, by A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot (London, 1938); the remaining volumes of this edition have not yet appeared. The following is a literal rendering of the relevant passage.[1]

"Now the ships of Hormuz are very bad and dangerous, because they are frequently wrecked, because they are not fastened with nails, because the wood is hard [and] of a certain brittle quality like a clay vessel, because it is shattered as soon as it is pierced with nails; but they [*sc.* the ships] are put together with wooden pegs [*claviculis de ligno*], and then they tie, or sew, with coarse thread. They use one mast and one rudder" (p. xiii).

The main difference from the Old French text is the explanation given of the non-use of nails: the older version says that iron was not available, while the latter says the wood was too hard. I reserve the discussion of this difference for a later section.

[1] I am indebted to Dr. E. J. Thomas, the Deputy Librarian of the Cambridge University Library, for generous assistance in preparing this translation.

Lastly, we have Ramusio's text, translated as follows by Marsden, revised by Wright (p. 59 of the reprint of 1904). "The vessels built at Ormus [Hormuz] are of the worst kind and dangerous for navigation, exposing the merchants and others who make use of them to great hazards. Their defects proceed from the circumstance of nails not being employed in the construction; the wood being of too hard a quality, and liable to split or to crack like earthenware. When an attempt is made to drive a nail, it rebounds and is frequently broken. The planks are bored, as carefully as possible, with an iron auger, near the extremities; and wooden pins or treenails [*chiavi de legno*] being driven into them, they are in this manner fastened (to the stem and stern). After this, they are bound, or rather sewed together, with a kind of rope-yarn stripped from the husk of the Indian nuts. . . . The vessel has no more than one mast, one helm, and one deck. When she has taken in her lading, it is covered with hides, and upon these hides they place the horses which they carry to India. They have no iron anchors, but in their stead employ another kind of ground-tackle; the consequence of which is that in bad weather (and these seas are very tempestuous) they are frequently driven on shore and lost." Modern critics are agreed that, while Ramusio availed himself of the freedom of an editor as understood in his time, he also made use of some authentic source, either a revised version or supplementary notes by Marco himself; but there is as yet no objective way of determining which of his variations belong to which class. In the present passage the significant variations are as follows:—

(*a*) Ramusio speaks of ships *built* at Hormuz, while the other versions refer to ships owned there. I take this to be probably editorial: there is no record of suitable timber being found in the vicinity, and it is much more probable that the Arab merchants were already building their ships on the Malabar Coast, as they certainly did in the fifteenth century.

(*b*) Ramusio attributes the absence of iron to the hardness of the wood, while the older version says that iron was not to be had. Here it looks as if he was following the Latin text, or some variant of it, for most of what he says can be read as an attempt to make an adequate and intelligible account out of the crabbed original; the reference to boring with an auger must, however, be drawn from some other source which I cannot identify.

(*c*) Ramusio says that there is one deck, while the Old French version says there is no deck, and the Latin text does not mention decks. I think this must be an editorial "correction". As we shall see, there were no decks in the fifteenth century, and it is unlikely that they should have been discarded in the interval; while the leather covers mentioned in both versions would be superfluous if there was a deck, but necessary if there was not.

(*d*) Ramusio agrees with Pauthier's text and the Latin version in saying that pegs, or perhaps treenails, were employed as well as stitching: the phrase "to the stem and the stern" is not in Ramusio, but is an explanation inserted by the translator, I do not know on what grounds. The question whether the Old French version does or does not mention pegs, or treenails, depends on the meaning of the word *peron*.

In discussing this question it must be remembered that Marco's French is very bad indeed: as Yule wrote (i, 83), "the author is at war with all the practices of French grammar; subject and object, numbers, moods, and tenses, are in consummate confusion. . . . Italian words are constantly introduced, either quite in the crude or rudely Gallicized." There is no use then in saying that *peron*, being singular, cannot mean "treenails" in the plural, nor can we be certain that it is a French word. The glossary given in the 1824 edition of this text equates *peron* to *cheville*, but without explanation or authority. Benedetto in his notes on the passage suggested that *peron* might be a mistake for *piron*,

presumably representing the Italian *piro*, which means some kinds of peg. Presumably Ricci relied on one or other of these sources for his "treenails", for this meaning is not given in any of the dictionaries of Old French, or modern French either, which I have consulted: in them *peron* appears only as a variant of *perron*, meaning "a flight of stone steps". I inquired about the word from the Bibliothèque Nationale, and received a courteous reply referring it conjecturally to the Greek word περόνη (*peronē*), but not quoting any definite authority for its use in French.

In classical Greek *peronē* meant, according to Liddell and Scott, anything pointed for piercing or pinning, and this sense is reflected in the modern Greek usage, where the word means specifically "marlinspike"; but according to Jal's *Glossaire Nautique* it was the parent of the word *perno*, common to Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, and meaning "an iron nail". *Peron de lign* may, therefore, represent "wooden nail" if *peron* is a perversion either of *piro* or of *perno*, or of the Greek *peronē*. I have traced no other similar word in the Mediterranean languages: there is, of course, the Latin *pero, peronis*, but it means a kind of boot, which is here irrelevant.

Before, however, we accept *peron* as a perversion, it is proper on general principles of interpretation to ask if the word makes sense as it stands. *Perno de lign* would be "an iron nail of wood", and *peron de lign* would be "a flight of stone steps of wood". In the first case we are justified in abbreviating to "a wooden nail", and in the second to "a flight of wooden steps". It seems to me that the latter sense is possible as an attempt to describe a clinker-built ship. In this build, the overlapping planks give to the eye a general suggestion of steps; and I may quote a modern expert, who in criticizing the work of the earlier marine artists wrote (*Mariner's Mirror*, xvii, 336) that "the clinker-built planking . . . is often shown . . . as a perfect staircase". Marco was obviously struggling to present his observations in a

medium in which he was not expert: if, like these artists, he saw the clinker-built planking as resembling a staircase, his words make sense as they stand. "*Font peron de lign et cuisieure de fil,*" "make wooden staircase and stitching of thread," would be a not entirely inadequate description of a stitched clinker-built ship, and in any case would be more adequate as an account than "make wooden peg[s] and stitching of thread". On this view it is necessary to assume that the men who manipulated the later texts missed the force of the metaphor, took *peron* as meant for *piro* or *perno*, and substituted a more familiar term, the French *cheville*, or the cognate Italian *chiavi*, both of them representing the Latin *clavicula*.

I can find no criterion to furnish a final decision on this point. The entire absence of pegs from the models which I have described, and the absence of any reference to pegs in the accounts of the Portuguese eye-witnesses quoted further on,[1] are circumstances in favour of the latter interpretation, since pegs, when once used, are not likely to have been discarded, but these considerations cannot safely be pressed too far; and the conclusion to be drawn must be ambiguous. Marco originally wrote either that the ships were clinker-built and stitched, or that they were built with pegs and stitching.

Summarizing these four accounts, we see that all of them agree as to the stitching and the absence of iron, while two lay stress on the resulting weakness of the vessel. Two of them mention that there were no decks, while the reference to a deck in Ramusio is probably a mistake. One comments on the inadequacy of the rudder. Two mention that there was only a single sail. There is no hint of stringers being employed,

[1] Damião de Goes, in the *Crónica de felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, says (i, 74, 126, of the Coimbra edition of 1926) that the ships seen in African ports had pegs (*cavilhas de pao*); but he had no personal experience, and a scholar of his eminence is as likely to have drawn on one of the later versions of *Marco Polo* as on anything else.

but Marco Polo said either that the ships were clinker-built, or that pegs, perhaps treenails, were used as well as stitching. Incidentally it may be noted that the insistence on the absence of iron, and the consequent weakness, indicates that, in the Mediterranean practice with which the observers were familiar, the planks must have been nailed. The same conclusion emerges from the Portuguese accounts given in the next section.

413. *(To be continued.)*

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

RUTH'S VISIT TO THE HIGH PLACE AT BETHLEHEM

The description of the scene at the threshing-floor in the third chapter of the Book of Ruth has given rise to several questions. What was the reason for the presence of Boaz there at night? How did Naomi know that Boaz would be there and would lie down after he had finished eating and drinking? Why should Ruth have desired to spend the night with Boaz? These and other queries are more easily answered when we understand the nature of the site where this apparently clandestine meeting between Ruth and Boaz occurred.

The scene is at the Bethlehem high place, which served at the same time as the threshing-floor for Boaz, a man of no meagre possessions. Although the current translations of verses 3 and 6 of our chapter have Ruth going down to the threshing-floor, we should read to the effect that she went up to the threshing-floor. It is now known that the verbal root used (ירד) belongs to that rather large category of words which possess mutually opposite meanings. The same root is used in Judges xi, 37, where the daughter of Jephthah says that she will go up upon the mountains and bewail her virginity, doubtless to the same high place where the Israelite maidens with a ritual of lamentation annually commemorated her death. The root is also employed in the North Canaanite Ugarit texts to indicate ascent to the throne of Baal on the mount of the gods in the recesses of Saphon.[1] We may conclude that Ruth "went up" to the threshing-floor.

It was not unusual for a local threshing-floor to serve as a

[1] See Otto Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer, Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums*, i (Halle, 1932), p. 3. Eissfeldt thinks the root may have this meaning in Judges xv, 8. For a recent study of words of mutually opposite meaning, see Robert Gordis, "Some Effects of Primitive Thought on Language," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, IV (1938), pp. 270 ff.

high place. Threshing-floors were on high places where the breezes would facilitate the process of winnowing. The association of high place and threshing-floor was natural in view of the fact that the local deity was the god of grain, and sometimes actually bore the name Dagon, meaning "grain". The ancient Jerusalem high place with its sacred rock was outside the city and near the threshing-floor, as every one recognizes from the incident in 2 Samuel xxiv, relating the building of an altar at the threshing-floor of Araunah, where subsequently the altar of burnt offering was to stand before Solomon's temple. We learn from Judges vi, 11 that Gideon beat out wheat beneath the sacred terebinth tree at the sanctuary at Ophrah, and from 2 Samuel vi, 6, how the ark became associated with the threshing-floor of Nacon, doubtless a sacred site. It was because of the rites of sacred prostitution at these high places at threshing time that Hosea said of Israel:

"You have loved the hire of a sacred prostitute
Upon all the threshing-floors of grain." [1]—Hosea, ix 1b.

That the threshing-floor in the third chapter of Ruth was associated with the Bethlehem high place is suggested by these parallels and by what happened there.

The explanation that Boaz spent the night at the threshing-floor merely to keep watch of his grain lest some thief bear it away in the darkness does not sufficiently elucidate the situation. Boaz had many servants who could have been conscripted for such a job. There is no indication of outside intruders, such as the Philistines. Boaz spent the night there as a part of the celebration of the rites of the harvest time. It was probably at the same time of the year, at harvest time, that Elkanah came to the Shiloh sanctuary, and, after eating and drinking, spent the night at the sanctuary (1 Samuel i, 18).

It was usual for women who wanted children to visit the

[1] See H. G. May, "The Fertility Cult in Hosea," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, xlviii (1932), pp. 73 ff.

sanctuary and there make their petition. From 1 Samuel i, 18, especially in the more original text as preserved in the Septuagint, it would appear that there may have been a tradition that Samuel was actually conceived at the sanctuary, despite the present statement in the following verse. In view of this, and in the light of practices at the threshing-floor sanctuaries described in the above quoted passage from Hosea, it is easy to understand how Naomi, who wanted an heir, should send Ruth, perfumed and dressed in festal garments, to the local sanctuary at Bethlehem. Naomi hoped to have a son through Ruth, for Obed was counted as Naomi's son, as we see from the sequel in iv, 13 ff.

At the time of Boaz no prophets had appeared in Judah. The protest against the practices of sacred prostitution was yet to be made. The actors in the scene at the Bethlehem high place were not motivated by prophetic ideals. It was, however, the prophetic protest which purged our present narrative of many of the more obvious references to cult practices, and which has made the night visit of Ruth to Boaz considerably more innocuous than an objective historian would have discovered it to be in the earlier written or oral sources. Even in our present account we are perhaps to understand to be euphemistic certain expressions in verses 7 and 9. It seems to the point to compare the gift of six omers of barley which Boaz gave to Ruth the next morning with the gift mentioned in the above quoted Hosea passage and with the kid which Judah promised Tamar, according to Genesis xxxviii, 17.

The present writer cannot agree that the incidents related in the Book of Ruth are without historical foundation.[1] There are, it is true, many mythological motives in the narrative.[2] That Naomi and Ruth, as the source of the

[1] Cf. W. E. Staples, "The Book of Ruth," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, liii (1937), pp. 147 ff.

[2] Some of these are pointed out by Staples, loc. cit., and by A. Jeremias, *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1930, 4th edition), pp. 487 ff.

Davidic line, are represented according to the pattern of the mother-goddess who gives birth to a son who rules as divine king and brings prosperity to the land, may be accepted as having been established by modern biblical scholarship. This does not make the account a fiction, but rather let us say that this historical tradition of David's ancestry proclaimed the divine character of Hebrew kingship[1] by the mythological patterns which formed its literary structure. This narrative was probably preserved at first in the traditions associated with the local high place at Bethlehem, even as other high places preserved for later historians memories of the visits of the patriarchs. In the light of our knowledge of the character of the myth and ritual at these high places, it is easy to understand how the traditions followed the patterns or motives of the ancient myths. Furthermore, if we can see that the setting for the action of the dramatic incident in the third chapter of Ruth was at the high place at Bethlehem, the significance of that action can be more completely understood.

HERBERT GORDON MAY.

THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION OF THE SIX PALLAVA KINGS PRECEDING MAHENDRAVARMAN I

In his history of the Pallavas of Kāñchī Mr. R. Gopalan has discussed the order of succession of the Pallava kings (pp. 49–59) and has compiled a table, which he wishes to be regarded as only tentative (pp. 59–60). His material is obtained from the *Indian Antiquary* (*IA.*) *Epigraphica Indica* (*EI.*) *South Indian Inscriptions* (*SII.*) *Madras Epigraphical Reports* (*MER.*). The translations of two of the inscriptions in *EI.* are incomplete, but full translations are given in the *Nellore Inscriptions* (*NI.*). The inscriptions are not all of equal evidential value, and accuracy cannot

[1] See, for instance, C. W. McEwan, *The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, No. 13 (Chicago, 1934), pp. 11 ff.

be presumed in pedigrees reaching back more than four of five generations. Only those which fulfil this condition are regarded as authoritative. They are :—

1. *EI.*, vi, p. 88 ; viii, p. 143, Dāḷura (6).
2. *EI.*, viii, 233, Undalūr (8) R.
   trans. *NI.*, p. 1421*a*, No. 2.
3. *EI.*, xv, 249, Oṃgōdu I (9) R.
4. *EI.*, viii, 159, trans. *NI.*, p. 1421*a*, No. 1, Pikīra (11) R.
5. *IA.*, v, 155, Mangaḍūr (12) R.
6. *IA.*, v, 151, Uruvapalli (13) R.
7. *EI.*, xiv, 252, Oṃgōdu II (14) R.
8. *MER.*, 1914, ii, 82, Cura (16) R.
9. *SIE.* (continuation of *MER.*), 1934, 30.

The numbers in brackets refer to the serial numbers in Gopalan App. A, which it may be convenient to consult, although the descriptions are not always strictly accurate. The letter R means that the inscriptions are epigraphically related. There are six other inscriptions mentioned by Mr. Gopalan, which are of only secondary or of negative value, and three others which he considers to be much older than the remainder for various reasons.

The revised list is as follows. The numbers are the serial numbers of the authoritative inscriptions.

Kumāraviṣṇu 3
|
Skandavarman I 3, 6
|
Vīravarman 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9
|
Skandavarman II 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, ; Vijayaskandavarman, 1, 3
|
Yuva Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa 4, 5, 7, 9 ; Viṣṇugopavarman 6, 8 ; Kumāraviṣṇu 2]
|
Siṃhavarman 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 ; Buddhavarman 2 ; Yuvamahārāja Vijaya Buddhavarman 1
|
Siṃhaviṣṇu) Vijaya Viṣṇugopavarman 8 ; Kumāraviṣṇu 2

(cf. Kielhorn's list *EI.*, viii, App. II, p. 19, which in some respects the present list resembles)

Yuva Mahārāja Viṣṇugopa did not succeed. Otherwise every king is the son of his predecessor and this is expressly mentioned in the grants, except in 1, which does not indicate the relationship.

There is one weak link—the identification of Vijaya Viṣṇugopavarman and Kumāraviṣṇu with Siṃhaviṣṇu, who according to later genealogies is the father of Mahendravarman I. But Siṃhaviṣṇu has no inscriptions in this name, which first occurs as Simmaviṇṇu in the relief of the Varāha cave (cf. Gopalan, 87). His grandfather, the Yuvamahārāja, had the names of Viṣnugopa and apparently Kumāraviṣṇu, so that it seems that Simhaviṣnu at first was called by his grandfather's names. Neither of these names can apply to Simhavarman and Skandavarman I and II afford a previous instance of a king being called by the name of his grandfather.

The sequence Skandavarman-Kumāraviṣṇu-Buddhavarman-Kumāraviṣṇu contains only one familiar name, the first. The second Kumāraviṣṇu calls his grandfather the fifth Lokapāla of Lokapālas, which Simhavarman calls *his* grandfather In the Undalūr inscription (No. 2) Kumāraviṣṇu (the first) is described as "having honoured the gods, twice-born, gurus, and old men and being very modest and true-hearted (*Satyātmana*- ? loyal)" just as Y. M. Viṣṇugōpa is described in No. 4. The first part of the description, but not the modesty and true-heartedness, is ascribed by the pious Y. M. to his father Skandavarman in No. 6. He calls him also the fifth Lokapāla of Lokapālas and this epithet is applied, so far as I can ascertain, only to Skandavarman and his son Viṣṇugopa-Kumāraviṣṇu.

It is not known why Viṣṇugopa never came to the throne, but he evidently did not do so, and the epithets "modest and true-hearted" are better applicable to a prince than to a king. He retained the office of Y.M. in his son's reign

(No. 6). Fleet's explanation that he was a younger brother of Simhavarman will not stand, as Viṣṇugopa calls himself in No. 6 the son of Skandavarman, while Siṃhavarman calls himself the son of Viṣṇugopa and grandson of Skandavarman in Nos. 4 and 5.

As regards No. 1 it is not possible to be certain. The inscription is in Prākrit and there is no other Prākrit inscription so late as the sixth century. But in it Vijayakhandavam[m]a is mentioned as the reigning king with a Yuva Mahārāja Vijaya Buddhavamma, who is not called his son. We know (see above) that Buddhavarman was the grandson of Skandavarman, whose son did not succeed him. He would naturally be Y.M., as heir to the throne. The attribution is appropriate but not essential to the proposed succession. The Prākrit charters and a fragment of a charter with the name of Vīrakūrcavarman will be discussed at the end of this paper.

Next we come to the secondary evidence. It comprises (1) two inscriptions of a date not contemporary with their subject-matter, one of which is undoubtedly spurious and the other at best a not too careful copy of a genuine charter, and (2) four genuine inscriptions with genealogical data uncertain and irregular until we reach Siṃhavarman or thereabouts. The spurious inscriptions are so interesting that a short account of them is given, although they might be summarily dismissed. They are to be found in *EI.*, iii, 142–7 (A), and *SII.*, ii, 365 (B), relate to the same village Udayendiram, are written in Sanskrit and both have a Tamil endorsement to the same effect dated in the 26th year of the Coḷa Parāntaka I (Hultzsch, *SII.*, id., calls (A) (*EI.*, iii, 147), *another* Udāyendiram grant). What happened was probably this. The village was granted in AR 21 Nandivarman I (*c.* 726 A.C.) to 108 Brahmans and the copper-plates were lost. About two centuries later disputes arose and a new set of plates (B) manufactured from memory recording the names of only 63 Brahmans including one

Kūḷaśarman. The descendants of Kūḷaśarman also manufactured plates (A) purporting to be of AR 1 of a mythical Nandivarman granting the village to Kūḷaśarman only, thus trying to establish an earlier grant so as to invalidate the later grant, which only allowed them $\frac{1}{133}$ share. The work would, of course, be done by a professional copper-plate forger, who would—like his famous Naḍiād confrères of the early part of this century, who possessed an accumulated stock of antique blank stamped paper—have a stock of old seals and weathered copper-plates.

B contains a vague list of ancestors and then beginning with Siṃhaviṣṇu proceeds accurately down to Nandivarman I, except in so far as it calls him the son instead of the distant cousin of Parameśvara II. A is just fanciful, giving the line as Skandavarman, Simhavarman, Nandivarman, a vague reminiscence of past kings. For the early Nandivarman A probably relies on the tradition of our third inscription (C), Velurpālayam, *SII* , ii, 503, which after a general list begins with a mythical Nandi as the father of Simhaviṣṇu and then proceeds with sufficient accuracy to a late Nandivarman. This Nandi was probably inserted as an eponymous counterpart of Nandivarman.

The fourth inscription D, Vāyalūr, *EI.*, xviii, 145, goes back to the gods, gets on firmer ground with Vīravarman, then for Skandavarman has Skanda-, Siṃha-, Skanda-Nandi-, Siṃha-, Simha-varman an unconvincing group, and then continues regularly from Viṣnugopa to Narasimha II Rājasimha.

The fifth inscription E (Kaṣakudi, *SII.*, 349), has a general list and then begins with Simha[viṣnu] to continue accurately; and F (Kuram, *SII.*, i, 144), after the general list of ancestors begins only with Narasimha I. The general lists are not meant to be genealogies. They include a number of names often unrelated or obviously legendary and should not be employed, as has sometimes occurred, as regular pedigrees.

The remaining inscriptions are the above-mentioned Dāḷura,

No. 1 (H), Hirahaḍagalli, *EI.*, i, 2 (M) Mayidavolu, *EI.*, vi, 84, all Prākrit inscriptions, (V) Dasinapura, *EI.*, i, 398, and (S) Colapuram, *SII.*, i, 79. The last two may be disposed of first.

V is a fragmentary grant containing the name of Vīrakūrcavarman as great-grandfather of the reigning king. It is a grant of the type of Nos. 4, 5, and 6, and the epithets agree with those of Skandavarman I and II, Vīravarman comes between these two kings in the pedigree of the six kings and Vīrakūrcavarman may be identified with him.

S is a Tamil inscription of an archaic type containing the name of Vicaiya [Ci]m[ma] Vikkiramaparma. If this is Siṃhavarman, as may well be, this is nearly the oldest Tamil inscription known.

The three Prākrit inscriptions are considered by Mr. Gopalan, p. 5, to be not later than the fourth century A.C., because, as he says, Prākrit inscriptions are found only up to the fourth century, then Sanskrit up to the seventh century and Tamil from then. Although this may be taken as generally true and conforms with the conservative view of the dates of the early Tamil classics, which assigns them to the "Sanskrit" period between the "Prākrit" and the "Tamil" periods, yet there is no reason why they should not overlap. S, if correctly assigned to Siṃhavarman, is a Tamil inscription of the sixth century and No. 1 a Prākrit inscription of the same century. Epigraphically the three Prākrit inscriptions are similar and the earliest Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet has very striking points of resemblance. No. 1 is linguistically closer to the eleventh than to the third century, e.g. *heṭhe* below, Guj. *heṭhe*, Mar. *heṭ*, Hind. *heṭh*; *pāse* at the side of, Guj. *pāse*, Mar. *pās*, Hind. *pās*; *cettaṃ* field, Guj. *chet-ar* (Narsiṃh Mehto, fifteenth century), Mar. *śet*.

This charter, as previously mentioned, contains the names of Vijaya Khaṇḍavamma and Yuvamahārāja Vijaya Buddhavamma, who is not, however, called his son. It contains also the name of the donor Queen Cārudevī (the queen of Buddha-

varma) who is called [Bu]ddhi[yaṃ]kura janavī, interpreted as the mother of Buddhyaṅkura, who is therefore tentatively regarded as the successor of Buddhavarma. Now (1) Buddhyaṅkura may be a wrong restoration (there is space on the copperplate for three *akṣaras* between *dhi* and *ku*); (2) the whole expression may be merely a title of Cārudevī and (3) a grandson whose grandfather and father (presumably) are still alive, is a long way from the throne. The inclusion of two names as rulers only is therefore justified and conforms with the other evidence. The Śivaskandavarman of H. and M. may refer to the first Skandavarman, whose date must fall sometime in the fifth century A C., or to an earlier king.

The six kings can be regarded provisionally as having reigned on the average twenty-five years each and the dates will then be Kumāravisnu c. 450 A.C. Skandavarman I c. 475, Vīravarman c. 500 Skandavarman II c. 515, Siṃhavarman c. 550, Simhavisṇu c. 575. The dates assigned to an early Viṣṇugopa 340 and to Simhavarman 438 are beyond the scope of this paper, but with Śivaskandavarman and his presumed father Bappa afford material for speculation.

The Penugonḍa charter E.I. xiv, 331, which Mr. Gopalan mentions (his No. 18) is a record of Ganga kings which states that Harivarma (Āryavarma) was installed by Simhavarman and his grandson Mādhava II by Skandavarman. It hardly fits in with the succession list of Pallavas, as the accession of Harivarma may have been 480 and of Mādhava II 520. But this record omits Viṣnugopa Ganga from the line, an omission which lessens the probative value of the remainder of the evidence. It is not therefore necessary to reconcile its testimony with that of the Pallava charters.

Note.—Dr. L. D. Barnett has very kindly drawn my attention to Mr. K. G. Śankar's article in *IHQ.*, September, 1926, but he has based his genealogy, like Mr. Gopalan, on what I consider to be untrustworthy evidence.

406. ALFRED MASTER.

TURKS IN KHOTANESE TEXTS

The following paper was read to the Central Asian Section of the Twentieth Congress of Orientalists in Brussels, September, 1938.

References will be found to unpublished Khotanese texts, as a means of control when these texts are available.

I propose here to refer briefly to names of peoples, Turks as well as others, and to titles used by them, mentioned in the Khotanese texts of which an edition is in preparation.

To make the names clear a few remarks are necessary on the orthography in which they have been transmitted.

The Khotanese using an Indian alphabet employed certain of the vowels and consonants as follows :—

a = *a* Tibetan *rrgyaḍi̠-sųmi̠* = *rgyal-sum*.
Chinese *cha* = 差 (diverge) K [1] 1157 *ṭṣ'a*.
Turkish *ttahi̠:*, *ttaha* = *taγ* ; *aủpi̠ka* = *ȯpkä* 'lungs'.

-ā = *-a* Turk. *biḍigā* = *bilgä*.

ū, *ā*, *āṃ*, *au* } *o*, *u*
Chin. *gūki̠mi̠ni̠*, *gāki̠mąni̠* 玉 門 K 1318 *ü* < *ngi̯ʷok*, 609 *mən* < *muən*.
Sansk. *lāka* = *loka*.
Turk. *bādųna*, *bādauna* = *budun*.

ḍ, *l* = *l* *ttūlīsi̠*, *ttūḍīśa* ; Skt. *kīḍeśa̠* = *kleśa*.

kh, *h*, *h:* = *χ* *khahą.ni̠* = *χaγan*.

h, *h:*, *h̠·* = *γ* *ttahi̠:*, *ttaha* = *taγ*.

A final foreign consonant is usually provided with the vowel *i̠*, but this vowel mark may be absent, and then it has been read conventionally with the inherent *-a*. So Sansk. *āṃmi̠* = *om*, *śkyesi̠* = Tib. *skyes* 'a present', Turk. *ha:ni̠*, *hana* = *χan*.

An important point is the expression of the plural of foreign words ending in a vowel. To final *-a* and *-ā* (representing foreign *o*, *u*) was added *-va* and *-ta*. Both *v* and *t* may be

[1] K refers to Karlgren, *Analytical Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*.

considered to be hiatus consonants here. Hence Turk. *üha:*, plur. *uha:va*, *bayarkāva*, *bayarkāta* 'Bayirqu' and Tib. *-pa*, indicating 'inhabitant of', in the Khotanese plural *pata*, as in *karattaha-pata* 'inhabitants of Qarataγ'. A similar *-t-* occurs frequently in Chinese words as 有 *yauṭi*, 我 *gaṭi*.

Turks and other peoples are mentioned in a considerable number of Khotan official documents. These texts were mainly reports sent by various emissaries (*haḍa*) to the Khotanese king, and are concerned with the region of Ṣa-tṣou and Kan-tṣou in N.W China. Two of these, Ch 00269 and P 2741, treat of the same events. Ch 00269 is the report of two *bāyāka* 'guides or escorts', Chiki Gūlai and Dūṃ Saṃgalakā. P 2741 is the report of Thyai Paḍi-tsā and Thyai Haryāsaki. It is reported that seven princes (*rrispūra*), whose home is China, and who are called "sons of the king", evidently the Chinese emperor, wish to visit the Gośṛṅga hill in Khotan. The conditions described indicate that the roads were unsafe and the princes were advised to return to China.

I. Names of Peoples

The names of interest here are the following :—

1. **ttrrūki, ttūrki.** To be compared with Turk (*türk*), Mahrnāmaγ 54 *ṭwrk*. Since Tibetan rarely used initial *tr-* and had only one final guttural, namely *-g*, this name would be expected in the form *drug* in Tibetan. Beside *drug*, *dru-gu* is also known, and it is well known that the Chinese form of the name 突厥 K 498 *t'u* < *t'uət*, *d'uət*, 504 *kie* < *ki̯ʷɒt*, or according to a gloss (Pelliot, *JA.*, 1934, i, p. 93), *kü* < *ki̯uət*, indicates a final *-üt*.

In Khotanese the name occurs alone as in P 2741.98—

cvai jsāṃ va ciṃgi rruṃdi hīya ha:ni va muśdi ya
tvā vī jsāṃ ttrrūka biśi ysyāṃdi pīḍaki āstaṃna

'what was a present to the Khan from the Chinese

emperor, that the Turks carried off, all of it, the letter and the rest.'

and P 2741.76 *ttrrūkvāṣṭi̱ thyai haryāsaki̱ paśāvę*.

But more frequently the name *ttrrūki̱*, *ttūrki̱* is associated with the name *bayarkāva* in a compound phrase.

P 2741.55 *ttrrūki̱ bayarkāvāṃ hīya hī̱na* 'the army of the Türk Bayirqu'.

P 2741.122 *ttūrki̱ bayarkāvāṃ hīya buḍimacīya* 'the *bulmaci of the Türk Bayirqu'.

2. **bayarkāva, bayarkāta,** always together with the name *ttrrūki̱*, *ttūrki̱*, the Bayirqu, Chin. 拔 野 古 *pa-ie-ku* < K 750, 228, 421 *b'ʷat-ɪa-kuo*, Orqon *bᵃyⁱrqu*.

3. **ūhū:ysi̱.** Probably the name Oγuz, Sogd. *'wγwz* on the Kara Balgasun inscription. In Khotanese as part of a personal name. Ch 00269.87 *ūhū.ysi̱ uha: cu rrvī parau yinīya* 'Oγuz ügä who obeyed the royal commands'. P 2741.57 reports the death of twenty-four men including *ūhū ysi̱ auga*. He had previously (l. 40) summoned Thyai Paḍi̱-tsā to an interview and in l. 56 he is associated with the Uyghurs.

4. **hvaihu:ra, hvaihūra, hve:hvu:ra, hvehva:ra.** These are the Uyghurs, and are the people most frequently mentioned in the texts. At one juncture they are said to be in Karattaha (Qarataγ) near Kąmi̱cū (Ch 00269.77). In P 2790.37 *kąmi̱cū bisā hve:hura* 'the Uyghurs of Kantṣou' are named. One of their chiefs was named Bagaraki̱ Atteṃmi̱ uha:.

5. **cumuḍa, cimuḍa.** This people, which is frequently mentioned, represents the جُمُل *čumul* of Kāšγarī, Chinese 處 密, | 蜜 K 1256 *tṣ'u* < *ts̑'i̯ʷo*, K 617 *mi* < *mi̯ĕt*, and probably also the *Cimola* of the Ñiya Kharoṣṭhī documents.

6. **chiki̱, cīka.** As part of a personal name *chiki̱ gūlai* and *cīka gūlai* (P 2896.26), it may represent the Turkish name *čiq* : Orqon *čik budᵘn*, Runic Turk. (*JRAS.*, 1912, 186, 4), *čik*, Mahrnąmaγ 26 *čyq*.

7. The ten names of the Staël-Holstein roll recently treated by Dr. Henning, *BSOS.*, ix, 554 ff., lines 27–30 :—

ljūva yahi:ḍakari aḍapahūtti bākū bāsikātti kurabīri kāribari
tti ttūlīsi ṣṭāre
. . *iṃjū sīkari ttaugara ayabīri caraihi: yabūttikari*
añahi:ḍipabhūtti karattaha-pata tti tta ri dū sahūta
sāḍimīya ttrrūki bayarkāta cūṇūḍa

There is probably here a word *ayaγ-alpaγut* (*bh* for *h* = γ). It must be treated elsewhere.

8. **ttarrdāśa, ttardāśāṃ.** Associated in Khotanese texts with the *ttūḍīśa* and the *ttūrki bayarkāva.* Orqon *t^a^rduš bud^u^n.*

9. **ttūḍīśa, ttūlīsi.** Orqon *töl's,* Chinese 鐵 勒 K 991 *t'ie* < *t'iet,* 523 *lə* < *lək.* At one juncture they are said to be in the Yipkin-taγ and in Beḍidarūki (Ch 00269.76). P 2741.71 mentions the *kīthi bisā ttūḍīśa* 'the Tolis in the city', and P 2741.66 *kītha augavāṃ āstaṃna ttūḍīśa* 'the Tölis and others, ügä-officials in the city'. P 2741.19 names a *ttūḍīśi saḍicī ttāttāhi* , and P 2790.52 *ttūdīśi ttiṃgaḍī ttāttāhi:*

10. **ttattara.** Orqon *t^a^t^a^r,* Mahrnāmaγ *tt'r.* In P 2741.118 *buhi thụ bisā ttattara* are 'the Tatars of Buhi thụ' (cf. F. W. Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1937, 309, on Bogdo). In P 2741.120 the *ttattara* are reported to be blocking the Sūhi:cū road.

11. **kūysa.** Occurring in one document P 2024.19 *kūysāṣṭa* and 21 *kūysa ttattara.* The name corresponds in form to the *Quz* of Kāšγarī, who identifies *Quz uluš* with the land of Balasaγun, and the *Quz ordu* with the city Balasaγūn itself. Historical connection of the names is not established.

12. **dūṃ, dū,** plur. **dūṃta, dūṃva.** The name is fairly frequent. P 2741 69 *hve·hvara u dūṃta* 'the Uyghurs and the Dūṃta'. At one juncture they are alone in Kạmịcū (Ch 00269.71). P 2790.118 an official *dūṃ ttāttimīśi cihi.śī* is mentioned, in whose name the Turkish *tutmiš* is contained. *dūṃ* (or *dū*) *saṃgalakā* is one of the principal emissaries. In the Staël-Holstein roll 30 (see under No. 7 above) we must read probably *karattaha-pata tti tta ri dū sahūta* 'inhabitants of Karattaha, these are the saγun(-divisions ?) of the Dū'. Ch 00269.61 *bīrūki dūṃ ttāṃga* 'the bīruq Toṅa

of the Dūṃ ', where *ttāṃga* corresponds to the Orqon *toṅa.* Clearly the Dū were either Turks or Turkicized. They may represent the Lung 龍 people of Chinese texts.

13. **ttaṃgātvā.** Orqon *taṅut*, the Tanguts, once named in P 2741.97, where an emissary (*haḍi*) is said to have fled with emissaries of the Tanguts to the Turks.

14. **hūṇvāṣṭi.** One reference in P 2741.38 in the documents, but the *huna* are mentioned in the Buddhist poem E 16.9. According to Schlegel (*Die chinesischen Inschrift auf dem uigurischen Denkmal in Kara Balgassun*, p. 1), under the Wei dynasty (227–264) the 渾 K 508 *χun* < *γuən* were one of the Uyghur tribes. The name could equally well represent an abbreviation of 吐 谷 渾 *t'u-ü-χun* (cf. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, 20, 323 ff.).

15. **nạmiśạna,** the people of the Nam-ṣan. The name seems to occur also in the Niya Kharoṣṭhī document 103, col. F 2 *naṃmaṣanısa* (gen. sing.).

16. **sūlī,** plur. **sūlya,** adj. **sūlīna.**[1] No variation in the initial has been found, so that the *s* is probably original. It is then not the same as the Tibetan *śu-lig*, *śu-leg* ' Kāšγar ', but the Chin. 窣 利 *su-li*, cf. K 1105 *tsu*, *ts'u* < *tsuət*, *ts'uət*, and 527 *li* < *lji*, the Sogdians. The *Fan-yu tsa-ming* has *Sulī* (ed. Bagchi, i, p. 295, No. 861).

17. **khyeṣvā.** Probably the people of Kāšγar. The adj. in *-āna* will be preserved in the name of a monastery of Khotan called *khye-śo-na* in Tibetan (F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, p. 133), built by 'A-lyo-ḥjaḥ, queen of the Ga-hjag, the Kančaks of Kāšγar. *khyeṣ-* has been modified from *khāṣ-* or *khyāṣ-*. The Mahrnāmaγ 75 has *k'šy*.

18. **ttạśịki, ttạśịkvā,** Tāčiks, that is, Arabs. The form of

[1] This adjectival form to a word ending in -ī may be traced perhaps also in *argīñvā*, loc. pl. (Stael-Holstein roll 22), from *argi-*; also in *kucīna* in the *Fan-yu tsa-ming* (ed. Bagchi, i, p. 295, No. 864) given as the name of Kuci. Possibly it may occur also in the *arṣina-*, attested in the gen. sg. as a personal name in the Niya Kharoṣṭhī documents, with which Orqon Turkish *r's'n'* (vocalization ?) might conjecturally be associated.

the Khotanese word indicates that it is derived from a non-Iranian source. Khotanese *ś* represents Chinese. *ẓ* < Mid. Chinese *ńź*, *ńźi̯*. Reference may be made to the list in F. W. Thomas, "A Buddhist Chinese Text in Brāhmī Script," *ZDMG*., 91 (1937), 38–9, where occur *śaḥi̯:* 若 K *ẓo* < *ńźi̯ak*, Tib. *źag*, *śī* 二 K 8 *ər* < *ńźi*, Tibetan *źe*, *ḥźi*, and others. It would therefore suit here to compare Chinese 大 食 K 952 *t'ai* < *t'âi*, 891 *sï* < *dź'i̯ək* and *sï* < *zi*, and 大 寔, K 890 寔 *ṣï* < *źi̯ək* used of the Arabs. If the Khotanese form is derived from the Chinese, it will confirm a reading of the Chinese form with final guttural, a reading which Professor Haloun informs me is accepted. The Tibetan used *stag-gzig*. In the west are found Mid. Pers. *t'čyk* **tāžīγ*, Armenian *tačik*, N. Pers. *tājīk*, *tāzī*. In P 2024.23 *ttaśi̯kau kāḍara* is probably 'an Arab sword'.

II. Titles

1. **khahą:ni̯, ha:hą:ni̯,** the χaγan, Chin. 可 汗 K 414 *k'o* < *k'â*, 296 *χan* < *γân*, Sogd. (Karabalg.) *γ'γ-'n*, Mahrnāmaγ *χng''n*, Tib. *kha-gan*. Ch 00269.63 *kąmi̯cū bisai khahą.ni̯ ȷsāṃdi̯* 'they slew the χaγan of Kan-tṣou'. Ch 00269.65 *kąmi̯cū bisā ha.hą·ni̯ hīya ȷaśti̯* 'the χaγan's queen in Kan-tṣou'.

2. **ha:ni̯, hana,** *mistą hąni̯*, the χan, title of the ruler in Kan-tṣou (P 2790.80). In P 2741.50 *buka hą·ni̯* is named. The accession of a new χan (P 2898.11, P 2741.12), a young χan whose orders are not obeyed (P 2790.64), and the death of the great χan (P 2786.9) are mentioned. *cahi̯.rai ha ni̯* 'Čaγrī χan' is named in P 5538 recto.

3. **ttāttāhi̯:,** Tib. *to-dog*, Sogd. (Karabalg. l. 10) *twtwk'n*, Chin. 都 督 K 1187 *tu* < *tuo*, 908 *tu* < *tuok* (Jap. *to-toku*), Runic Turk. *tutuᵘq* (*JRAS*., 1912, 219), Mahrnāmaγ 26, 27 *ṭwṭwγ*. F. W. K. Müller in *Festschrift Thomsen* gave *ṭúṭúχán*.

4. **cihi̯:śi,** once P 2790.118: *dūṃ ttāttimīśi̯ cīhi̯·śī*, Chin. 刺 史 K 1097 *ts'ï* < *ts'i̯ăk*, 885 *ṣï* < *ṣi*, Manichean text *čygšyy*, Runic Turk. *čigši*.

5. **chāri̱.** P 2741.82 *ttrrūki̱ chāri̱,* Tib. *drugu-cor* (*JRAS.*, 1927, 68; 1930, 84), *drugu-ḥjor* (*JRAS.*, 1931, 816). Mahrnāmaγ *čwr,* Orqon *čor,* Chin. 啜 K 1235 *tṣo* < *ṭi̯ʷät.*

6. **sahā̤:ni̱.** Ch 00269.60, P 2741.12, 67, 103, *sahā̤ni̱* Ch 00269.73, *sahauni̱* P 2786.121, plur. *sahūta* Staël-Holstein roll 30. According to Kāšγarī *saγun* was a princely title among the Qarluq, and *ata saγun* was a physician among the Turks.

7. **digyi̤na.** P 5538 A 10, *dagyi̤ni̱* Ch 00269.63, *dagyaina* P 2024.30, 32, Orqon *tigⁱn,* Mahrnāmaγ *ṭgyn, ṭqyn, ṭkyn,* Sogd. (Karabalg.) *tykyn,* Indian coin ١٧٩٢٧ *tkyn',* Brāhmī script *tigīna,* Kāšγarī *tigin,* plur. *tigit.*

8. **ŭha:, ŭga, aüga,** plur. *uha:va, aüha:va, aügava, aühavāṃ, aühavau, aügavāṃ.* The identity of the titles seems established by the use of both with the same name Begaraki̱, in spite of the variant spellings. It seems to represent Turkish *ügä,* Sogd. (Karabalg. *'wk',* Mahrnāmaγ 33, 36, 37, 38 *wg',* 19, 34 *'wg'.*

9. **bīrūki̱,** Kāšγarī *bīruq* 'chamberlain', Orqon *bujᵘruq* officier'. In Khotanese the *bīrūki̱* is associated with the *uga:* P 2898.4 *aügavā u bīrūkāṃ,* Ch 00269.103 *uha:va u bīrūka.*

10. **inaḍa** P 2790.91, Mahrnāmaγ 62 *'yn'l,* 97 *yn'l,* Turfan text (T. III, M. 111, quoted Mahrnāmaγ, p. 31, note 1), *īnal,* Čaγ. اينال.

11. **ttarkaṇi̱, ttarkana,** *ttarakana.* Sogd. (Karabalg. l. 3) *pγ' trγ'n,* Mahrnāmaγ *ṭrχ'n,* Chin. 達 干, 〡 官 K 957 *ta* < *d'ât,* 296 *kan* < *kân,* 447 *kuan* < *kuân,* ταρχάν.

12. **bādūna,** *bādauna, bādā̤na.* Orqon *budᵘn,* Turfan texts *budun.* It is used as a title in Khotanese.

407. H. W. Bailey.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

THE PAPYRUS EBERS. By B. EBBELL. The Greatest Egyptian Medical Document. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 135. London: Humphrey Milford, 1937. 15*s.*

Another translation of the Papyrus Ebers, and this time by a qualified medical man who has made use of the latest advances in Egyptology, is an event which rejoices the heart of all medical historians. For as Dr. Ebbell, the translator, himself says: "Egypt, not Greece, must be considered the original home of the medical art" (introduction, page 26).

The stage that medicine has reached at any period of a nation's history can be judged from more than one indication. In the first place the position that magic holds in orthodox, as opposed to popular, therapeutics is an excellent test. Does the Papyrus Ebers show that the Egyptian doctors of 1550 B.C. believed that disease and cure were due to supernatural agencies or did they believe that man's folly or misfortune caused disease and that nature, assisted by their own efforts, brought about the cure?

Unfortunately there is no index to the work under review, the only feature, I may add, which mars an otherwise excellent little work. However, on reading through the text the answer will be found on pages 18, 29, 35, 42, 70, 73, 103, 105, 110, 126. The position may be summed up in the translator's own words: "Incantations are prescribed in very few cases chiefly against diseases where ordinary remedies fail, and where it may thus be good to have a psychically active aid to refer to 'ut aliquid fiat'."

Descending to details, a second indication of the stage of advancement of medical knowledge is to be found in the recognition of disease as an entity rather than as a syndrome. In this respect Egyptian medicine was not very far advanced.

Professor Breasted spoke disparagingly of the papyrus for this very reason (see pages 13, 50 note 1). In diseases of the eyes, as readers of Herodotus might expect, the papyrus shows the Egyptians at their best.

Thirdly, empiricism must have shown to a people, however primitive, that certain drugs are more or less specific for certain diseased conditions. The number of drugs thus recognized is some indication of the stage of that people's knowledge. The pharmacopœia of the Egyptians was large (see page 59).

And finally, although this points to a very highly developed civilization and specialized knowledge, the realm of surgical, as opposed to medical, treatment offers a criterion by which a nation's medical attainments can be judged. By 500 B.C. Egyptian surgery was inferior to that of Greece, for Darius nearly lost the use of his leg through the bungling of his Egyptian doctor and regained it thanks to the skill of Democedes, a Greek captive. The Papyrus here translated gives no indication that surgery was ever much practised in Egypt; yet we know that it was, because the Edwin Smith Papyrus, written about 2800 B.C., is almost entirely surgical. Herodotus says that specialization was carried to the extreme limit among the ancient Egyptians. Probably, therefore, the absence of any description in the Ebers Papyrus is due not to the lack of knowledge, but because this papyrus represents a textbook for specialists in internal medicine and the Edwin Smith Papyrus one for specialists in surgery (see pages 12, 14).

In short this translation is a useful addition to our knowledge of medicine at the beginning of historical times. The printing is good, it is free from misprints, and although written by (I believe) a Norwegian, the English is faultless. Not the least valuable part of the book is a very excellent introduction.

A. 831. C. ELGOOD.

FOUILLES EXECUTÉES À MALLIA: Premier Rapport, I, 1922–4 (1928), II (1930); Deuxième Rapport (1925–6), 1936. Par FERNAND CHAPOUTIER, JEAN CHARBONNEAUX, RENÉ JOLY. École Française d'Athènes. Études Crétoises. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9$. Tome I, pp. ii + 63, pls. 36; Tome II, pp. xii + 95, pls. 8, figs. 36; Tome IV, pp. iv + 53, pls. 34, map 1. Paris: Geuthner.

Mallia is a small palace-site on the north coast of Crete, excavated between 1922 and 1931, and now in course of publication. The separate account of the Minoan writings found in the palace was published in 1930 (*Études Crétoises*, ii) by Monsieur Chapoutier, and reviewed in *JRAS.*, Oct., 1929, p. 891, by Sayce. The first report describes the course of the excavations and the general outlay of the west wing of the palace, its pottery, terra-cotta figures, and objects of stone and bronze, with a provisional chronology. The second gives the results of the supplementary excavations round the central court, and their finds; and we have still to await reports on the remainder of the palace buildings, and on the neighbouring cemeteries.

Like Knossos and Phaestos, Mallia consists of a complex of rooms and passages surrounding a central court, about the same size as that of Phaestos. The long east side has a continuous portico, giving access to a range of store-rooms ("magazines") like those of Knossos. Opposite lay the main public rooms on a "piano nobile" supported by basements and entered from the court by a spacious staircase, again as at Knossos; the main entrance, from the land side, is at the south end; and northward, towards the sea front about half a mile away, there is another large court bounded by a portico and surrounded by what seem to have been warehouses, with numerous clay store-jars, a few of which have been reconstructed where they stood. These arrangements are the more interesting because, unlike Knossos and Phaestos, which are perched on spurs of higher ground and accommodated to it. Mallia stands on dead level, and consequently its outlay

has not been deranged by such considerations. But the general plan is nevertheless as unsymmetrical as that of a modern factory; and the same realism expresses itself in the arrangements for lighting and for internal communications; doors, for example, are seldom in the middle of a room-wall, but are put where they are most convenient.

The principal period of construction extends from the end of the Middle Minoan period to the early part of the late Minoan, but ends before the "Palace period" of L.M. II. But there are deposits of debris going back to Early Minoan III and a previous occupation of the site; and when the material sealed beneath the later floors has been examined, there may be more to say about this phase.

The detailed finds include nothing comparable with the great sword and leopard-shaped axe head from the first excavations. The publication of the pottery is less systematic than has now become customary, and there are few indications of scale.

For those who are impatient for the publication of the results to 1931, there are the annual summaries in the *Bulletin des Correspondances Helléniques.*

A 771. A. 869. J. L. MYRES.

TIL-BARSIB. Par F. THUREAU-DANGIN et MAURICE DUNAND, avec le concours de L. CAVRO et G. DOSSIN Service des Antiquités en Syrie, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique XXIII. 11¼ × 9, Texte, pp. 166, pl 1, figs. 19, album, pls. 53, plans 6. Paris (Geuthner), 1936. Frs. 200.

The ancient city of Til-Barsib, capital of the Aramæan state 'Adin, was attacked by Shalmanezer III in 858 B.C. and seems to have remained in Assyrian hands, for Sennacherib built boats there. Its importance was that its strong position commanded a ferry over the Euphrates, on the great road westward into Syria: and later a Roman road to this crossing was used by Julian, and by the pilgrim Silvia Ætheria after him, about 385.

The site was identified by Hogarth, in 1908, with Tell 'Ahmar about 40 km. below Biregik and 20 km. from Jerablus. In 1911 Campbell Thompson copied an Assyrian inscription here, and after reconnaissance by Perdrizet, in 1925, the Assyrian palace was excavated in 1929–1931 for the Louvre, with assistance from the Clercq Fund and the French Ministry of Public Instruction.

The present volume describes, besides this palace, the topography of the site, its history before, during, and after the Assyrian domination, the fortifications, and the sculptures and inscriptions scattered over the site.

The great mound which covers the city and is upheld by the foundations of its walls, culminates, near the middle of its river frontage, in a citadel about 25 metres high, much eroded by the current, but still conserving three main courts of the palace, with their surrounding rooms and corridors. The floors are often paved, and the mud-brick walls plastered and frescoed. A throne-room is partly preserved; and in the domestic quarters are several bathrooms and lavatories, with subterranean drainage system. The whole building, and much of its decoration, dates from Assurnazirpal II (883–859 B.C.), but there were extensive repairs under Assurbanipal, and some change of fresco-style.

These palace frescoes are the most important finds at Til-Barsib. Though fragments of Assyrian painting were recorded by Layard and others, the great palace-sites were decorated uniformly with relief-sculpture. Here, in a provincial governor's abode, remote from stone-quarries, the mud-brick walls were plastered and painted with similar scenes—the king receiving tribute and homage, guards marshalling or slaying prisoners, hunting scenes, chariotry, together with winged demons, bulls, and fish-gods, lions and ibex; medallions, panelled friezes, and rich borders of lotus, palmette, and rosettes. The colours are red and blue only, within black outlines on the white ground; the drawing is conventional but vigorous, and there are occasional corrections and improvements on the

guiding-sketches. The conservation and copying of these fragile pictures deserves the highest praise; for the photographs show how they had suffered, and the coloured frontispiece—part of a sea fight—how remarkable an addition they are to our knowledge of Assyrian art.

Above and below this Assyrian stratum, Til-Barsib makes other contributions to archæology. At the base of the mound lie 3 metres of primitive painted ware, with lattice triangles and wavy lines. Then comes a deep deposit (7 + 4 m.) with numerous walls, and in the upper part of it (4 m.) a large built chamber-tomb with burials and a pile of over 1,000 vases; plain burnished ware, with spouts occasionally modelled as men and animals, high pedestal-feet, and other characters recalling Sumerian wares. This tomb, and some cist graves of the same culture, are assigned by the excavators to the second millennium B.C.; but the bronzes, resembling those of Ur and the earliest bronze age of Cyprus, may well be earlier. Thirdly, an "Aramæan" settlement ($1\frac{1}{2}$ m.) with confused rectangular rooms immediately precedes the Assyrian conquest and occupation layer (6 m.). After the desertion (rather than devastation) of the Assyrian palace, the site seems to have wilted—probably the caravan road had shifted its crossing of the Euphrates to Jerablus or to Zeugma. But there are sarcophagi and jar burials, described as Persian, in the palace debris, and a thin top-dressing of Hellenistic votive terra-cottas and Arab remains.

Scattered about the lower town and beyond it, but very likely derived from the acropolis, are fragments of Hittite sculptures and inscriptions (published elsewhere), and the north-east gate of the fortress wall is guarded by couched lions resembling those of Carchemish and Singirli. The cuneiform inscription on the lions, already noted, records the doings of a governor, Shamshi-ilu, who is already known as eponym for 780, 770, and 752 B.C., and gives his lions their names. It throws new light on a difficult period, but demonstrates the continuity of Assyrian dominion at Til-Barsib.

Two other cuneiform texts, found near the palace, record victories of Assurbanipal; as one of them is unfinished, it probably belongs to the end of his reign (669 B.C.).

A. 768. J. L. MYRES.

Far East

MALAYSIA. A STUDY IN DIRECT AND INDIRECT RULE. By RUPERT EMERSON. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 536, maps 2. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937.

The author of this work is Assistant Professor of Government in Harvard University and he was enabled to undertake it by financial support from the "Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College". Based as it is on a very large number of sources, published and unpublished, and a "year's journey to the East", it is a valuable achievement, giving a fairly full account of the modern history, development, and present state of British Malaya, together with a good many statistics. The Dutch East Indies are also discussed but occupy less than a quarter of the volume, including an interesting comparison between Dutch and British methods of administration; these portions of the book may well be left to the attention of Dutch reviewers.

Besides being a compiler and observer, the author is a critic, but unfortunately he is also a strong partisan with preconceived opinions and prejudices. He makes much use of such terms as imperialism, capitalism, and exploitation, all in a derogatory sense, and his attitude of mind has often warped his judgment. For him, any government that is not dependent on a democratic electorate is an autocratic clique out of touch with the community. Even if it happens to do the right thing he is inclined to suggest a wrong motive (e.g. p. 479 in the matter of forest reserves, and of waste lands reserved for Malay occupation).

Actually, of course, the Government of British Malaya, as well as its officials, is subject to the law as administered

by the courts, and also to the regulations and the supervision of the Colonial Office; and through its local representatives it is in constant contact with the people under its charge. Moreover it is almost the only section of the highly mixed community of British Malaya that has no particular "axe to grind", but is concerned to give every race and class a "fair deal". The two races that together make up four-fifths of the population of the whole country are the Malays and the Chinese; and it is quite certain that neither would willingly submit to a legislative majority of the other. Such a situation would soon put an end to the cordial relations which at present exist between the various races represented in British Malaya.

There are many other points in the work on which comments might be made, for which there is no space here. But in view of the author's attitude towards the education policy of the local government (p. 303) it is only fair to mention that, while the government does not think fit to burden the rank and file of the rising generation with the learning of English, hundreds of Malay boys (besides Chinese, Indians, Eurasians, and others) pass the Cambridge School Certificate and Junior Examinations every year. For years past also there have been a few Malays (as well as Chinese and others) educated at English Universities or called to the bar at the Inns of Court; among the latter section one is now the ruler of one of the Federated Malay States and another has recently been appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of those States. Locally the study of medicine is promoted by the Medical College, and a variety of forms of higher education by Raffles College, both of which institutions are in Singapore and of University standard. The cost of education in the colony (Straits Settlements) amounted in 1936 to over 12 per cent. of its total expenditure.

B. 136. C. O. BLAGDEN.

STUDIES IN INDONESIAN CULTURE, I. Oirata, a Timorês Settlement on Kisar. By J. P. B. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG 10 × 7½, pp. 289, pls. 2. Amsterdam: Uitgave van N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 193'

This is the first of a series of monographs by an author wh under the auspices of the Rockefeller Institution has spen one year in the eastern part of the Malay Archipelago. Hi aim has been to furnish a reliable contribution to our ver scanty knowledge of the cultures and languages of that regio and to reconnoitre this ethnological field of study with a vie to the possibilities and requirements of future research work Seeing that in one year he visited five islands, his stay c each fluctuating between a few weeks and four months, th present volume may be termed the product of the age of th by-pass and the aeroplane: it would have made Van der Tuu or Von De Wall gape and stare. The title, indeed, is mis leading, as the contents are mainly linguistic. Quite rightl however, the author claims that "there is no better wa of approach to a culture than the study of the language" Accordingly he devoted his five weeks at the "sun-bathe palm-encircled" village of Oirata to taking down characteristic myth of tribal origin from the mouths of nin elders. This was done with the assistance of a native inte preter who knew Malay. "Our method of working was follows. After speaking one or two minutes, the narratc stopped and the interpreter slowly repeated what had bee said, so that it could be written down. At the end of ea session, when the narrators had left, the text was gone through mistakes were rectified, and the interpreter dictated a Mala translation. When the whole myth had been recorded an translated in this manner, text and translation were worke through once more, word for word, and the former wa grammatically analysed".

The folk-tale, which is the central feature of this interestin monograph, is prefaced by a chapter on the clans and caste and kinship in Oirata. The three castes, that occur in all th

south-western islands, "are on their way to becoming mere status-groups without fixed rules of heredity and unhampered by rigorous marriage prohibition. . . . The most serious symptom is the possibility of promoting oneself to a higher caste." Why serious, seeing that it is a world-wide phenomenon and except in rigid static communities to be expected from human nature? Although he disclaims perfect familiarity with the sounds of the language after so short a study, the author adds one chapter on phonetics and another on grammar; concluding with a useful vocabulary. The book is written in English

A. 987. R. O. WINSTEDT.

TOWARDS ANGKOR; in the footsteps of the Indian invaders. By H. G. QUARITCH WALES, with a Foreword by Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND. 9 × 6, pp 248, ills 42, maps 5. London · George G. Harrap, 1937. 12*s* 6*d*.

In this volume Dr. Quaritch Wales has done good service to the cause of Indonesian studies by presenting to the general public, in popular style, the results of the visits which he has paid during the past six or seven years to Siam, Malaya, Burma, Java, and Cambodia, for the purpose of studying Indian colonial expansion in those countries during the first millennium of the Christian era. His sub-title is not altogether satisfactory as it seems to connote military conquests, whereas, apart from the Chola invasions of the Malay Peninsula at the end of the period under review, most of the Indian "invaders" were probably traders or missionaries of the Buddhist faith, in fact "settlers" in the true sense of the word. If we pass this over, however, the general reader will find a clear and entertaining account of the author's travels in Siam, where he traced the course of the Indian settlers across the Peninsula from Takuapā on the west coast to Jaya on the east. Here he raises the interesting question of the Indian colonization of Java, and gives his reasons for

believing that it was from Jaya and not from Palembang in Sumatra that Java received its Buddhist culture. This problem will need much more study in the future, and the "pros" and "cons" are summed up by the present writer in his recently published work on "Buddhist Art in Siam".

Dr. Quaritch Wales paid a visit to Çri Deb (or Deva), an ancient Indian settlement in the heart of Siam on the Pāsăk River, where Indian statuary and inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries have been found; also to Pong Tük, a village which lies 100 miles west of Bangkok, where Professor Coedès discovered a Roman lamp and Buddha images of Amarāvatī type in 1927: and finally to U-T'ong, another ancient city lying on a branch of the Supan River about 60 miles north of Nakon Pat'om. This city was abandoned by its Tai prince and people in 1350 as the result of a cholera epidemic, a disaster leading directly to the founding of the new capital Ayudhya, which remained the capital of Siam until its destruction by the Burmese in 1767. The author found clear proof among the debris still existing of the truth of this tragic occurrence, and his description of the conditions under which the city was deserted is one of the best in the book.

Dr. Quaritch Wales devotes a chapter to the exploits of the Śailendras and their prince, who, under the style of the "King of the Mountains", obtained control of the Malay Peninsula in the eighth century A.D. and brought with him the Buddhist culture of the Mahāyāna school from the Pāla kingdom of Bihar and Bengal.

In the concluding chapters will be found short analytical essays on the architecture and sculpture of Java and Bali, as well as of Burma, and the volume ends with a panegyric on the marvels of Angkor.

The narrative is not connected, and some readers, to whom the subject is new, may find it rather difficult to absorb so much material covering so wide a field, but the author deserves the thanks of all interested in the study of Indian colonization

for introducing this subject to a wide public, and the writer is especially grateful to him, and to his gifted wife, for the work they are doing. They are both once again in Malaya, and the writer offers them his warmest hopes for the success of their newest excavations.

A. 947. R. LE MAY.

THE NEGRITOS OF MALAYA. By IVOR H. N. EVANS. 9 × 6, pp. xiii + 323, ills. 70, map 1. Cambridge: University Press, 1937. 25*s*.

This is the best book Mr. Evans has written. It summarizes in a convenient and attractive form our knowledge of a nomad people, knowledge for which we are largely indebted to the author. The author, who for twenty years was a Government ethnographer in Malaya, has written his work "in gratitude to my friends the Negritos for the many pleasant hours that I have spent in their company"; and this spirit informs his pages and makes them pleasing to read. His benevolence does not include Dr. Schebesta, whose unacknowledged literary piracies has made him for Mr. Evans a King Charles's head.

Mr. Evans disclaims being a philologist, but this matters less, when the recorded vocabulary special to these Negritos runs only to 150 words, many of them Malay loan-words with Bornean affinities. Mr. Evans has wisely avoided theories for the most part but (p. 280) his wording suggests that the Negritos may have reached Malaya from Borneo as "hangers-on" of the Pallavan bead factory he excavated at Kuala Selinsing on the Perak coast. Though both I and a Bangkok reviewer have read him in this sense, Mr. Evans assures me that we have misinterpreted his intention. Negrito remains have been unearthed in Indo-China, and the Negritos, whose dialect is Mon-Annam, may well have brought primitive Malay loan-words (which happen to survive in Borneo) from that region. Among a list of Sakai words Dr. Blagden could not identify at the time are several that find parallels in

Sundanese, but this does not argue a connection between the Sakais and Java. Mr. Evans ends his chapter on linguistics by a useful summary of Dr. Schebesta's conclusions, though he acidulously doubts that polyglot's claim to speak three Negrito dialects. I confess I share his doubts.

The bulk of the book describes with intimate knowledge life, folklore, religion, and magical practices. But if Dr. Schebesta has often forgotten to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Evans, so in an appendix on Prehistory Mr. Evans has forgotten to acknowledge all that he owes to that great Dutch authority Dr. P. van Stein Callenfels.

B. 8. R. O. WINSTEDT.

Middle East

L'IRAN SOUS LES SASSANIDES. By ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. 10 × 6½, pp. 559, figs. 52, map 1. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1936. D. Kr. 26.00.

This book marks a memorable stage in Professor Christensen's career. His first article on an Īrānian subject appeared in 1901; the patient research and calm meditation of the esteemed Danish savant have now extended over a period exceeding 35 years. Many scholars in many lands will take the opportunity of this important publication to express a wish that Professor Christensen may add a number of new volumes to the long list of his works on the languages, literatures, and folklore of the old and modern Īrān.

Four years ago Professor Christensen published a most welcome synopsis of the ancient period of Īrānian history ("Die Iranier", in *Handbuch d. Altertumswissenschaft*, von W. Otto, München, 1933, III Abteilung, I Teil, III Band, pp. 205–310). In the present work, after some brief remarks on the still dark period of Parthian dominion (250 B.C.–A.D. 224) he presents the history of the great Sāsānian empire (A.D. 224–651). The subject was already treated by the author in his excellent *L'Empire des Sasanides, le peuple,*

l'état, la cour, Copenhagen, 1907, which at once established his scientific reputation. The author writes now: "Au lieu de donner une nouvelle édition . . . de l'ancien livre, je me suis décidé à étudier l'histoire de la civilisation sassanide sous tous les aspects et à en décrire les phases autant que possible dans un ordre chronologique." Consequently the new work was conceived as a general history of the Sāsānian Īrān "l'histoire politique formant le cadre d'un exposé de la vie matérielle et spirituelle, des conditions sociales, des idées religieuses et philosophiques, des œuvres d'art etc." This catholicity constitutes the great merit of the book. So many discoveries have been made since 1900 and so many points discussed that only full-time specialists succeed in following up the publications scattered in numberless reviews, catalogues, lists of coins, and reports on diggings. To a great extent, Professor Christensen gives an upshot of all this mass of material, revises the current ideas, and gives the results of his own researches.

L'Iran, which is about four times as large as the previous *L'Empire des Sassanides*, is certainly a new book, but the essential kernel of the two is identical. Professor Christensen's chief interest seems to be more in statics than in dynamics and perhaps the new historical frame has somewhat disturbed the unruffled unity of his early essay. For the purely historical presentation, Justi's survey in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 1900, still holds good, but as an addition to it one needs a clearer digest of Marquart's deep but embroiled researches on the great movements of peoples on the Sāsānian frontiers. In this field a survey similar to Halphen's *Les barbares*, Paris, 1930, but written from the Persian point of view, would be highly desirable.

Already in Professor Christensen's works on Mazdak's communism (1925) and on the vazir Buzurgmihr (1929) one could appreciate his excellent knowledge of sources, and the survey of the latter, which in the new book occupies pp. 46–77, is much in advance of any existent publication. In the political

history some important questions, such as the rôle of Armenia in Perso-Byzantine relations, have been treated somewhat sketchily. Much useful material could be found in Professor Adonz's very good book on *Armenia in Justinian's time* (in Russian) and in the special works on the Sāsānian-Byzantine frontier by Chapot and Honigmann.

Speaking of the fall of the Sāsānian empire Professor Christensen (p. 508) says : " Notre essai d'expliquer la chute catastrophique de l'empire sassanide reste très imparfait ; nous sentons que quelques-uns des éléments les plus importants de l'évolution nous échappent." The subject was treated clearly though somewhat oratorically by Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, II/2, 1907, pp. 861–882 : cause della decadenza dell'impero Sassanida. From a politico-geographical point of view, the fact that the capital of the empire, Ctesiphon, occupied an eccentrical situation in a region with a non-Īrānian population, but which was akin to the Arabs, may be added to the causes of the sudden collapse.

The following are the remarks and suggestions on some minor points which are only a tribute of a thankful reader .—

P. 43. Yaghnåb lies south of Samarqand and does not belong to the Pāmīr. P. 56. On *aδvēn* see Marquart's special article in *Ungar. Biblothek*, xiii, 1927, p. 61, etc. P. 57 Nariman's *Iranian influences* is a very untrustworthy translation of Inostrantsev's Russian book. P. 58, etc. Of F. Gabrieli's articles the author seems to have overlooked *Etichetto di corte e costumi Sasanidi in Kitāb aḫlāq al-mulūk di al-Gāḥiz*, *RSO.*, 1928, xi, 3, pp. 292–305. P. 73. The recent translation of Sebēos is by F. Macler, Paris, 1904. P. 133, note 4. Instead of " pays des Cosséens " read *Bā-kusāyē* which is only a small district west of the Pusht-i Kūh, perhaps an ancient *colony* of the Cossæans. P. 161. It is not A. V. W. Jackson who located the temple of Ganjak at Takht-i Sulaymān but Sir H. Rawlinson in his famous *Memoir*, *JRGS* , 1841, x, p. 65–158. Takht-i Sulaymān lies in a side valley leading from the basin of Jaghātū to Zanjān. There are still some doubts about the identification of Ganjak : Leylān may still have a better claim than Takht-i Sulaymān. P. 268. The death of Yazdagird I is traditionally placed near a lake in the mountains of Tūs, *Shāh-nāma* ed. Mohl, v, 519–523. P. 321. The name *Māhōē* is explained as " *māh* ' lune ' avec un élément

inconnu" but certainly the suffix *-ōē* having a hypocoristic meaning is widely known in Īrānian languages, cf. all the names ending in Arabic transcription in *-awayh* (read: **ōya*), Kurdish names, such as Mamō (Muḥammad), etc., cf. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*. P. 364, the mountaineers of Kermān were probably called *Bārız* (as a mountain is still called) and not *Pāriz*; it is inexact to speak of a "peuple des Tchols", for جول in this case either means **chōl* (in Turkish "desert") or, more probably, is connected with the Turkish title *chur*, for *al-siyāsiyīn* the most probable explanation is still that of Marquart **spasıgān* "Dienstleute"; the name of Sughdabīl (near Tiflis) does not seem to be connected with Soghdians and merely reproduces Georgian *sagodebeli* "place of lamentation > cemetery", see *Jour. As*, July, 1930, p. 57. P. 438. Vahrām Čōbēn "homme de bois" (?). I suppose this name is connected with the southern Caspian (Dailamite) *żōpīn-zōpēn* "javelin". Pp. 441–2. Instead of "le roi des Kūshān d'origine Hephtalite", it would be less misleading to say: "roi Hephtalite, successeur des Kūshān" (cf. p 282). P. 495. *Rutbīl*, as the title of the king of Zābul, may be restored as **zunbīl* and connected with the local god Zūn (Marquart, *Festschrift E. Sechau*, 1915, pp. 248–292) P 170 It is noteworthy that the Zoroastrian festival of *ābhrīzaghān* was reintroduced by Shāh 'Abbās I under the name of *āb-pāshān*, see Bellan, *Chah Abbas I*, Paris 1932, pp 182, 202, 209, 220, 243.

A. 739. V. MINORSKY.

NADIR SHAH. By L. LOCKHART. 8 × 10, pp. viii + 344, ills. 10, maps 8. London: Luzac & Co., 1938. 21*s*.

There has not hitherto been any complete or standard history of that terrific portent, Nādir Shah, who from 1736 to 1747 was the sovereign of Īrān. Most of our knowledge of him is based on the works of Fraser and Hanway, with occasional sidelights from Sir William Jones' translation of Mīrzā Mahdī's history. But now we have at our disposal this authoritative and admirable biography, replete with information from practically every available source. It is true, as Dr. Lockhart points out, that fresh light on some details might be acquired from Dutch and other documents, but it is unlikely that anything of substance can be added to

the presentment of Nādir's career set forth in the book under review. The authorities on which it is based are almost without exception contemporary authorities, and the picture has been completed by data culled from authors of many various types in many various languages. Of the new sources now used by Dr. Lockhart for the first time the most prominent are the Diaries of the East India Company's officials at Gombroon, and two manuscript volumes of Muḥammad Kāzim's history which are at Leningrad. The latter, although in Dr. Lockhart's opinion inferior on the whole to the well-known history by Mīrzā Mahdī, constitute a source of especial worth, which has enhanced greatly the value of Dr. Lockhart's book. When it is added that the book is carefully documented and indexed, that it is rounded off with a description of the greater, and a full bibliography of the lesser, authorities, that the maps are clear, and that the printing is excellent, it will be recognized that little more could have been done to provide the ideal concomitants for a biography of this nature.

There is a legend that Nādir thought little of Paradise when he was assured there would be no fighting there. The story of his life is from beginning to end a story of warfare. It tells of the interminable ding-dong campaigns against the Turks, of savage attacks on the tribes of the Caucasus, of raids into Turkistan, and of the wonderful invasion of India with its appalling consequences. As a civil administrator Nādir was beneath contempt, but as a conqueror he can claim to rival Chingiz or Tamerlane. Dr. Lockhart gives full details of his conquests on land, and he has interesting passages which describe the efforts made by Nādir—with only partial success—to build up fighting navies in the Caspian and the Persian Gulf.

This book also emphasizes the fact—often lost sight of—that Nādir had nothing of the Īrānī nationalism which characterized the early Safavīs. He sprang from a tribe of Turkish origin, his armies were largely composed of non-Persian elements, and he had no sympathy with his Īrānī

subjects. In nothing is this shown more forcibly than in his religious policy about which Dr. Lockhart has many interesting things to say. His efforts to start a new sect of Sunnī complexion and to eradicate the Shi'a faith are among the most extraordinary features of his amazing career.

Of Nādir's unceasing cruelties and more especially of the terrible atrocities of his later years, when he was almost a maniac, Dr. Lockhart gives us a lurid picture. There is scarcely a trait in Nādir's character which can arouse the smallest sympathy, and yet in his inhuman violence there is something majestic, which fully justifies our desire for a closer knowledge of the life he lived. This desire is fully met by Dr. Lockhart in the comprehensive and scholarly volume under review.

B. 138. E. D. MACLAGAN.

LES MOUVEMENTS RELIGIEUX IRANIENS AU II^e ET AU III^e SIÈCLE DE L'HÉGIRE. By G. H. SADIGHI. 10 × 6½, pp. 333. Paris · Les Presses Modernes, 1938.

Muslim historians were not much interested in the ideas of those who belonged to other faiths, so the little which is known of the religious ideas of the opponents of Islam from al-Muḳanna' to Māzyār could be put in a very few pages. The author has made a book out of this subject by giving the political history at length and adding a long introduction on the general situation; with the result that there is more movement than religion in his work. The introduction is a careful piece of work which will be useful to students. It contains a history of the Umayyad dynasty in its bearing on Persia, showing that political, economic, and religious causes interacted; an account of the Zoroastrian priesthood and their literary activity, of the fire-temples, the religions of Māni and Mazdak, and the Zindīks. Some points are open to criticism. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is made to express an opinion in the year he was born on the tribute to be paid by Ṭabaristān.

One would like to have evidence for the statement that Yazīd b. Unaisa, the Khāriji, lived in the third century. The main defect in the book is the careless proof-reading; some of the dates are wrong and the long list of errata might easily be made longer. In places the book is very wordy.

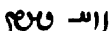
B. 105. A. S. TRITTON.

BEITRÄGE ZUR KAUKASISCHEN UND SIBIRISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT. By K. BOUDA. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Vol. XXII, pt. 4. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$, pp. 63. Leipzig, 1937.

The first part is *Die Darginische Schriftsprache* (pp. 1–42), dealing with the written language of the Dargo people, numbering about 100,000, resident in Daghestan; Peter von Uslar, the first to investigate this language, had already discovered five chief dialects and concentrated his study on the *Gawa*. He has been succeeded by A. Schiefner, L. Žirkow, and others. The present essay is, however, based on the literary chrestomathy of S. Ebdullayev, published at Machač-Qala in 1935, and is in close accord with Prince N. Troubetzkoy's *Caucasica*, viii, 35, so far as transcription is concerned; the various signs used in this branch of linguistics are not only perplexing to students but are difficult and costly from the typographic point of view. It is to be hoped that a few good British students may be attracted to the vast field of Caucasian linguistic studies, and there can be no hesitation in recognizing that works published under the auspices of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft are always helpful and worthy of that distinguished body.

In the same cover (pp. 43–63) the same author contributes a study, "Das Kottische Verbum," analysing the verbal forms of a Siberian language, now dead, which is of considerable interest for its affinity with Indo-Chinese. The study is based exclusively on the material collected, while the Kotts still spoke their own language, by M. A. Castrén.

B. 59. O. WARDROP.

Les composés de l'Avesta. Par Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liége, Fasc. lxxiv. 10 × 6½, pp. xi + 279. Liége : Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1936.

The compounds of the Avesta had not been previously treated in the grammars, although Bartholomae in his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* had given his own analysis of each word. M. Duchesne, undertaking this task on the model of Professor Wackernagel's treatment of Old Indian compounds, and supported by the advice of M. Benveniste, has produced an excellent book. All Avestan compounds are here analysed and classified. Incidental references are found also to Old Persian compounds in so far as they help to define those of the Avesta, but they have still to be treated in detail, a task which the small extent of the Old Persian texts and the imperfect transmission of Old Persian material in other sources makes more difficult. M. Duchesne has carefully considered the recent work on Old Iranian and has fully drawn upon it. On many doubtful points he has given his own reasoned interpretation. The book is important and this will justify the following notes.

It is interesting to find a copious use of a reconstructed Avestan text, with which, apart from a few details (as *ar-* in the unaccented syllable °*arta-* 52, 222,[1] *d* in °*adkam* 217, °*ṛžuχdanām* 141) one can agree, although the hypothetical Arsacid text will probably prove to be unreal, and the alleged transcribers not to have existed. Occasionally an Indianism has unfortunately crept in, against which only the later Iranian dialects provide a protection, so in °*hu-hūršabyō* 9 (where also, as in °*ǰīt.artabyo* 222, the ending is *-aibyō*, Bartholomae, *Zur Etymologie und Wortbildung der indogermanischen Sprachen* (1919) 19) °*aš-turvant* 115, more correctly °*aš-tarvant* 175, °*a-vi-turvya-* 115, **purat* 202. Equally °*bi-* for

[1] The numbers refer to pages of M Duchesne's book.

baē- 152, 182 and ${}_{o}$*dvīpai* 176 (following Wackernagel) are unjustified changes, particularly since within Old Indian itself *dvedhā́* (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa) and *tredhā́* (Ṛgveda) were developed. There is abundant evidence that Iranian developed differently from Indian, and the later dialects are decisive. A striking case is Avestan *aēvandasa* compared with Mid. Parth. *'yvnds *ēvandas* . *pančā.sadvara* 8 is equally well translated "with 50 gates" as in AIW., and the *ā* is then long, NPers. *panǰāh.* The interpretation of *zrū, hū* as **zruvō, *huvō* is hardly right. We have rather **zruvan(h), *huvan(h)* (the **zr̥van* 73 should rather be **zruvan-*) ; it is the problem of IE. *-és/-s* (as also in **dem-s* 134), known in adverbs as Av. *parō* (IE. **prə-és*) and *ərəš* (IE. **ərĝ-s*) and in the gen.-abl. case ending, which is probably originally the same suffix. It is most satisfactorily explained as the accented and unaccented forms of a suffix *-es*. Pahlavī has the *-ō-* of Avestan compounds, 11, as in [Pahlavi] (*Menōk ī χrat* 23. 5, 7) *b'gwkb'ht,* Pāz. *bayō.baχt,* but it is usual, for Avestan *daēvō.dāta-*, to read Pahlavī *dēvāndāt* which the spelling [Pahlavi] Vid. 19. 5 *ŠYDA'n' d't* proves right. We find equally the *-ō* of the nom. sing. [Pahlavi] *g'ywkmrt,* Avestan **gayō martā,* NPers. کیومرث. The augment *ā-*, 11, requires a different treatment in accordance with the theory of *ə* noted on p. 197. *Sarg₁hana* 15 should be *sarg₁ana,* Skt. *sr̥jati.* In place of *avah-* 17, as in AIW., *abah-* or *awah-* would be better. Skt. *būjra* is probably a misprint. OIran. *baug-* "save" has been compared with Skt. *bhuj-*, Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch,* II, 145. *darši-* 20 occurs as simplex, nom. sing. *daršiš.* If *apaoša* is ${}_{o}$*apa-vr̥ta-* 21, the tradition had lost the word, unlike the case of Mid. Pers. *fravart,* Av. *fravaši-*, but the **apa-uša-* of AIW. is still possible. *aravaoštra-* could contain **ā-rava-* "snarling", in agreement with Jackson's interpretation of *urvata-* "snarling". *driwi-* 22 can be interpreted from Mid. Pers. *drym* (which renders *driwi-*). *drym* is classed among the *āpīk* "liquid" parts of the body, blood,

drym, red bile (*viš*) and black bile. The contexts of *driwi-*, especially its association with *sraska-* "drop of water, tear", indicate that *driwi-* also referred to a liquid. It is hoped to publish the evidence shortly. *kudaṭ.šāitīm* 24 contains probably a participle to a base *kaud-* "strike, destroy", Mid. Pers., NPers. *kustan* "pound up". A negative *ana-* 25 is supported by Mid. Parth. *'n'-* (Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch* 107), Khotanese *anau* "without", as well as Oss *ănă-*. *-ārət* 26, 80 is far better explained as *-ā- ṛt*. On the theory of transcription Av. *w* in *χᵛawrīra-* 27 would need rather to be *b* than *wāw*. Since Avestan knows a secondary loss of a syllable (*fštāna-*, *nmāna-*, *fəδrōi*) *ahąχšta-* 30, 119 might better be explained as **a-ham-χ(i)šta-* in comparison with Khotan. *haṃkhàṣta-* "counted" (**χšāta-* 30 and *χšā* 119 have been given the wrong sibilant : *χsā-*). Ought one not to have *₀āpā* Dual for *₀apa* 44 ? *zāmātura* 48 stands twice for *zāmātara*. The Khotan. dual dvandva *mārāpatara* is interesting here. *kar-* 52 "to remember" is found with preverb in Mid. Pers. *uskār*, N. Pers. *sigāl*. Mid. Parth. *n'w'z* **nāvāz* with alif in the first syllable makes an Avestan **nāvāza-* more probable. In the interpretation of *nāršni-* 64 the gutturals have been confused : *gan-* has IE. *gʷh* not *ĝh*. *āgrəmatiš* 74 should perhaps be connected with *gram-* (NPers. *γaram*, Man. Sogd. *γr'ndyy*, Henning, loc. cit. 126, "ergrimmt") "be excited", assuming the existence of both pleasant and unpleasant excitement (as in *maud-* "rejoice, lament"), the favourable meaning being here indicated by the preverb *ā-*. *dāsmaniš* 74 could equally well be a Vrddhi formation to **dasman-* beside *dasvar-*. Avestan *arəna-* 76 should be interpreted by Khotan. *ārra-* "wrongful act", where *ārr-* represents OIran. *arn-* not *ṛn-*. The Skt. *ṛṇa-* is then more remote. Wakhī *wâd* "channel" 77 (most recently Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, II, 477, 548) hardly supports an OIran. *-ā-*, since OIran. *ǎ* is Wakhī *a* and *ā*. *viṯkavi-* 77 explained with AIW. as **vi-kavi-* does not notice Khotan. *vitkauñi*, *vitkaušta*, *vitkavīje* and (unpublished)

vitka rendering Skt. *bāla* "young, foolish" and *kumāra* "of a boy". If the *fravašis* 84 were originally dead heroes, it would be better to compare Mid. Pers. *gurt* "hero" < **vṛti-*, and Av. *-varəti-*, *-vərəti-* in *hąm.varəti-* "valour", which would suit the personal name *Φραόρτης*. The problem of *ārmati-* 89 has been often examined with no generally accepted solution. The metrical value of four syllables may be due to the value of *ā* with IE. *ə-* of the base *əer-* giving three morae: *ā* + IE. **ərmn̥ti-*, just as Av. *sraēšta-*, Skt. *śreṣṭha*, represents three syllables from Indo-Iran. **śray-išta-*: *-ayi-* > *aī* > *aē*, Skt. *e*; and as Av. *daēnā-* from IE. **dhᵉyənéə-*, Iran. **dayinā* **daīnā* is a trisyllable (to replace, as has been done, *daēnā-* by **dayanā-* is unjustified). Words with *st* corresponding to *zd* 95 (*buzdi-*, *busti-*) may represent a phonetic (not a morphological) change of a voiced group to unvoiced; OIran. **dugdar-*, NPers. *duχtar*, isolated from the verb, is best so understood. In the group -χδ- 95 it is probably best to keep the δ distinct from *t*. The use of δ in the (Mid. Iran.) form Av. *bāχδīm* "Balkh", may indicate an attempt to represent an *l*-sound. If *vyānā-* is the "soul" which knows 109, it is distinguished in meaning from Mid. Pers. *ǰān* "breath-soul", which is contrasted with *ruvān* "intelligent soul". The base *myav* 115 in AIW. leaves the ablaut unclear. It is evidently IE. **myéəw-*: *myəw-*, OIran. **myāv-*: *mīv-*, *m(y)ū*, as Skt. *sīvyati*, *syūtá-* IE. **syéəw-*: *syəw-*. The Pahlavī translation of *paradāta-* 120 is بدات ... '*bē dāt*. AIW. used *apē* for بی *bē*, but it was corrected in *ZAIW.*, 50, note 1. To the interpretations of *airyō.χšuθa-* 123 add Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt. Iran*, II, 84. Bartholomae's discussion of *aχᵛasta-* 125 in *Zur Kenntnis der Mitteliran. Mund.*, II, 24 ff. established the meaning of *χᵛasta* "threshed". Iran. *χᵛah-* is known in Sogdian, Khotanese and Ossetic. *bata-* 130 is explained by Morgenstierne as ptc. to *dvan-*. *činvant* 137 is perhaps rather "exactor", *činvatō pərətuš* "the bridge (passage-way) of the exactor", connected with *kaēnā*

"exaction". The translation "separator" requires *vi-kay-*. For Nyberg the *činvatō pərətuš* is the ecstatic's way to heaven, and he would connect *činvant-* with Skt. *ciketi*, *cinoti* "look towards" (*Irans forntida religioner* (1937), 205). In the problem of *sepuh* 139 the Khotanese may be decisive. Here are found *bāśīvārāṣṣai* "kulaputra" and (unpublished) *bīśīvirā* plur., rendering Skt. *uccaiḥkulīnāḥ* "of high family", **viśya-* is excluded by Khotan. *-s-* (*-śy-* is Khotan. *-śś-*, *-ś-*), and Khotan. *-ī-* may represent OIran. *-ai-* or *-ī-*. In Khotanese OIran. *-ah* is *-ä* (through **-ai*) in final position. Hence **bāśīvira-* will be OIran. **visah puθra-* "son of the vis", Av. *vīsō.puθra-*, with *-ī-* representing *-ah* > *-ai* in medial position. An OIran. **visai* dat. sing. would not suit Avestan (*vīsō.*) nor give an easy use of the dat. It is better to read *sūrčašmīh* 140 with *ū*: *sūr* = *suχr*. *para-* 144 may rather be compared with Skt. *purā*. Brandenstein's use of the *u-* in *uba-* 145 was hardly worth mentioning. The theory of pejorative *yaz-*, *yad-* seems purely imaginary. With *kayaδa-*, *kaēta-* one has now to consider Mid. Parth. *qydyg* magician (Henning, *BSOS.* (1937), 9. 84, 92) and Pahlavī *kyt*. The traditional interpretation of *mainyuš.χᵛarəθa-* 149 "having food from the invisible world" may equally well be correct. It is used in the Pahlavī form *mēnōk-χᵛarišn* in GrBd., 151, 10, of the three-footed ass. *vīrāspa-* 149 has rather an adj. *vīra-* "excited, intelligent". *nərəmyazdana* 149 may contain a form of *nar-* "be strong, prosper" Mid. Pers. *nar-*, Parāčī *nar-* "be able", cf. Khotan. *nade* Konow *NTS.*, 9. 56, Oss. *närsun* to swell, *nard* "thick" (IE. **əner-*), and so belong with the compounds on 199: "strengthening the myazda-offering." The explanation of *nurəm manō* 150 as *ₒnṛmanō* is too violent to be acceptable. It should have four syllables (and *mairyō* should be two, not three syllables). An adj. **nūra-* as in AIW. is possible. Now that Skt. *sabhā́* is explained from *bhā-*, Walde-Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, II, 123, the meaning of *habā̆-* as "race" 156 is unsupported. For *urvāpa-*, *uruyāpa* 158 and Addenda 271 (where *-y-* after

-u- may be intrusive as in *zūzuyanąm* and *duye* "two", since in the case of *duye* the theory of a graphic **dwyy* misread is unacceptable) beside *rav-* "flow", I had thought of *rav-* "roar", if the words belonged to mountain lakes and streams as in Yašt, 10. 14. *kaurva-* 159 was understood as "short" by later writers (*BSOS.*, 6. 598), which gives a good meaning. The change of *gouru-* to *gaura-* is by no means slight. It is still preferable to keep *gouru-*, OIran. **garu-*, Khotan. *gar-* in *garkha* "heavy". *spităma-* 165, Mid. Pers. *spyt'm'n*, may be understood as **spĭta- ama-* "having increased (= great) strength", connecting *spita-* with *spā-* (either Indo-Iran. *sp(h)ā-* or *śvā-*) : *spita-*, if from *spā-* as *mā-*, *mita-* ; or *spīta-* Skt. *sphīta*, if from *spāy-*. The conjecture **spita-* "white, bright" is unsupported beside the expected *spiti-* in a compound. With *-ama* "strength", "white" has no meaning. It would be preferable in *vīštāspa-* 172 to find a word with the meaning of *yuxta-*, *hita-* in the first part: *višta-* "bound" (?). *abda-* 188 can hardly now be considered apart from Mid. Pers. *aβd* "wonderful". Bartholomae's explanation in AIW. of *ustāna-* Skt. *uttāná-* as a ptc. is not disproved by Andreas-Wackernagel, *NGGW.*, 1931, 310. Both IE. **ten-* and **ten-ə-* are required to explain Skt. *tatá-* and *tāyáte* (beside **ten-w-* in *tanoti*) : **tāná-* is therefore correct. Oxytonesis is well attested (Macdonnell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 102) for the parallel ptc. in *-ta* with preverb, as *nicitá-*, *niṣattá-*. The case of *kṣiṇāti, kṣitá-, kṣīṇa-*, IE. **gʷhey-* and **gʷhey-ə-* is similar. *uttāná*, *ustāna-* is clearly best interpreted as a ptc. "stretched out, extended".

A. 827. H. W. BAILEY.

India

THE TEN PRINCIPAL UPANISHADS PUT INTO ENGLISH. By SHREE PUROHIT SWAMI and W. B. YEATS. 9 × 6, pp. 159. London: Faber & Faber, 1937. 7*s*. 6*d*.

It was a very laudable and also sensible service which Mr. Yeats did to the venerable art of translation when he

assisted Purohit Swami in a rendering of the orthodox wisdom of Ancient India into understandable English. There is very little to be said against Mr. Yeats's reasons which he gives in the preface: in fact they will find favour with many.

Let us dwell briefly on the problem. A translation as advocated and of which the volume under review is meant to be an example, should fulfil two conditions: it should do justice to the original both as regards sense and beauty of expression, and it should be in that form of English which appeals to the not over-educated person who shows a desire to assimilate and appreciate the ideas of great thinkers in other tongues as he is wont to assimilate and appreciate those of any kind of inspired genius in his own tongue. Such a translation should avoid anything which might "put off" the reader, because foreign terms and words are stumbling blocks to his intelligent as well as æsthetic understanding. Any technical translation can only appeal to the minority of "high-brows", but cannot be uplifting to the "ordinary man". In this respect great mischief has been done in religious, philosophical, and especially theosophical literature by the use of words which are foreign to our own language.

I admit that there are cases where a substitute in our language is entirely lacking: then the original term (left untranslated) itself assumes the function of a substitute, and let us be frank and confess that in spite of our pretending to know and to feel what the term conveys, it will remain a substitute and will never become our own flesh and blood, so to speak. We can therefore understand the insistence of modernizing translators that foreign terms should be avoided at all cost. In this respect the translation done jointly by Yeats and Swami reads pleasantly and inspiringly and represents an interesting attempt to avoid the stiltedness prevailing in other standard translations of the Hindu Sacred Lore. A similar attempt had successfully been made before: in Rev. W. M. Teape's *The Secret Lore of India*, which combines accuracy with grace of diction, and ranks as a true English

poetical version of select passages of the Upanishads. In the "Ten principal Upanishads", however, we have these ten rhapsodies in their entirety, with only a few omissions where ritualistic passages are concerned (the five first chapters of Chāndogya and several sections of Bṛhadāraṇyaka).

If merit is attached to the "dress" of the translation, this merit could have been greatly enhanced if an equal improvement had taken place in the contents, i.e. if the translation had been more true to the original so that it would be an actual rendering of the sentences in all points of their philological correctness. Here the author (it is the Swami who is responsible for the Sanskrit part of the job) lacks exactitude, and the translation is too free, sometimes defective in essentials and distorting the original simplicity and explicitness. It is a pity that by the striving after form the author has destroyed a good deal of substance. There are indeed so many discrepancies between the text and its translation that one wonders *why* Purohit Swami translates contrary to grammatical correctness. Surely he knows better ? Space forbids enumeration of many examples, but I have to give a few to substantiate my assertions.

Why, e.g., does P.S. translate *dāsyasi* with "you have given" (instead of "will you give") ? Or what does he mean when he translates *te ubhe nānārthe* by "both command the soul" ? (for "both lead to different results") ? Or *agnir bhuvanaṃ praviṣṭo* by "fire whatever it consumes" ? Then there is the famous phrase, forming the very basis of mystic experience and a fundamental teaching of the Secret Lore *sṛṣṭyāṃ bhavati ya evaṃ veda* ("he becomes an active partner in creation who has this mystic knowledge"), which our author renders as "who knows finds creation joyful". And again expanding that same thought, that doctrinally and psychologically so important sentence about the Brahmavidyā (divine knowledge) : *(tad āhuh ·) yad brahmavidyayā sarvaṃ bhaviṣyanto manusyā manyante kim u tad brahmāved yasmāt tat sarvam abhavad iti* ("if humans think that by God-

knowledge they *will* become everything, what indeed must that God have known that He *has* become the whole Universe ? ") is given in a very mutilated manner, leaving out the main point, simply as " it is said that everything can be got through the knowledge of Spirit. What is that knowledge ? "

To make a long story short, I have the uncomfortable feeling in reading this book, that although the translation is graceful and pleasant, it cannot be relied upon for scholarly purposes, and if a translation cannot be trusted to represent the sense of the original, what can we do with it ?

A. 842. W. STEDE.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA. VOLUME IV, THE MUGHUL PERIOD. Planned by Lieut.-Col. Sir WOLSELEY HAIG. Edited by Sir RICHARD BURN. 9 × 6½, pp. xxvi + 670, pls. 57, maps 6. Cambridge: University Press, 1937. Price 42*s*. net.

This is a noble volume and its issue is of special interest owing to the difficulties connected with its publication. These difficulties, due to the serious illness of the late Sir Wolseley Haig, by whom the work was originally planned, are explained in the Preface, and the editor, Sir Richard Burn, is much to be congratulated on having so dealt with his material as to produce a book of such completeness and consistency.

The volume is the work of several different scholars, and it includes (i) fifteen chapters of Mughul history, and (ii) three valuable monographs on Contemporary Burma, the Revenue System, and the Monuments of the Mughul Period.

The general history of the Mughul Empire is almost of necessity a history of the " Chronicle " type. The Indian historians, on whom we are dependent, though they differ from each other in their presentation of facts, almost always treat their material as a series of interesting, but disconnected, items, and our historians have little choice but to follow them in this respect. We are confronted with a succession of

personalities, a succession of wars, intrigues, and rebellions; but it is only seldom that we get a trace of anything in the form of a "Cause" or a high motive of any kind behind it all. The officials, the courtiers, and the commanders are sometimes men of striking character, but as a rule each is striving for his own betterment and nothing further. The real interest of Mughul history lies in the wonderful succession of strongly characterized rulers whom the dynasty produced, and it is doubtful if any royal family in the world can point to a series of rulers comparable to the "Big Six" of the Mughul Empire —Bābur, Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, and Aurangzīb. In bringing out the characters and achievements of each of these rulers the writers of this volume may claim to have achieved a marked success. Sir Denison Ross has dealt with Bābur, Sir Wolseley Haig with Akbar, Sir Richard Burn with Humāyūn, Jahāngīr, and Shāh Jahān, and Sir Jadunāth Sarkār with Aurangzīb; a galaxy of scholars well fitted to deal with so high a theme. The days of the Empire's decadence, which also have a strange interest of their own, receive similar treatment from Sir Wolseley Haig, Sir Jadunāth Sarkār, and Mr. H. G. Rawlinson. Every chapter in the book is marked by care and scholarship, but if one is in search of an easy historical style for the attraction of the general reader one would probably turn first to the contributions made by Sir Jadunāth Sarkār and Mr. Rawlinson.

Apart from the general history, the monographs in the three concluding chapters will for many readers constitute a special source of delight. Mr. Harvey's description of Burma in the Mughul period deals with a portion of history of which little is generally known, and if his account lacks something of the professional touch, it introduces us dramatically enough to the tales of blood and violence with which it is replete. In the hands of the late Mr. Moreland the mysteries of the Mughul land-revenue system are set forth with the lucidity which only a real expert can command, and the results of years of patient study

are here compressed into a fine summary, which tells us in careful outline all that can be safely said on a bewildering subject on which our information is necessarily incomplete. *And in conclusion we have in this book a glorious chapter* on the Mughul Monuments by Mr. Percy Brown, followed by 98 illustrations—a costly feature of the book, for which we are largely indebted to the generosity of Sir Dorabji Tata—and there will be few readers who can study this enthralling chapter and the accompanying series of beautiful illustrations without partaking in the writer's enthusiasm for the artistic memorials of the Mughul sovereigns. When other features of the dominance of the Mughuls shall have been forgotten, we shall still be following after their revenue systems, and we shall still be worshipping their monuments.

A. 903. E. D. MACLAGAN.

CONCEPTION OF MATTER ACCORDING TO NYĀYA-VAIÇEṢIKA. By UMESHA MISHRA. With a foreword by Mm. Dr. GANGANATHA JHA and an Introduction by Mm. Pandita GOPINATH KAVIRAJ. 9 × 6, pp. xxxviii + 428. Allahabad: Syt. Umesha Mishra, 1936. Selling Agent: Braj Bhusan Das and Co., Benares City. Rs. 6.

The present work deals with a single philosophical problem, and is an exhaustive exposition of what the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika schools have said on one particular theme. The method is systematic, and the author has shown enormous industry and ability in presenting the evidence of more than two hundred published and unpublished works. He calls it purely a representation of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika point of view, and as such its thoroughness and general accuracy give it great value, though the reader would have liked to know what the position of the system is in the history of thought, whether it is merely a superseded curiosity or whether it has contributed anything permanent to the living thought of India.

Naturally in a work of this kind there are hosts of words which have no equivalent in English. They may be explained

but not represented by a single term. Hence the author has used Sanskrit terms freely, but for the very subject of his book he has chosen the term "matter". Yet he knows that there is no corresponding Sanskrit term, at least in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. What he understands by matter (says the Introduction) is the entire Not-self, and this, it seems, is expressed in different schools by such terms as *prakṛti*, *māyā*, *bindu*, and *acit*. The term that the author uses is *jaḍa*, "that which is entirely free from consciousness". What he expounds is the whole cosmological aspect of the system, and it is what Aristotle would have called physics rather than metaphysics. Starting from atoms (matter in the real sense), he elucidates the doctrines of chemical action, *manas*, space, time, location, motion, causality, *karman*, creation, and the great elements. This was the original extent of the author's work, but he has added a chapter on *ātman*, so that the book becomes "a complete survey of the substances (*dravyāṇi*) recognized in this joint system." Owing to the purely expository method problems are raised which do not always appear to be solved. We are told that "both life and its function (*prāṇa*) are quite distinct from consciousness, which is a quality of the *ātman*". Yet further on we are told that "it appears that at no stage the *ātman* of the Naiyāyikas possesses any natural happiness or bliss. It is essentially *jaḍa* . . . The only thing which remains with the *ātman* during the state of liberation is its own *manas*." And what does *manas* mean in this system? This, too, is *jaḍa*, for it is "the non-bhautika form of atomic matter". And what of the *paramātman*? The conclusion is undecisive, for we are told that "it appears that as the Naiyāyikas do not believe in the existence of eternal bliss in the liberated *ātman*, so they are not prepared to attribute it to the *paramātman* also. But still there is a difference of opinion here also." The author has left his readers wishing for more.

A. 816. E. J. THOMAS.

HINDU CIVILIZATION: from the earliest times up to the establishment of Maurya Empire. *By* RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI. 10 × 6½, pp. xvi + 352, pls. 12, maps 3. London: Longmans Green and Co., 1936. 15*s*. net.

Though Professor Mookerji avoids the word history in his title, there is no doubt from his first chapter that history is what he has intended to write. He points out that in the case of India there is rich historical material in the sense of a record of social organization, economic life, literature, and religion, that extends far beyond exact dates. The book comes opportunely at a time when many are wishing to know what changes in our knowledge have resulted from the remarkable discoveries of the last few years. Naturally the last word has not been said, but here the results so far are brought together, and presented in a form useful both to the general reader and to the younger student who wants a guide through scattered material not easy to co-ordinate. It is intended, as he says, to bring together the results of specialized study of the different aspects of a vast subject as parts of an organic whole. He has kept the organic whole in mind, and at the same time adopted an individual point of view. His clear style and orderly method make the whole a pleasure to read.

There are chapters on prehistoric India with its geology, the Indus civilization, ethnology, Vedic, post-Vedic, and Epic culture and literature. History proper (reckoned from 650 B.C. down to Alexander) is treated in one long chapter covering nearly half the book. References to the sources are abundant, and greatly increase its value. But the statement of an ancient authority is not always the same thing as "recording realities". Perhaps it is too early to expect a firm distinction to be drawn. The author accepts the Sinhalese tradition for the reckoning of dates, and hence he makes Buddha to be born 623 B.C. Then he points out that the date of Asoka's coronation should thus be 326 B.C. Yet later on he tells us that 326 was the very year when Alexander crossed the Indus. Some co-ordination seems to be wanted, for the Sinhalese tradition, as Franke said,

stands on its own tottering feet, and here at least Franke was right, for the tradition is contradicted by all Indian authorities. This is not a minor point, as many other dates are made dependent on it. There are three excellent maps and some good plates, but in the case of the rock-shelter drawings it would have been better to tell us where they come from. The localities mentioned in the text extend from the Vindhyas to Bengal, and those in the plate must belong to Singanpur, a place not easy to find on the map.

A. 732. E. J. THOMAS.

STUDIES IN TAMIL LITERATURE AND HISTORY. By V. R. RĀMACHANDRA DĪKSHITAR. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xi + 339. Madras: University of Madras, 1936. 8*s*.

The present work is a reprint with a few additional notes of the work first published in 1930. A large portion of it had already been published in the form of separate articles in various journals. As the title indicates, it is not a full dress work on the subject of Ancient Tamil literature, but a series of essays, which are, however, fairly comprehensive. The work consists of three main portions: firstly, an account of the classical or "Sangam" literature, in which the various collections together with available legends about their authors are listed, followed by a similar treatment of the later mystic poets; secondly, a study of the *Kuṟaḷ* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, the most valuable section of which is an examination of his indebtedness to Sanskrit literature; and thirdly, a review of the political and social condition of the ancient Tamil country as reflected in the Sangam lyrics and the two epics. At the end of the work is a fairly complete bibliography both of the original texts consulted and modern works on the subject, the number of which is quite considerable.

The author displays a commendably thorough acquaintance with ancient Tamil literature, and has brought together in a convenient form a mass of information useful to the student.

Unfortunately his critical powers can hardly be said to be on a par with his erudition. The section of the work dealing with the Sangam literature and the mystic poets consists to a large extent of a repetition of the legends, always fantastic and often silly, which have grown round the names of the early authors. Now it is very interesting to have these legends thus set down; they are very instructive concerning the mentality of the people who produced them; especially in the case of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava religions we may say it is essential to an understanding of them to become acquainted with the main motives running through their hagiology. So far, so good; but the author shows a regrettable tendency to treat such fantasies as a basis for historical research, giving them credence on the slightest provocation, or without it. And even when he feels forced to reject them it is with obvious reluctance, and he is apt to forget that he has done so a few pages further on, so that his attitude in some cases remains quite unclear. Take for instance the legend of the Sangam itself. In the beginning of the book he gives an account of the story, catalogues the various sources, and summarizes the different versions occurring in them. Very useful; but his reasons for accepting them have not even surface plausibility. The commentators Aḍiyārkkunallār and Naccinarkiṉiyār were men "of no mean scholarship" (p. 6), and they accept the story. True; but the scholarship of Indian pandits had never any connection with history proper, and the testimony of writers living a thousand years after the events they narrate are presumed to have taken place is naturally worth nothing. The main authority he relies on is the commentary on the *Iṟaiyaṉār Agapporuḷ*, a "Grammar of love poetry in sixty *sūtras*" (p. 5). This work is manifestly later than the Sangam literature, and the commentary on it later still. However, the legend asserts that the commentary was composed by Nakkīrar, the celebrated Sangam poet, and handed down orally for ten generations before being put into writing. The story is obviously fantastic, apart from the fact that

internal evidence renders Nakkīrar's authorship out of the question. Yet the author is prepared to accept it, and use it as an argument to support his adherence to the Sangam legend. Examining the legend, we find it made up mainly of mythological elements; three Sangams lasting for 9,000 years, dynasties of mythical kings, gods, and *Ṛṣis* partaking in its activities, a magical plank deciding on the merits of poems, etc. And if we discard all this and yet retain the bare fact that there was some sort of Sangam, pointing out (p. 12) that *pariṣads* of learned men were a regular thing in ancient India, then exceedingly little remains and that not very important, except as a useful designation for the corpus of early poetry.

What is more important is to settle within as narrow limits as possible the date of the respective works and their relative, if not absolute, chronology. This the author deals with, though not with particular fullness, since to do, is hardly within the scope of the book. However, to examine his views: after rejecting, with what in the case of anyone else we would regard as mock seriousness, the view that it began in 9000 B.C. (where he makes, by the way, the perfectly gratuitous, but common, assumption that the people of Mohenjodāro were Dravidians) and the view that it was contemporary with the Mahābhārata war (on the strength of certain passages in the poems), he concludes that the period must have begun in the fifth century B.C. on the ground that *Tolkāppiyam* is earlier than the *Kuṟaḷ*, which he puts in the second century B.C., and that there must have been literature earlier than Grammar. That the *Tolkāppiyam* is earlier than the *Kuṟaḷ* is not actually proven, though it may be so. That there was literature before the *Tolkāppiyam* is no doubt the case; and it is curious that while assuming this he should be so eager to contradict (App. p. 309) the views of K. N. Ṣivaraja Pillai, who has advanced some cogent arguments in favour of its being later than the *Puṟanāṉūṟu*. Since his argumentation bases itself on the age of the *Kuṟaḷ*, we naturally turn there (p. 133) to see what he has

to say, but find the reasons given likewise very weak, such as the assumption, without any foundation whatever, that Ēlēlasiṅga of the Vaḷḷuvar legend is identical with Ēlāra (misspelt *Alāra*), the Tamil king of Ceylon in the second century B.C.; and the acceptance as genuine of the quite obvious forgery *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai*, in which the galaxy of Sangam poets praise in turn the author of the *Kuṟaḷ*, etc., etc. The only things that emerge quite clearly from his discussions of the *Kuṟaḷ* are: (1) That the *Kuṟaḷ* is later than the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*. The author deals at length in a valuable chapter (pp. 146–174) on the *Kuṟaḷ's* indebtedness to Sanskrit literature. In the case of the other works he mentions the correspondences are vague, but in the case of Manu it is quite clear from the passages he quotes that a large number of *Kuṟaḷ* distichs are practically translations of ślokas in Manu, and presuppose, apparently, a knowledge of that work on the part of Vaḷḷuvar. (2) There are distinct references (pointed out before) to the *Kuṟaḷ* both in the *Maṇimēkhalai* and the *Śilappadhikāram*, from which it is clear that these two works are later in date. Beyond these two facts of relative date nothing certain emerges.

In the last portion of the book, concerning administration, politics, etc., the author is dealing with his own particular field. He presents a concise and comprehensive account of the subject based on the original texts, and being mainly descriptive there is naturally less to criticize than when he is dealing with more controversial topics.

A. 884. T. Burrow.

Une Parisienne aux Indes au xvii^e^ Siècle (Madame François Martin). By Yvonne Robert Gaebelé. 10 × 6¾, pp. viii + 263, map 1, plans 2, ills. 26. Pondichéry: Imprimerie Moderne, 1937. Rs. 5, or 35 frs.

Following her work entitled *Créole et Grande Dame* (*Johanna Bégum, Marquise Dupleix*) Mme Robert Gaebelé tells us in

this volume all that is apparently known about Mme Martin, wife of François Martin, the founder of Pondicherry and of the French Colony in India. Before going out to the East in 1665 (originally in the service of the Dutch Company) Martin had married in Paris Marie Cuperly, who had borne him children; but it was not till twenty years later that she and one of her daughters were able to join him at Surat, where he was then in charge of the French factory. From there we accompany the Martins to Pondicherry and after seven or eight years, on the capture of that settlement by the Dutch, to Batavia. The Dutch authorities, who appear to have treated them with every consideration, permitted them to proceed to Bengal, where they stayed at Chandernagore till Pondicherry was restored to the French in 1699, when Martin returned there as Governor, in which capacity he spent the last seven years of his life. Mme Martin lived on at Pondicherry till her death in 1711.

The information relating to Mme Martin herself being very meagre, the authoress has woven round her a description of the local conditions and events of the time derived chiefly from the *Mémoires* of her husband and occasionally from references made by travellers. Though we obtain no very intimate picture of her personality, we have at least a carefully drawn sketch of the surroundings in which she passed the last 25 years of her life. The illustrations are mostly reproductions of old engravings.

B 56. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

TRADE IN THE EASTERN SEAS, 1793–1813. By C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiii + 435, ills. 8, maps 2. Cambridge: University Press, 1937. 16*s*.

Mr. Parkinson offers this book as a specimen of "maritime history", that is to say, something between economic history and nautical archæology, and most readers will agree that it

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Mr. Parkinson offers this book as a specimen of " maritime history ", that is to say, something between economic history and nautical archæology, and most readers will agree that it

justifies his contention that there is room for this new department of study. Within his chosen period I have scarcely a criticism to offer on his work · his account is lucid, interesting, and, where I have checked it, accurate; indeed my only grumble relates to his extension of the Malabar Coast as far north as Surat Surely it is better to follow the consistent Indian tradition which divides the west coast of India into three sections, the Malabar coast, the Konkan, and Gujarāt. When the author looks back, the result is occasionally less satisfactory, for his concentration on his own period seems to have blurred his vision of the long evolution which preceded it, and there are a few misleading statements, as when he describes Calcutta about 1756 as consisting of "a small fort and a straggling village at its gates" (p 33). In fact the population of Calcutta was estimated to exceed 100,000 at that time A larger question is raised by the suggestion (p. 6) that before A D 1500 Asiatic seamen were deterred from rounding the Cape by their want of courage rather than defects in technical equipment. This may be true of the Chinese, to whom the author refers, but for the seamen of the Indian area, who were more likely than the Chinese to make the attempt, there is good evidence to show that they were deterred from it not by any want of courage but by the knowledge that their ships were structurally too weak to face the conditions to be expected south of Madagascar. The strength of the grand ships built in India in the eighteenth century was not, as Mr. Parkinson suggests, a feature of the indigenous industry, but was the result of mating European technique to Indian materials and labour

A. 921.

(†) W H MORELAND.

Biblical Archæology

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM JUDAICARUM. Recueil des Inscriptions Juives qui vont du IIIe siècle avant Jesus-Christ au VIIe siècle de notre ère. Vol. I : Europe. Edited by PATER JEAN-BAPTISTE FREY. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. cxliv + 687, pls. 317. Rome : Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana ; Paris : Geuthner, 1936.

Truly " the earth casteth forth the shades ". The only thing is that, far from being shades, they are really very substantial figures. A little elusive they may be, but they are none the less able to render tolerable account of themselves.

In this volume, the first of the new Corpus of Jewish inscriptions, it is mainly the ancient Jewish community of Rome which speaks to us through the medium of the tombstones found in the catacombs. Tombstones, it may be objected, are notorious for their mendacity, but that in turn depends upon the details which you seek to wrest from them. We need not believe for a moment that every Rufina or Sabbatia was really such a little treasure as her sorrowing parents might have us believe, but when we are told that X was archon for the second time, or that Y was chief bumble of the congregation, there is no ostensible reason for being suspicious, and from such seemingly trivial details it is possible, in large measure, to reconstruct the life and constitution of this ancient community.

But first let it be said clearly that any talk of a single Jewish community at Rome in these times is inaccurate talk. In the learned Introduction to this work, in which the editor presents a conspectus of what the inscriptions tell us, it is shown with abundant clarity that there was no united community and no central authority. The Jews of Rome were divided into so many congregations, each jealously preserving its own autonomy. These congregations had each its several officials, and they were buried in distinct quarters.

The organization of the communities, or congregations, can be traced through the various titles found on the tombstones,

Putting our information together, we may say that the central authority lay in the hands of a Board of Elders (*Gerousia*), presided over by a *gerousiarchês* or " President ". But this Board functioned, for all practical purposes, through a smaller committee of *archontes* or " governors ", upon which the priests or *kohanim* (Greek, *hiereis*) might also serve. The *archontes* were elected annually in the month of Tishri (September-October), which begins the Jewish religious year. They had distinct functions. There was an " *archōn* of all revenues ", "a Commissioner for Charity " (*phrontistês*), a " Secretary-General " (*grammateus*), and an archon whose function seems to have been to represent the Jewish congregation in civic affairs (*prostatês*).

The constitution thus traced survives, down to the last detail, in that of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' congregations of London at the present day. They, too, are governed by a Board of Elders, which in turn elects a *Ma'amad*, or Executive Standing Committee, out of its own number, and each member of this committee has a distinct function. Moreover, two members of the *Ma'amad* are annually elected, others retiring, in the month of Tishri.

Now, an interesting point about these official titles is that they are paralleled, for the greater part, in those borne by officers of both the Ptolemic and Roman administrations in Egypt. There, too, we hear of the *archontes*, the *grammateus*, and the *prostatês*. This is the more significant when it is remembered that the Jewish communities of Rome came originally from Alexandria, in Egypt ! Unfortunately, this salient point has been overlooked by Pater Frey. Those interested in the correspondences will find a useful body of material in F. Oertel's *Die Liturgie* (Leipzig, 1917).

Besides the communal officials, there were others concerned more closely with the service of the synagogue. The chief of these was the *archisynagōgos* or " President of the Synagogue ". He was distinct, at least in office, from the *gerousiarchês* in exactly the same way as the " Parnas Presidente " of the

modern Spanish and Portuguese Congregation in London is distinct from the President of the Board of Elders. Apart from this official, there was also the *hypêretês*, or Minister. The duties of the Minister were to superintend the offices of the synagogue. He was not a precentor or preacher, as the modern connotation of the word might suggest. The title *hypêretês* is paralleled, indeed, in the Egyptian administration (Oertel, p. 57), where it denotes an officer of the state. The Hebrew equivalent is *hazzan*—a word which has now degenerated into the meaning "precentor", but which originally bore a wider administrative meaning. In Assyrian, for instance, *ḫazanu* approximates to "burgomaster", whilst in a fourth century B.C inscription from Kition (Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, No. 21) the "chief of the *haz'anim* (*sic !*)" is mentioned side by side with the "chief of the financial directors (*srsrm*)".

Pater Frey is not quite accurate in his remarks concerning the "priests" (*hiereis*) Whilst rightly observing that the priest lost many of his functions with the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, it is not correct to say that, apart from the pronouncement of the Priestly Blessing on festivals, he has no office. The priest redeems the male first-born and is the first person called to the weekly reading of the Law

In his section on the Religious Life of the Jews Pater Frey presents an admirable review of the evidence acquired from the pictorial embellishments of tombstones But he makes one curious remark He says that "although many Jews assert to-day that Judaism has never imposed dogmas upon its adherents, but that it has merely promulgated certain precepts which have to be observed, the study of ancient documents results in the very definite conclusion that belief in one God, Creator of the universe, Revealer of the Law, and Saviour of Israel, is a *sine qua non* of membership of the chosen people" (p. cxix). Pater Frey here unwittingly misrepresents the Jewish point of view. What the Jew says is not that there are no cardinal tenets in Judaism, but that Judaism is a

civilization, the dominant traits of which emerge from the consciousness and experience of the Jewish people, rather than a creed imposed by dogmas No man, once he has entered the covenant of Abraham can be ruled out of Judaism on doctrinal grounds, and even the ban of excommunication (*herem*), vested in the rabbinate, is confined to exclusion from the congregation. No rabbi can say that a man is not a Jew because of his beliefs; he can say, at most, that he may not participate in the life of the immediate community. It is this that is meant by saying that Judaism is not determined by dogmas. Indeed, the point is, in a nutshell, that the tenets of the Jewish faith do not serve, by way of dogmas, as criteria for determining whether or not a man is a Jew, for Judaism is a culture rather than a creed

The paintings in the Jewish catacomb on the Via Appia are, as Pater Frey rightly observes, of pagan origin They reflect the exterior influences, especially of Orphism, which bore upon the Jewish community But it may be suggested that the pagan symbols, which the Jews saw, inspired a funereal art of their own, and that the seven-branched candlestick is, in a sense, a Jewish counterpart to the Roman funereal lights Similarly, the depiction of what appears to be the table of shewbread might be a kind of retort to the heathen practice of presenting food to the dead. Sometimes, of course, as in the catacomb under the Villa Torlonia, the paintings are purely conventional, e.g the palm-branch (*lulab*), Scroll of the Law, ram's horn (*shofar*), etc. But even here the *idea* of such decoration may well have derived by way of imitation from non-Jewish models We have an exact analogy in the completely un-Jewish figures of sorrowing angels, etc, whose marble ugliness disfigures many a Jewish cemetery to this day, and we have a further parallel in the way in which quotations from Shakespeare or Longfellow often replace Biblical verses on epitaphs.

The main portion of this book is naturally devoted to the inscriptions themselves. Transcriptions and translations are

given in every case, as well as a bibliographical note. More often than not a photograph or line-drawing is also provided.

The inscriptions are far from being literary masterpieces, but for all that they are not without interest. Particularly interesting is the manner in which stereotyped Jewish expressions are reproduced in Greek. Thus, the frequent phrase μετὰ τῶν ὁσιῶν ("with the holy") or μετὰ τῶν δικαίων ("with the just") reflects the Hebrew formula: "May rest untroubled in the Abode on High, under the wings of the Presence, *in the high place of the holy* . . . be accorded unto the soul of N N." This formula is still recited in the Sephardic Prayer for the Repose of the Dead (*Hashkabah*). Similarly, when a woman is described as καλῶς βιώσασα, this represents the stereotyped Hebrew הצנועה ("the modest"), often found in epitaphs. Again, the curious epithets φιλόλαος ("lover of the people") and φιλοπένης ("lover of the poor") in No. 203 surely represent the standardized Hebrew אוהב הבריות and חונן דלים, whilst the regular ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ κοιμήσις αὐτοῦ ("May his rest be in peace") accords with the formula על מקומו יבא בשלום still recited when the coffin is lowered into the grave. In No. 173 εὐλόγια πασὶ is a representation of a Hebrew ברכה על הכל ("God's blessing on us all!"), the word ברכה being taken in too strict a sense.

In connection with No 516, which is a gilt glass inscribed "Rise up, drink, live," Pater Frey might well have quoted similar inscriptions fully described by Rendell Harris in his famous essay on the "Antioch Chalice"; as well as two kylikes in the British Museum (Second Vase Room, Cases 48, 49) inscribed respectively χαῖρε καὶ πίει εἶ and πίου ἐμέ. No eschatological meaning need be read into the legend.

In No. 154 the restoration ἄμ[ω]μ[ος] would also be possible, as an alternative to the editor's ἄμ[ε]μ[πτος].

As for the symbols on the gravestones, the dove has a parallel on Syrian tombstones, as also in Etruria. No. 412 seems to image a trowel. Has this any bearing on the Jewish

legend that the dead will burrow a tunnel to the Holy Land ? How old, for one thing, is this legend ?

There is only one really literary epitaph. This is No. 476, from the Via Portuensis. It is a short poem in hexameters. The style and tone may be roughly conveyed by the following crude rendering —

> Here lies Regina in a fitting tomb,
> Reared as a husband's token of his love
> A score of years, four months, eight days with him
> She lived, then wandered to the realms above
>
> Yet she again will live, again return,
> Again arise (as true faith doth attest),
> Unto the promised everlastingness
> Of all the pious, who hath earned her rest
>
> There in the Happy Land By chastity,
> And human love and duty to the Law,
> Well hath she earned it, and by faithfulness
> Which was withouten spot, withouten flaw.
>
> For all these things thy future shall be Grace,
> Wherein thy saddened husband seeks solace.

The editor adds to this volume a number of epitaphs from other parts, e g. Apulia, the Bosphorus, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, etc., together with some which are manifestly false and some which are of doubtful Jewish character. There are also extremely good indices of Greek and Latin proper-names and ordinary words, and of symbols

The whole work, which is dedicated to the Pope, is an excellent example of careful epigraphic study, leaving the student to desire nothing When completed, this Corpus will fill a real want and constitute a monument in Jewish studies.

There is only one omission which I have spotted, and that is a short and fragmentary inscription found in 1898 in the ruins of an ancient house opposite the Church of San Paolo fuori le Mura, on the Via Ostiensis at Rome Its Jewish character is attested by a *menorah* engraved on it The inscription is now in the collection of Columbia University and was published by Max Radin in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1917, pp 281-3.

A. 694. THEODOR H. GASTER.

DES JOSEF BEN GORION (JOSIPPON). Geschichte der Juden **ዜና፡አይሁድ።** nach den Handschriften in Berlin, Oxford, London, Paris, und Strassburg Herausgegeben von MURAD KAMIL. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xlviii + 333, pls. 12. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937. $15.

An Ethiopic translation of the History of Joseph ben Gorion, a worthless and almost comical compilation chiefly from the works of Flavius Josephus, is frequently cited in Dillmann's Lexicon, and a chapter of it was published by Sir E. W. Budge in his *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (1896). The whole is now rendered accessible with elaborate critical apparatus, Introduction and Appendices, by Mr. Kamil, who states that the task was suggested by Professor Littmann; by its execution, over which he has spared no pains, he claims to be satisfying a long felt wish, apparently for ascertainment of the text employed by the translator. This matter might indeed have been settled by the citation of a few sentences, that the Ethiopic is translated from Arabic is rendered certain, e.g. by the account of the Jewish sects on p 90. The first sect is the *farisāvyān* (Pharisees), of which the interpretation is "*separate*". Three lines further down the *farisāvyān* disappear, their place being taken by *elmeetezlā*, i.e. the Arabic *al-Mu'tazilah*, whereby classicizing versions of the Gospels render the Pharisees (misleadingly, since the Mu'tazils were sceptical about angels and spirits). The Arabic abridgment of which this Ethiopic is a literal translation has been printed, and Mr. Kamil shows that it must be as early as the fifth Islamic century, for he cites a Leiden MS of Ibn Ḥazm's *Fiṣal* for the reading "Yūsuf ibn Kuryūn" in lieu of the printed "ibn Hārūn", in the quotation i, 99.

The Hebrew original in Breithaupt's edition fills 892 columns; the Ethiopic occupies 333 pages of about the same content. The abridgment is thus about one-third of the original in extent. It must be said for the Ethiopic translator that he has produced a very interesting book, not

always intentionally entertaining. A gem in which the author and the translator participate occurs on p 124, where we learn that Cæsar was called Bulbus because he was born in the fifth month. (Bulbus is, of course, a misreading of the Arabic Iulius, the dots distinguishing the *I* from the *B* having been omitted or blurred)

Besides furnishing a valuable Introduction Mr. Kamil has provided lists of matters found in the Ethiopic but not in the Arabic, and vice versa ; of Arabic idioms and phrases reproduced by the translator ; and of passages in the Ethiopic which are either mistranslated or unintelligible without consultation of its original He has also given an index of proper names, with the Arabic which they transliterate, and often travesty

The care with which he has carried out his undertaking deserves high praise We can scarcely say the like of the Hebrew compiler, the Arabic condenser, or the Abyssinian translator.

B 94 D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Cuneiform

TEMPLE DOCUMENTS OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR FROM UMMA By GEORGE GOTTLOB HACKMAN. Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B Nies, Yale University Vol V $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9$, pp. xi + 34 pls lxxiv New Haven Yale University Press, 1937 22*s*. 6*d*

The series to which this volume belongs having now resumed its appearance under the editorship of Professor F. J Stephens, who was himself the author of the preceding volume (noticed in this *Journal*, 1938, p 322). Dr. Hackman here presents 74 plates of good clear copies of 346 tablets, selected for their interest from a larger number in the Nies Babylonian Collection now belonging to Yale University. The class to which they belong needs no description to-day; almost every museum of Oriental antiquities contains at least a few specimens, and

some have very large collections. Of this seemingly inexhaustible mass (and doubtless further great stores still lie undiscovered), some thousands have already been published, and the main problem now is to find the most suitable method of doing justice to the odd point of interest which a tablet of this kind often contains without overburdening the student with endless volumes The method here adopted is probably the best—first to select the tablets and then to furnish indexes of their contents. For Dr. Hackman's comprehensive collections all students will be grateful, since in addition to names, divine and human, he has listed cities, buildings, fields, rivers, fauna, flora, foods, vessels, tools, and officials. Moreover he promises a succeeding volume with discussions and translations (the latter, we might hope, will be only selective). Whether it is now necessary to copy these texts *in extenso* is a question that might be raised, but it would be ungracious to cavil at the industry of the author. The indexes, so far as mere inspection can reveal, seem excellent. Personal names in these tablets give rise to many problems, but Dr. Hackman's list is in general free from the monsters too often espied in such pages.

B 14 C. J GADD.

NEUBABYLONISCHE RECHTS- UND VERWALTUNGSURKUNDEN. By M SAN NICCOLÒ and A UNGNAD Beiheft zu Band I, Glossar, von A. Ungnad. 9 × 5¾, pp. xi + 170 Leipzig J. C Hinrichs, 1937 M. 27.

In this convenient work of about 170 pages (a compass attained only, we are told, by severe abridgment) are presented almost all the words comprised in the volume of translations to which it is a pendant, including those which appear as elements in personal or local names, each word being illustrated by quotation of passages wherein it appears in the forms and with the meanings exemplified. These quotations are the part of the work which the author regrets in his preface having had to curtail most severely, in view of which warning the

user will be agreeably surprised to find them still so numerous. The sacrifice of completeness in this particular is, however, deplored by Professor San Niccolò from the point of view of the historical jurist in his part of the preface, which is distinctly critical of the work which it introduces. He complains also that the Glossary departs in some cases from the translations jointly agreed upon in the text of the volume, and that it takes too little account of the jurist's interpretation of the definitely legal terms. Yet it may be supposed that the purely legal student, ignorant of the language, is not likely to make use of the Glossary, and need not therefore run much risk of being misled, whereas none will deny the great value of this collection to all students of the language, not merely of these particular contracts, but of Akkadian in general, where the lack of a recent dictionary is so serious an obstacle. It is true that Professor Ungnad has rather inappropriately chosen to model some part of his work upon certain private ideas concerning the force of the verbal forms, but he has applied these ideas only to an extent which can easily be disregarded by anyone who does not share them, without losing any advantage of the material presented. There is a puzzling misprint on p. vi of the Preface, where a small italic *f.* has disappeared in front of "vor femininen Namen und Berufen".

B 9 C. J. GADD.

Islam

HISTORY OF THE ARABS. By PHILIP K. HITTI. 9 × 6½, pp. xvii + 767, ills. 56, maps 20. London: Macmillan, 1937. 31*s.* 6*d.*

It is safe to recommend this book to anyone who wants a general idea of what the Arabs did. In addition to the political history, it tells what manner of men these were, how they lived in public and private, how they amused themselves, and what they thought. There is plenty to criticize in detail.

It would be interesting to treat this book as a descendant of the great Arab historians and trace in detail its lineage. The author is too fond of the picturesque and has mentioned legends which were exploded six hundred years ago. If mentioned at all, their place is in the chapters on literature. It is in these chapters that the professor's sense of proportion, so sure elsewhere, has failed him. The history of literature, written for itself, is one thing, but, written as part of a general history, it is quite another. There are two ways of treating the subject · either to concentrate on a few great men and display them as a positive achievement up to which the smaller men were striving, this is the method followed in the political chapters ; or to describe the literature in general terms, what men wrote about, how they wrote, and how fashions changed. In his chapters Professor Hitti has been afraid to leave out anybody with the result that he has produced a dry catalogue of names.

A. 860 A. S. TRITTON.

DAS ARABISCHE VOLKSBUCH VOM KÖNIG AẒ-ẒÂHIR BAIBARS. Von HELMUT WANGELIN. (Bonner Orientalistische Studien. Heft 17.) $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 308. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1936. RM. 15.

In popular Arabic literature the *Sīra* of aẓ-Ẓāhir Baybars takes the place of Sulṭān Ṣalāh ad-Dīn's (Saladin's) adventures in European literature. E. W. Lane first studied the tales of Baybars, and gave a specimen of them in his *Modern Egyptians*, ch. 22. A more copious selection of them was published by G. Weil in the first edition of his translation of the "Thousand and One Nights": his renderings were, however, rather incorrect.

Taking as his basis the Cairo edition of 1908–9, reprinted in 1923–6, and other manuscript versions of the *Sīra*, the author of the book under review gives a good synopsis of the extensive Baybars literature. The central figure is 'Uthmān, the hostler, around whom a whole literature has developed.

This synopsis is of good use to all Arabists. In 241 pages a detailed account, with critical notes, is given of the contents of the whole complicated *Sīra*-literature The remainder of the book consists of four chapters, treating of the historical contents of the work—the author taking the view that, besides popular tradition, the historical elements in the *Sīra* can be traced to written pseudo-historical narratives—of the saints mentioned in the *Sīra,* of the principal figures of the narrative, and, finally, of the author's thesis that the *Sīra,* unlike other popular romances, reflects the ideas of the lower classes of an urban population.

A. 715. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

THE CRESCENT AND THE ROSE ISLAM AND ENGLAND DURING THE RENAISSANCE By SAMUEL C. CHEW. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp xviii + 583, ills 16 New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. 21*s*. net.

This is a very learned, instructive, and entertaining book, though the fancy title is of doubtful appropriateness, and even the explanatory title does not clearly indicate the contents, which include travels, politics, biographies, and literary allusions to Oriental personages, products, and institutions. The mass of erudition crowded into the foot-notes at times reminds one of Buckle's *History of Civilization.* Rather more than a fifth of the work is devoted to the adventures of the three Sherley brothers, Thomas, Anthony, and Robert, for whose memory not a little has been done by Sir E. D. Ross; the chief hero of the chapter dealing with the corsairs is an English pirate named Ward, who appears to have been a master of his craft. Justice is done to many more reputable persons whose exploits have fallen into oblivion.

An interesting chapter is devoted to the opinions current about the founder of Islām and his sacred book. The notion that the Prophet was buried in Mecca has survived to our

own time, and is to be found in quite recent books. Mr. Chew endeavours to account for the story current in Europe, but unknown to Oriental writers, that the Prophet's coffin was suspended in the air; since stories of the kind are told by Arabic authors of Hulagu and Timourlenk, I had suspected that the Prophet had been confused with one of these; but Mr. Chew shows that it was known in the eleventh century, two centuries before Hulagu's time. The fiction that a dove was trained to peck out of the Prophet's ear would seem to be in origin some opponent's comment on Surah, xvi, 104: *Say: the Holy Spirit brought it* (the Qur'an) *down from thy Lord.* Mr. Chew's statement that "Pocock, for all his learning himself gave the tale further currency in his own writings" is unfair: Pocock does no more than Mr. Chew himself, stating that Grotius got it not from any Muhammedan source, but probably from Scaliger.

Much light is thrown in this work on passages in Shakespeare, Marlow, and other poets, and a great deal of both *Wahrheit* and *Dichtung* is collected from travellers' journals. The statement (p. 198) that the wearing of green by persons claiming to be of the Prophet's family appears to be of Turkish origin, not Arabic, requires modification: the Egyptian historian Ibn Iyas (i, 227) records that it was an ordinance of the Mamluk Sultan Sha'ban in the year 773 (began 15th July, A.D. 1371), and the odes which he cites make it clear that it was this potentate's innovation.

B 97. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE MEDICO-PHILOSOPHICAL CONTROVERSY BETWEEN IBN BUTLAN OF BAGHDAD AND IBN RIDWAN OF CAIRO. By J. SCHACHT and M. MEYERHOF. Egyptian University Faculty of Arts, Publication No. 13. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 124 + 96, facsimiles 5. Cairo: Egyptian University, 1937.

The material cause of this book is a dispute between two doctors of the tenth century, one a Muslim and one a Christian, and its final cause is to serve as an introduction to the thought

of the age. It is worth noting that the Muslim never attacks his opponent on religious grounds though he calls him every kind of fool, for language is not restrained. The volume contains extracts from the pamphlets written during the controversy, biographies of the two men from various sources (it is a treat to have some pages from Ibn Abī Usaibi'a in a readable form), and a long introduction. The English version accompanying the texts is a mixture of translation and summary. The introduction sketches the progress of Arab medical knowledge, in other words, the translation of Greek medical works into Arabic, and ends with a summary of a book by one of the disputants. Full references to authorities are given so that a student can easily carry his researches further A sidelight on contemporary morals may be noticed. The prostitutes of Latakia, who consorted with Greek travellers, had to have documents sealed by the Archbishop. Al-Ṣūli tells us that the disorderly houses of Baghdād paid a tax to the catholicus. One criticism of the English may be allowed, indiction is not the same as indictment.

B. 11. A S TRITTON.

ṢAḤĪFAT AL-TAKWĪN. By MUHAMMAD NĀṢIR AL-MULK (H H the Mehtar of Chitral). 8 × 6, pp 270, ills 11. Lahore: Muḥammad Nasīr Humāyūn, 1938.

It is now some thousand years since Islam, having established its dominion over a large portion of the world's surface by force of arms, faced up to the problem of securing a no less resounding victory in the intellectual field, and to the task of reconciling Greek science and Greek metaphysics with the inspired word of the Qur'ān. To-day Islam is faced with a similar intellectual crisis. A materialistic philosophy, constructed on the basis of an imperfect grasp of the theories of modern science, has made a powerful appeal to the imagination of Muslims educated after Western methods; and the need is once more urgent for the creation of a theology fully

armed to meet the challenge of the new paganism. With this end in view H.H. the Mehtar of Chitral has written the present book; and he has chosen as the medium of his apology the Persian *mathnawī*, which he writes with admirable fluency. Within these pages the theories of the electron, of relativity, of evolution are expounded with a wealth of language and a remarkable ingenuity of vocabulary, and Qur'ānic sanctions are quoted and explained. The text is illustrated by diagrams and plates of the type generally found in popular manuals of science.

The author is a young man, and has neither the philosophic profundity of a Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl, nor the scientific training of a Dr. Ghamrāwī: but his book is of interest as being symptomatic of a movement within Islam, purely Islamic in character, which may have profound consequences in the future. Religious forces the world over are at grips with a common foe, a crass materialism which, in a multitude of uniforms, fights cunningly esconced behind a rampart of pseudo-scientific dialectic · if religion is to win the conflict, it may legitimately use the enemy's chosen weapons to gain its own ends. All who see in true religion the only salvation of mankind must welcome and applaud the single-minded fervour which inspires the writing of such a book as this.

B 113. A. J. ARBERRY.

ISLAM IN THE WORLD. By Dr. ZAKI ALI. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. xi + 428, 1 map. Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashtaf, 1938.

The author states in his Preface that his object in producing this book is twofold: first to place before Muslim and non-Muslim readers a concise presentation of Islam, and secondly to describe the profound transformations to be seen in Islamic countries and the bearing of these changes on world saffair. Misunderstandings, he justly observes, lead to conflict, and reconciliation makes for stabilization in world affairs.

The book was written in the international atmosphere of Geneva, and Dr. Zaki Ali, Egyptian by nationality, may be correctly described as a world Muslim.

In his account of Islam as a religion and a social order, he insists on the harmony which it aims at maintaining between religion and life, and answers some of the criticisms levelled against it. He does not consider Islamic law static, nor Islamic polity as inconsistent with the most modern and advanced ideals in international relations. He points out the cosmopolitan strands in the evolution of Islamic civilization.

In dealing with the modern situation he gives a comprehensive account, necessarily compressed, of the various movements, literary, social, industrial, educational, and political, in the various countries of Islam. Cairo he looks upon as the nerve-centre of awakening Islam. The chapter on "The Emancipation of Islam", covering 105 pages, is the core of the book. It reviews the recent political history of the various Islamic countries, and is followed up by a discussion of "Islam and International Affairs". The discussions are mainly objective. Kamalist Turkey, independent Egypt, the problems of Palestine, the Syrian Mandate, French North Africa, Italy and Islam, the Kingdom of Irāq, Transjordania, Saudi Arabia, Īrān, and Afghanistan, and the Islamic position in India and the Far East, including Soviet Russia, are considered in turn. Modern Turkey is adequately described in the three departments of nationalism, industrialism, and secularism. But it is not clear how far Dr. Zaki Ali approves the particular aspects in which these appear in modern Turkey. On the whole he appears to be sympathetic to these modern tendencies. But as his ideal also includes that of the solidarity of Islam beyond international boundaries, the position of Turkey, and the growing sentiment of nationalism in Egypt and Īrān, as well as the living ideal of a pan-Arab nationalism, have to be considered in juxtaposition. The Sanjak of Alexandretta illustrates one

phase, that of conflict. On the other hand, the pact between Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and Irāq illustrates another phase, that of a growing feeling of geographical solidarity.

The book is furnished with population statistics, a selected bibliography, and a map, but would gain in value by the provision of an index.

B 125. A. YUSUF ALI.

Miscellaneous

THE MOST NOBLE AND FAMOUS TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO together with the Travels of Nicolo de' Conti. Edited from the Elizabethan translation of John Frampton. By N. M. PENZER. 9 × 6½, pp. lxiv + 381, 11 maps. London . A. and C. Black, 1937. 18*s*.

The first edition of this work, published by the Argonaut Press in 1929, was reviewed in this *Journal* for April, 1931 (pp. 455–7). This is a welcome re-issue at less than half the price of that edition, which should ensure for it the wider circulation it well deserves. While the coloured frontispiece has been omitted, the maps are the same, and the text appears to have been reprinted verbatim. The only apparent addition is the note (pp. lxi–lxiv) on " The House of Marco Polo, at Venice ", written after local visit and inquiry.

Since Mr. Penzer compiled his valuable notes in App. I, so far as we know, the only local investigation bearing on Polo's route has been that made by Sir Aurel Stein in South-Eastern Persia in 1932 regarding the route followed from Kermān to Hormuz (see *Archæological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran,* pp. 155, 176), the result of which seems to corroborate generally the line indicated on map 2, facing p. xxxvi, of this volume.

Mr. Penzer has rendered further service by bringing to notice and printing Frampton's translation of Santaella's Castilian version of Nicolo de' Conti's travels. He does not overestimate the importance of this great traveller's record,

in respect of which several difficulties in the identification of sites remain to be satisfactorily solved. Major's edition of Winter Jones's translation from the Latin of Poggio (published in 1857) is quite out of date, and a carefully annotated English edition is called for.

A. 996. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES. Vol. II, Pt. II: Minor Collections and Miscellaneous Manuscripts. By G. R. KAYE and E. H. JOHNSTON. Section I, Nos. 1–538, by G. R. KAYE. 10 × 6, pp. xix + 1167. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1937.

This series of catalogues is invaluable to research workers on subjects relating to India. Vol. i, pt. i (Mackenzie "1822" and "Private" Collections) and vol. ii, pt. i (Robert Orme Collection) have already appeared, and have met with deserved appreciation. The present volume deals with a large number of minor collections and miscellaneous MSS., many of which contain interesting and useful material. Among these are the voluminous Fowke and Francis MSS., including many letters not yet utilized, and the Buchanan-Hamilton papers covering all the activities of that gifted and versatile man during his service in India, the complete records of which were deposited in the archives of the E.I. Company. There are also large collections of Brian Hodgson and Stamford Raffles papers of permanent interest, and Moorcroft MSS which relate chiefly to the travels of William Moorcroft and George Trebeck in Ladakh and other parts of the Himālaya, Afghānistān, and Bukhārā in the years 1820–5, besides numerous small collections and separate papers which many students will be glad to know of and examine.

The volume has been carefully edited; the papers are fully listed, and an adequate description is given of each document. The biographical and other notes, and the references to other

works treating of the same subjects attest the care and labour devoted to the catalogue by the compiler, the late Mr. G. R. Kaye. The India Office may be congratulated on having secured the assistance of Dr. E. H. Johnston in completing the catalogues.

A. 980. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS OF THE JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS COLLECTION IN THE FREE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA. By MUHAMMED AHMED SIMSAR. 10 × 7, pp. xix + 248, 48 ills. Philadelphia: Free Library of Philadelphia, 1937.

This handsomely produced volume contains descriptions of the 153 manuscripts in 15 Oriental languages forming part of the Collection of the late Mr. John Frederick Lewis and now housed in the Free Library of Philadelphia. The bulk of these manuscripts (100) is divided between Arabic (35), Persian (52), Turkish (10), and Urdu (3): for the rest, there are 8 in Sanskrit, 4 in Pali, 13 in Ethiopic, 10 in Hebrew, 11 in Armenian, and various other items, including an Egyptian papyrus. The collection is not notable for rarities: the only apparently unique manuscript is No. 23, an abridgment of al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl,* possibly an autograph. On the other hand, there are no fewer than ten copies of the *S̲h̲āh-nāmah,* of which one (No. 52) is dated 996/1588, all illuminated, some of the illuminations (excellently reproduced) being of great merit. There is an Armenian manuscript of the Four Gospels (No. 115), dated 1504, with eleven paintings, and a Hebrew Old Testament (No. 140) dated 5256/1496. No. 85, an incomplete calligraphic copy of the rare *Dīwān* of the Persian poet Wiṣāl (d. 1262/1846), is stated to be an autograph. The plates indicate some of the superb items which this carefully-selected collection contains.

The cataloguer has taken great pains with his work, which is in the main accurate and reliable, and acknowledges his

obligations to other helpers. There are a few errors of transliteration, of which the most curious is the persistent spelling of āllāh (*sic*), an orthographic absurdity. On p. 23, al-Aqfahs is incorrect for al-Aqfahsī. It seems extremely doubtful that a Muslim could have borne the name Muḥammad al-'Omar (p. 24): presumably al-'Umarī is intended. The author has not seen fit to include in his bibliographical equipment Ethé's *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*: had he done so, he would probably have succeeded in identifying "His Excellency the Exalted Colonel Ṣāḥib Connel Barry Clemens (*sic*) Bahādur" (p. 101, cf. n 3) with the eminent Sir Barry Close, to whose munificence the India Office collection owes 14 manuscripts. Ethé 1318, a *Haft aurang* of Jāmī, bears an inscription on the flyleaf recording that the manuscript was given[1] at Hyderabad to "Colonel Barry Close" by Munshī Mīr ibn 'Alī on 24th (not 23rd) June, 1810/21 Jumādā I, 1225, the very same day on which he gave Sir Barry Close the *Khamsah* of Niẓāmī which now resides in Philadelphia (No. 62).

A. 979. A. J. ARBERRY.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

HIMALAYAS OF THE SOUL. Translations from the Sanskrit of the Principal Upanishads. By J. MASCATO The Wisdom of the East. London: John Murray, 1938

PRACTICAL LESSONS IN YOGA. By SWAMI SIVANANDA SARASWATI. Lahore: Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1938.

[1] Ethé incorrectly states (col 755) that "this copy was made for Sir Barry Close, 1810, by Munshî Mîr Ibn 'Alî" the manuscript actually contains notes by former owners, one of which is dated 1157/1744. Sir Barry Close is stated (*D.N.B.*, xi, pp. 122–123) to have been "an accomplished Arabic and Persian scholar." A letter written by him in 1803 is contained in the India Office MSS Eur. F. 18, pp. 35–40, see *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages*, vol ii, pt. ii, sect. i, pp. 712–713.

CONCEPTS OF RITI AND GUNA IN SANSKRIT POETICS IN THEIR HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. By P. C. LAHIRI. Ramna: University of Dacca, 1937.

MI FU ON INK STONES. Translated by R. H. VAN GULIK. Peking: Henri Vetch, 1938.

A BUDDHIST BIBLE. Thetford, Vermont, U.S.A.: Dwight Goddard, 1938.

MEGHADUTA OF KALIDASA. Translated by R. H. ASSIER DE POMPIGNAN. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1938.

OS PORTUGUESES EM DIU. By A. B. DE BRAGANÇA PEREIRA. Bastorá India Portuguesa: Tipografia Rangel. Separata de O Oriente Português.

THE ARCHAIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM LACHISH. By JULIAN OBERMANN. New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, No. 9, 1938.

ICONOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN INDIA. By G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL. Translated by A. C. MARTIN. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1937.

ESSAYS AND STUDIES IN MEMORY OF L. R. MILLER. By I. DAVIDSON. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1938.

LE LIVRE SUR L'OEIL DE HONAIN IBN ISHAQ. By P. P. SBATH and M. MEYERHOF. Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte: Tome xxxvi. Le Caire, 1938.

ZUM SOGHDISCHEN VIMALAKIRTINIRDESASUTRA. By F. WELLER. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes xxii, 6. Leipzig, 1937.

RESEARCH INTO THE TEXT OF I SAMUEL, I–XVI. By P. A. H. DE BOER Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1938.

THE POLITICS OF PHILO JUDÆUS. By H. L. GOODHART and E. R. GOODENOUGH. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1938.

LITERARY CHINESE BY THE INDUCTIVE METHOD. Edited by H. G. CREEL. Chicago: University Press, 1938.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN HINDU CIVILIZATION. By A. S. ALTEKAR. Benares: Culture Publication House, Benares Hindu University, 1938.

PAÑJĀBĪ ṢŪFĪ POETS, A.D. 1460–1900. By L. R. KRISHNA. London: Humphrey Milford, 1938.

DISSERTATIONES IN HONOREM DR. EDOUARD MAHLER Dr. J. DE SOMOGYI and others. Budapest, 1937.

A MALTESE-ARABIC WORD-LIST By C. L DESSOULAVY. London: Luzac, 1938.

THE WILL TO CIVILIZATION. By JOHN KATZ. London: Secker and Warburg, 1938.

THE LAUGHING DIPLOMAT By DANIELE VARE. London: John Murray, 1938.

ANCIENT LAND TENURE AND REVENUE IN CEYLON. By H. W. CODRINGTON. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1938.

LORDS OF THE SUNSET. By MAURICE COLLIS. London: Faber and Faber, 1938.

HISTORY OF PRE-MUSALMĀN INDIA. By V. RANGACHARYA. Madras: The Indian Publishing House, 1937.

LANGUAGES IN HISTORY AND POLITICS. By A. C. WOOLNER. London: Oxford University Press, 1938.

HISTORY OF ZOROASTRIANISM. By M. N. DHALLA. New York Oxford University Press, 1938.

PREHISTORIC POTTERY IN CHINA. By G. D. WU. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner for the Courtauld Institute of Art, 1938.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. By H. R. ISAACS. London: Secker and Warburg, 1938.

AFFAIRS OF CHINA. By Sir E. TEICHMAN. London: Methuen, 1938.

A SERVANT OF THE EMPIRE. A Memoir of Harry Boyle. By C. BOYLE. London: Methuen, 1938.

COURT POETS OF IRAN AND INDIA. By R. P. MASANI. Bombay: New Book Company, 1938.

IMAGE-BREAKERS. By D. M. BORGAONKAR. Bombay: New Book Company, 1938.

RADHA: A HINDU BELLE. By I. SOUSA. Bombay: New Book Company, 1938.

THE MINOR ANTHOLOGIES OF THE PĀLI CANON. Part III. Buddhavamsa The Lineage of the Buddha and Cariya-Pitaka, or The Collection of Ways of Conduct. By B. C. Law. London: Humphrey Milford, 1938

SUFISM. ITS SAINTS AND SHRINES. By J. A. SUBHAN. Lucknow: Lucknow Publishing House, 1938.

TEXTES ARABES EN PARLER DES CHLEUHS DU SOUS. Translated by E. DESTAING Paris Paul Geuthner, 1937.

ṢAḤÎḤ AL-BUKHÂRÎ. Translated by MUHAMMAD ASAD (LEOPOLD WEISS). Lahore: Arafat Publications, 1938.

SYLLABARIES A, B' AND B, WITH MISCELLANEOUS LEXICOGRAPHICAL TEXTS FROM THE HERBERT WELD COLLECTION. By P. E. VAN DER MEER. London: Oxford University Press, 1938

PRZYCZYNKI DO BADAN NAD DZIEJAMI REDAKCYJ RĀMĀYAṆY. Contributions à l'Histoire des Recensions du Rāmāyaṇa. By E. SLUSZKIEWICZ Cracow: Nakladen Polskiej Akademii Umiejetnosci, 1938.

THE ADVAITASIDDHI WITH THE GURUCANDRIKA. Edited by S N. SASTRI. Mysore Government Branch Press, 1937.

PROPHECY AND DIVINATION AMONG THE HEBREWS AND OTHER SEMITES. By A. GUILLAUME. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938.

THE BUILDINGS OF QĀTBĀY. 1 Fasc. Edited by L. A MAYER. London: A. Probsthain, 1938.

THE DRAGON BOOK. Edited by E. D. EDWARDS. London: W. Hodge, 1938.

CUSTOMARY LAW OF THE NOMADIC TRIBES OF SIBERIA. By V. A. RIASANOVSKY. Tientsin, 1938.

DAS HEBRAISCHE BEI DEN SAMARITANERN. By F. DIENING. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, 24. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938.

RITUALE MELCHITARUM. By M. BLACK. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, 22. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938

DEUTSCHLAND UND SEINE NACHBARLANDER. By W HOERNERBACH. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, 21. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938.

GUIDE THROUGH ABHIDHAMMA-PITAKA. By NYANATILOKA. Colombo: Associated Newspapers of Ceylon. London: Luzac, 1938.

ASSAM BURANJI. A History of Assam from A.D. 1648 to 1681. Edited by S. K. DUTTA. Government of Assam, 1938.

OBITUARY NOTICE

William Harrison Moreland

OB. 28TH SEPTEMBER, 1938

Moreland was born in Northern Ireland in 1868 and was a scholar and exhibitioner at Clifton College from 1881 to 1886, when he passed into the I.C.S. He spent his period of probation at Trinity College, Cambridge, taking a first in the Law Tripos and obtaining the degree of LL.B. in 1889 when he proceeded to India. After a few years in district work he became assistant settlement officer at Unao, and on the death of the settlement officer finished the work of assessment and wrote an admirable final report (1896). Increasing deafness disabled him from ordinary duties and undoubtedly prevented his rising to the highest posts in the service, but his abilities and experience marked him out for the post of Director of Land Records and Agriculture, which he held with conspicuous merit for twelve years. During this period he had to deal with the important questions of simplifying the systems of land records and settlement of land revenue, the improvement of the training of *qānūngos*, and the transformation of the agricultural school at Cawnpore into a college with a staff of experts new to the country and suspicious of the head of a department with no specialized scientific training. Moreland was, however, a student all his life, and his official reports on a variety of topics showed his grasp of facts and the results of continual study of economic theory. It is sufficient to quote here the eulogy of his services in Sir John Hewett's resolution on the famine of 1907–8 in the United Provinces : " . . . much valuable information embodied in this resolution has been supplied by Mr. Moreland, whose long study and mature judgment of the economic conditions of the United Provinces has been of the greatest assistance to the Lieutenant-Governor throughout the past year." During a visit to Australia he selected varieties of wheat which were resistant to attacks of rust, and one of these became the most valuable strain in the

province. For his official services he was made C.I.E. in 1905 and C.S.I. in 1912.

While in India he published a book on the agriculture of the U.P. (1904), intended for officials and landholders, and a short history of the Revenue Administration (1911), both of which were of great service to the classes for whom they were designed, and were translated into the vernacular. In 1913 appeared *An Introduction to Economics for Indian Students*, in the preface of which he noted: "I have been forced by experience to realize that to a large proportion of Indian students of Economics the subject is abstract and bears little relation to the facts of Indian life." This comment will be appreciated by all who know how the subject was being taught in Indian Universities thirty years ago.

Moreland retired in 1914, having spent all his service in the United Provinces, where he had many friends attracted by his high character and abilities He then passed two years as Agricultural Adviser in Central India On his return to England he set about the study of the economic history of India in the seventeenth century, the earliest period for which original authorities are abundant. This involved acquiring a knowledge of Persian, Dutch, and Portuguese. He soon realized that existing translations from the Persian had been made by literary scholars who had no knowledge of revenue business and had not always mastered the specialized terminology of the period. In a series of preliminary studies in this journal and elsewhere he put forward revised theories. The first complete production was *India at the death of Akbar* (1920), followed by *India from Akbar to Aurangzeb* (1923). These books have filled notable gaps in the written histories of India and are particularly valuable for their use of the Dutch records, which were practically unknown in India and in this country. As noted in the reviews of them in this *Journal* (1920, p. 380, and 1924, p. 684) they are marked by skill in the selection of material, clarity, and attractiveness of exposition, and frankness in admitting difficulties and the

possibility of other interpretations. A later and more difficult work of this character was *The Agrarian System of Moslem India* (1929), which involved study of the earlier records as it opens with the thirteenth century. As an example of his extreme care to be accurate, he personally examined fifteen manuscripts of the Ain-i-Akbari to elucidate a single section. Finally, in 1936, in collaboration with Sir A. C. Chatterjee, he published *A Short History of India*, which deals with the development of culture and economic history, including just sufficient of the political events to link these together.

In addition to these comprehensive studies he also edited a number of original descriptions of conditions in India or travels, viz. *Jahangir's India* (with Professor Geyl), a translation from the Dutch of Pelsaert (1925), and for the Hakluyt Society, *Relations of Golconda* (1931), and *Peter Floris : His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe* (1934), and he contributed a number of papers to various journals, all bringing out some new view on Indian topics. Many students in India, in Holland, and in this country are grateful for his full assistance to those who sought his help.

While at Cambridge Moreland ran for the University in the cross-country contest with Oxford. As Director he taught his young *qānūngos* to play hockey and football, a task that would have seemed impossible forty years ago. For many years after his retirement his short annual holiday was spent walking 30 miles a day in country where there was no danger from motors. His many friends valued his correspondence, a letter on a serious subject generally ending with a flash of humour. Only three days before his sudden death he wrote apropos of a book he proposed to edit for the Hakluyt Society : "The traveller Struys turned up, and I am now considering whether at 70 +. I am justified in committing myself to 400 quarto pages of black letter, with notes ranging from Russia to Java. . . I suppose I must take it on ; it looks like a lifer."

33. R. BURN.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Lidzbarski Trust

At the Oriental Congress held in Rome on 23rd–29th September, 1935, Professor P. Kahle of Bonn University made the following announcement. Professor Mark Lidzbarski, well known as an authority on N. Semitic Epigraphy and Mandaic literature, who died in 1928, left by his will a sum of money sufficient to provide a prize of 5,000 gold marks to be awarded for some extensive work dealing with Semitics, especially archæology and the science of religion, the subject of such work to be announced at every second international Congress of Orientalists, and the prize awarded at the following Congress.

He desired that a Committee for the choice of subjects and assignation of the prize should consist of four persons, of whom the German and the American Oriental Societies, the French Société Asiatique and the R.A.S., should each appoint one. Administration of the Trust was to be in the hands of the Prussian Kultusministerium, which commissioned Professor Kahle, as manager of the D.M.G., to approach the other Societies. That Society appointed Professor Enno Littman of Tubingen to serve on the Committee; the S.A., Mons. R. Dussaud, Membre de l'Institut; the American O.S., Professor Ch. Torrey of Yale University; and the R.A.S., Professor D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford.

It was further desired in the will that, at those Congresses at which no prize was awarded, a medal should be presented to some Orientalist of special merit.

The subject selected for the last prize composition was "The Additions to our knowledge of the Aramaic Dialects since the publications of Theodor Noldeke", and the prize was awarded to Dr. Franz Rosenthal of Berlin. The subject for the next competition will be chosen at the next Inter-

national Congress of Orientalists, which will probably be held in Paris in 1941.

On that occasion the medal will be presented, under the terms of the Trust, to " some Orientalist of special merit ".

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series of publications under the Royal Asiatic Society

By the generosity of Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, a Trust has been founded to facilitate the publication of original literary contributions on Buddhism, Jainism, or the History or Geography of Ancient India up to the end of the thirteenth century A.D.

The first period during which MSS. may be submitted by competitors closed on 31st December, 1938. Details are given in the loose sheet enclosed but they may also be obtained on application to: The Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

Notices

Copies of every article published in the *Journal* are available for purchase at the time of publication. In the case of a few of the older *Journals* the copies of certain articles are sold out, but in most cases they are still obtainable The cost varies in accordance with the number of pages and plates; the average price is about 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

As it has been found necessary to reduce the number of pages in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* for the present, the space available for reviews of books has been proportionately restricted, and the Editor regrets that he is unable to publish a review of every book presented to the Library of the Society.

The Council has decided that, until further notice, the Scheme for Transliteration of Sanskrit, Arabic and other alphabets (January number) and the List of Members (July number) shall be published every third year.

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April, 1939.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

Far East

India

Miscellaneous

OBITUARY NOTICES

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1939

PART II.—APRIL

The Ships of the Arabian Sea about A.D. 1500

BY (†) W. H. MORELAND

(*Concluded from p. 74*)

THE POSITION IN A.D. 1500

It is clear then that the ships plying in the Arabian Sea in 1250–1350 were structurally weak. The question whether this feature persisted until 1500 must be answered almost exclusively from the early Portuguese literature. It is very voluminous; most of it is either badly indexed or not indexed at all; and I have not been able to search it all through, but have looked only in the likely places. My collection of passages may thus be incomplete, while those I have found are mostly fragmentary, and to interpret them it is necessary to have a general view of the course of shipping in the Arabian Sea

We may exclude from this survey the Chinese junks, which were now only rare visitors to Malabar. At this time the ships in regular use were built mainly, if not exclusively, on the West Coast of India, at various places from Surat to Cochin; I have found no passage to suggest that any vessels other than coasting and shore boats were built on any other part of the coast, that is, in Arabia, or East Africa, or on the Red Sea.[1] The location of the craft depended on the

[1] It will be recalled that when the Turks built fleets at Suez to attack the Portuguese, the timber was either transported from the Mediterranean across Egypt, or was brought by sea from the Konkan (Correa, i, 746; iii, 450, and *passim*). Hormuz imported timber from Ceylon (Correa, i, 646), but only, I think, for repairs and refitting.

accessibility of the forests which clothe the Western Ghats, and which furnished admirable timber, as they still do. It is true that the forests did not extend quite so far north as Surat, but carriage by water thither was economically possible; and when the Emperor Akbar decided to build a pilgrim-ship at Surat, he obtained leave from the Portuguese to buy the timber in their territory at Damān, less than fifty miles to the south (Couto, V, ii, 248).

But while the ships were Indian-built, they were predominantly Arab-owned, if for brevity we include in the term "Arab" the Egyptian merchants who worked in harmony with the Arabs properly so called. These Arab owners lived in Egypt, or in the Red Sea ports, or at Hormuz, which was then an Arab kingdom under Persian suzerainty; some of them occasionally visited India in person; and they maintained resident agents on both shores, in East Africa as far south as Mozambique, and in India almost down to Cape Comorin. I have found nothing to suggest that the Arabs competed among themselves, but there is evidence to prove that they formed a close ring to maintain their old-standing monopoly of the most lucrative trade, that for the Mediterranean; they were largely interrelated, and they commonly had shares in each other's ventures (e.g. Correa, i, 245), so that the Portuguese were substantially justified in regarding them as a hostile unit. Nor have I traced competition between the alternative routes to the Mediterranean: the main stream of trade was directed to the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf according to the degree of security expected from time to time on the land portion of the journey.

About 1500, the main stream of trade was from Malabar to the Red Sea. Except possibly to Burma and Bengal, the Arabs did not usually sail East of Cape Comorin. Malabar-owned ships brought the eastern goods from Malacca, then practically the sole *entrepôt* for China and the Spice Islands; the Arabs took over these costly goods in Malabar, and filled up the bulk of their ships with the local pepper, with

cinnamon from Ceylon, and with various Indian goods brought by coasting boats; and the line from Malabar to the Red Sea was held strictly as a monopoly. The extension of Arab sailings eastward to Sumatra and Malacca, which we read of in the sixteenth century, was one of the earliest reactions to the menace of the Portuguese, who aimed at the exclusion of the Arabs from Malabar.

The second Arab line was from Malabar and the Konkan to Hormuz: I have found no evidence of Indian-owned vessels on this route, and in any case it was predominantly Arab. So far as concerned the Mediterranean market, it was a duplicate of the first; but it served also the important markets of Persia and Irāq, while it carried the great bulk of the horse trade from Arabia to southern India.

The third and fourth Arab lines were from the Gujarāt ports to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; but here Indian-owned vessels certainly had a share (indicated below). The fifth line was along the coast of East Africa; it was a minor affair, except that it brought the bulk of the Sofala gold to the Red Sea ports.

The Indian-owned shipping was employed as follows:—

(*a*) From Gujarāt and Malabar to Malacca, as indicated above: the tonnage employed was not comparable to that of the Arab lines, the goods being valuable rather than bulky.

(*b*) From Gujarāt, and rarely from Malabar, to the East African ports. This was a minor line, for the cream of the African trade, such as it was, went north and south in Arab vessels.

(*c*) From Gujarāt to Hormuz. The scantiness of evidence suggests that the Indian share in this trade was substantially less than the Arab, but the matter is obscure.

(*d*) The pilgrim traffic from Gujarāt (and possibly from the Konkan) to the Red Sea. The only ships we read of as employed in this traffic were owned by Muslim kings and princes, not by private individuals, and I think their share of

the traffic was essentially political. By the custom of the Asiatic seas, foreigners were not entitled to trade except in accordance with the capitulations agreed on between them and the ruler of each seaport; and, while definite evidence is wanting, I think it is safe to infer that the Arabs, anxious for access to the Gujarāt ports with their rich hinterland, waived their monopoly of the Red Sea to the extent of allowing the King of Gujarāt and his family to send one or two pilgrim-ships there yearly. The concession would be of substantial value to the king, for to send such a ship was a pious act,[1] and might also be highly profitable. The pilgrim-ships were much larger than those employed only for trade, and freight and passage money must have made a very handsome figure: about 1500, the leviathan of the Arabian Sea was the *Meri*, or *Meril*, owned by the King of Gujarāt, which the Portuguese estimated to be 800 tons (of the period), ordinary merchant-ships not ranging above 250 tons at the outside. (It is a curious fact that about this period we read of no names of individual ships other than pilgrim-ships, which are regularly named.)

I suspect that the Deccan kingdom probably had a similar concession for a pilgrim-ship from Dābhol on the Konkan coast, but have found no evidence of it; and possibly the traffic was in abeyance about 1500, for the Deccan kingdom had just disintegrated, and the western succession states, Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur, may not have been established firmly enough to undertake the business, which required a substantial amount of capital. There are no grounds for suspecting anything of the sort in Malabar, where the rulers were Hindus, and the Muslim population was relatively small: pilgrims here could doubtless get their passage on the regular Arab ships.

(*e*) The coasting trade. The vessels employed were not

[1] The kings of Gujarāt cannot as a rule be described as pious, but this very fact would make it advisable for them to conciliate their pious subjects when they could do so at a profit.

sea-going ships, but small craft ranging up to about 50 tons, which could be rowed as well as sailed. It is noteworthy that we hear of no sea-going vessels from Sind: probably then, as later, the region was served only by coasting craft, westwards to Hormuz, and south and east to Gujarāt.

Excluding this coastal trade, we may rank the Arabs as much the most important owners, with the Gujarātīs next, the Malabarīs third, and the Konkanīs last. Two of the quotations given below show that the Gujarāt ships were built in the same way as the Arab, and were without nails, so there is no doubt of the predominance of the Arab build; I have not found precise data for the construction of Konkanī or Malabarī vessels, but it would be a very surprising fact if they were shown to differ materially from the other ships built in the same localities. I now set out the passages which I have found describing this Arab build, giving them roughly in the order of date.

The *Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama* (Hakl. Soc., i, 99) shows that Mozambique was the first port visited after rounding the Cape. There were "white Moor" (*sc.* Arab) vessels in the port (p. 23), and (p. 26) in the vessels seen "there are no nails, and the planks are held together by cords, as are also those of their boats".

This is good evidence. seamen coming into strange waters note a build which is different from their own. The Journal does not return to the topic, and we may reasonably infer that the vessels seen in other harbours were of the same type, since a change in build would probably have been recorded. Castanheda (i, 19) mentions the same fact at Mozambique, drawing doubtless on this journal or some parallel record.

After the first voyage, the use of string instead of nails would be no longer a novelty, and would not necessarily be recorded in subsequent journals; but on the second voyage, under Cabral, a first sight was obtained of Gujarāt ships at Melinde, and the build was duly noted: they were of about 100 tons, "very well built, of good timber, and well stitched

with cords, for they have not nails" (*Collecçao de noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações ultramarinas*, Lisbon, 1812, vol. ii, no. iii, p. 114). Castanheda's account of this voyage (i, 100) mentions that the vessels which traded to Quiloa (Kilwa) were stitched with cord.

Next we may take the account of the Arab merchants given by Duarte Barbosa (Hakl. Soc., ii, 49). He tells us that at the time he wrote they were leaving Calicut under Portuguese pressure, but that in the days of their prosperity they used to build in that city keeled ships without decks and "without any nails, but the whole of the sheathing was sewn with thread" (p. 76). He tells us also (p. 77) that in those days ships returning from the Red Sea brought other foreigners who built ships there, and then entered the trade; this indicates that India was the regular source of ships. Barbosa is a good witness: he served in Malabar from about 1500 to 1516, and his credit for general accuracy has been fully established by his modern editors.

In recording the early contact of the Portuguese with Gujarāt, which (as usual) he calls Cambay, Castanheda wrote (iii, 437). "the ships of Cambay are without keel, and stitched with coir, like those of Malabar."

Lastly there is de Barros' classical account of the spread of Arab trade down the East African coast (Decade i, bk. viii, ch. 4). He tells (p. 304 of the Coimbra edition of 1932) how Sofala, the port for gold, was discovered by accident, and how the Arabs subsequently got to know it well, but never ventured to sail beyond it as far as Cape Corrientes, because their ships were "stitched with coir without being nailed like ours", and consequently were unfit to sail in the conditions experienced in the open sea south of Madagascar, "though they desired it greatly, as they themselves acknowledge." A glance at the map suffices to explain the position, which de Barros described at length. Down to Sofala, the course is sheltered by the great island of Madagascar, but from Cape Corrientes, a little south of the Tropic of Capricorn,

the coast is open to the south-east, and is the home of strong winds, violent currents, and heavy seas, as the Portuguese quickly learned by experience.

These passages suffice to prove that about 1500 the Arab ships were still stitched and destitute of nails, and that the Gujarāt ships presented the same features: if there were no passages to suggest the contrary, the inference would be justified that nailing was unknown in the Arabian Sea. I have found three passages which might be read in the contrary sense.

(1) One of the considerations which tempted Albuquerque to occupy Goa was the news, which reached him in 1509, that a fleet was being built there to destroy the Portuguese (Castanheda, iii, 21); and after the occupation some of the ships were found on the stocks, while the storehouses contained (p. 30) large quantities of pitch, oakum, nails, and cordage. The mention of nails might suggest that their use was familiar to the shipwrights of Goa, but in fact these ships were not of the local build, but (p. 21) were imitations of the Portuguese; and the true reading of the passage is, I think, to take it as showing that Indian builders were quick to appreciate, and to imitate, Portuguese practice (just as in the next century they were quick to learn from the English and the Dutch). The local ships had been proved unable to cope with the Portuguese: the obvious course was to learn from the enemy, and build ships like theirs, and this would involve nailing instead of stitching the planks. It is significant that the imitation was imperfect, for Correa wrote (ii, 60) that "the ships were built like ours, but internally weak, and with few ribs".

(2) The second passage, from the Italian traveller, Varthema, needs fuller examination. I give the Hakluyt translation (p. 152 of i, 32, repeated on p. 62 of the Argonaut edition of 1928), amending it so as to bring the wording a little closer to the Italian text (ed. P. Giudici, Milan, 1929,

p. 219): I have no idea why the translation gives 300–400 butts, and have substituted the text figure of 400–500.

"First, they make their vessels, which have no deck, each of 400 and up to 500 butts. And when they build the said vessels, they do not put any oakum between one plank and another in any way whatever, but they join the planks so well that they keep out the water most excellently. And then they lay on pitch outside, and put in an immense quantity of iron nails."

The antecedent of "they" is not clear, but the close of the preceding chapter deals with the Moors of Calicut, both foreign (i.e. Arab) and native (i.e. Moplah): the reference may be to either, or both, of these classes, or the phrase may be an example of the indefinite-plural used instead of the passive. The reference is formally to Calicut, but Varthema brought nearly all that he had to say about Malabar in general into his chapters on Calicut, and the real reference is probably wider.

Varthema's credit stood very low for more than three centuries, but has risen as the result of recent work (Temple in the Argonaut edition, and Giudici, cited above). It is fortunately unnecessary for me to discuss the general question, because his account of Malabar stands on a different footing from the rest of his journey, and its authenticity has not been seriously questioned. Elsewhere he was a mere "globe-trotter", but in Malabar he served the Portuguese Viceroy as a factor for more than a year and a half (1506–7), and must have had ample opportunities for observation; while the knowledge that his book would probably be read by Portuguese would have checked any tendency to indulge in romance about this region. It is conceivable that his notes (if he had any) went wrong, or that his memory was at fault, when after his return to Italy he wrote of "an immense quantity of iron nails", but I think it is more reasonable to infer that he actually saw ships being built in this way in the year 1507, and that he mentioned the nails precisely because they were

exceptional. A systematic writer would, of course, have mentioned earlier in the book the general absence of nails, and would have emphasized that he was now describing an exception, but Varthema was quite unsystematic, and we have to take what he says without drawing any inferences from his silence.

In any case Varthema's observation of 1507, accepting it as first hand and accurate, cannot operate to negative the evidence already summarized of the absence of nails from the ordinary type of Arab ships; what he saw must have been a different type. I do not think it possible that the ships he saw were being built to Portuguese order, for in ships of that size (200–250 tons) the Portuguese would have had decks; but there are two possibilities.

(*a*) The ships he saw being built may have been for the Malacca line. The ordinary practice on this line seems to have been to drop down the coast about the beginning of May, and pick up the south-west monsoon off Ceylon. this would give a quick run, but it would often mean heavy weather till the ship reached the shelter of Sumatra; and it is possible that nailing had been found to be indispensable for this voyage. I have not traced a single passage indicating either that the ships for Malacca were nailed, or that they were not, so that the suggestion is purely conjectural, and to my mind improbable.

(*b*) This may be an earlier case of imitation, like that at Goa. By 1506 the Arabs had lost very heavily in ships, but they had not yet lost heart; and it is quite possible that in some of the new ships which they were building to replace losses they may have decided to imitate Portuguese practice, and attempt to make their ships stronger by putting in the immense quantity of nails of which Varthema wrote. The probability of this interpretation is increased by the fact that in 1507 an Arab merchant built a galleon in the Portuguese style in Gujarāt (Correa, i, 750).

(3) The third passage is in Correa (i, 122), who relates that

the crews of Vasco da Gama's first voyage were able to observe the shipping of the Arabian sea, and goes on to tell what they saw. First he describes the stitched vessels, very much as other observers described them, and then proceeds: "There are other ships which have the planking nailed with thin nails with broad heads, and clinched on the inside of the ship with false heads of the same breadth: the planking extends to the load-level, above which there is very stout cloth, stouter than sackcloth, and pitched" (with further details). At the end of the account he says that the stitched ships had keels, but the nailed ones were flat-bottomed.

No student of Correa will suppose that this passage was taken from contemporary records: he is obviously giving his own observations, as his use of the present tense shows, and these observations are certainly later than 1512, when he first came to India as a boy (*moço de pouca idade*). The idea of his book came later, and the most probable view is that he set to work about 1530, while it is certain that he was still writing in 1563. He tells us then that some time after 1512 there were nailed vessels to be seen in the Arabian Sea in addition to the ordinary stitched build; the question is open whether such vessels existed before the arrival of the Portuguese, but if they existed, their flat bottoms and canvas sides would disqualify them for sailing into the ocean beyond Madagascar.

The Reason for the Absence of Iron

It is possible then to interpret these passages in one of two ways, either that nailing was known but not generally practised before the Portuguese came, or that it was a Portuguese introduction into the Arabian Sea. The fact remains that before 1500 the ordinary Arab and Gujarāt ships were destitute of iron, and we have to ask the reason.

We may at once reject as untrue the reason assigned early in the fifteenth century by Clavijo (*Broadway Travellers*,

p. 160)—the quantity of load-stone found in the sea.[1] In the evidence which has been cited above, the only writer who assigns a reason is Marco Polo, and, as we have seen, the reason assigned differs: in the Old French text and in Pauthier we are told that "they possess no iron to make nails", while in the Latin version and in Ramusio the reason is stated to be the hardness of the wood. Benedetto, who printed below the Old French text those passages from Ramusio which he accepted as authentic, did not print this passage about the wood being too hard (p. 30), but he referred to it in his supplementary notes (p. 248), characterizing it as of doubtful authenticity because the old French version gave "a more serious reason". That is to say he preferred the no-iron explanation, but offered no objective grounds for rejecting the alternative. We have thus two cases to consider.

(*a*) The hard-wood explanation was not given by Marco, but is an anonymous interpolation. In that case, we might safely accept the no-iron explanation as having the authority of Marco, who had been on the spot, and as preferable to the anonymous alternative.

(*b*) Marco at different times gave two different, and contradictory, explanations of the same fact. The only reasonable conclusion would be that he wrote from hearsay, and not from the evidence of his eyes: had he seen nails being tried, he could not have said there was no iron, and vice versa. In that case his experience was of a type familiar to those of us who have asked Asiatics to explain something which puzzles us but is to them too familiar to need an explanation. In such a position you may possibly find an intelligent and well-informed man to tell you the real reason: you are much more likely to get more or less imaginative guesses transmuted into facts. On one occasion Marco got the obvious guess, no iron, which he recorded in the earliest version of his observations: on another he got a more picturesque explanation, which

[1] I have not reproduced Clavijo's account of the Arab ships, because it is obviously hearsay; his route did not bring him near the Arabian Sea.

he inserted in a later version. Was either in fact possible ?

The no-iron explanation would not be true in the sense that iron was not available . as is explained below, iron was a regular Indian export, and every Indian export was available throughout the Arabian Sea. But the explanation might very easily be true in the sense that owners (for whatever reason) did not supply iron to the shipwrights whom they employed. The hard-wood explanation cannot be summarily ruled out, for the authorities of the Imperial Institute inform me that the timber of some desert species of acacia (such as might have grown not very far from Hormuz) would probably be unsuitable for ordinary nailing with the nails likely to have been available in early times it is thus conceivable that at Hormuz in Marco's time vessels were actually built of some timber which would not take nails of the type available.

But it is unjustifiable to transfer this explanation (as Payne seems to have done) from ships alleged to be built at Hormuz in the thirteenth century to the ships which the Arabs built in India about 1500 . we must first ask what Indian timber these Arabs used, and there are two possible answers.[1] The first answer is teak. It is a principal constituent of the forests on the West Coast, and is so admirably suited to ship-building that it is very hard to believe that an old-established and efficient industry would have passed it by. The Portuguese learned its merits very quickly, and used it for the vessels they built with such success at various harbours on the West Coast ; and it is much more probable that they found it already in use than that they discovered it in the forests. Now teak, when properly seasoned, can be nailed without difficulty, as I have been assured by experts whose work in the Indian Forest Service has made them perfectly familiar

[1] A third timber, the wild jack or *angelim* (*Artocarpus hirsuta*), was used for building the barges (*tone*) which carried pepper on the inland waterways in Malabar (Correa, i, 405). I have not traced its use for sea-going vessels, but in any case it can be nailed.

with its properties; and if the Arab ships were teak, the hard-wood explanation would not apply.

The second answer is benteak (*Lagerstrœmia lanceolata*). Sir Ralph Pearson (joint author of *The Commercial Timbers of India*, Calcutta, 1932) informs me that in recent times this timber, which is found in the local forests, has been in demand among Arab traders on the West Coast for building their *dhows*, which are stitched with coir, though at present they are showing a preference for teak. Benteak is much harder than teak, and it is difficult to drive nails into it; so that the hard-wood explanation might be true in fact of ships built in India of benteak.

I have found only a single passage to show which of these timbers the Arabs used; it is in Couto's description of the forests of Damān in the sixth book of his seventh decade (IV, ii, 41). These forests contained, he tells us, "the most plentiful and best timber in the world, which is the teak, besides many other kinds, which has supported India until to-day, and always will support it; for from our arrival in India to the present time all the vessels (ships, galleons, caravels, galleys, foists and all the rest), whether belonging to Muslims or Hindus, have issued from these forests, which are inexhaustible."

There is a logical defect in this passage, for the "India" of which Couto wrote was the Portuguese power in India, and that power was not supported by Muslim or Hindu vessels. It would have been correct to say that from the acquisition of Damān (*not* from the Portuguese arrival in India) most of the Portuguese vessels were built there; but when he had got to this point, he must have recalled the fact that Indian vessels also were built there, and brought them in clumsily. This, however, does not weaken his statement that in the sixteenth century Indian vessels were built from timber furnished by these forests. Now these forests are mainly teak, and benteak is not recorded in them (*Imperial Gazetteer*, xi, 129), so it is safe to infer that in this

region, the north of the Konkan, the Arab and Indian ships were built of teak.

For Malabar I have found no direct evidence whatever. It is possible that benteak came in as a substitute in the eighteenth century, when the new ship-building industry in Bombay was making large demands on the supply of teak [1]; but it is perhaps more probable that in the earlier period both timbers were in use—one fit for nailing, the other not—and that what Marco heard (if the passage is authentic) was in fact based on experience of benteak. If we accept Varthema's statement that immense quantities of iron nails were used, we must believe that the ships he saw being built were teak, rather than benteak.

On the view that some at least of the Arab and Gujarāt ships were built wholly or partly of teak, we have still to look for the reason why they were built without nails. In discussing the passage in Varthema, we reached two alternative hypotheses, either that nailing was unknown, or less probably that it was known but only practised in special cases. We may not blame the wood, if it was teak; and we cannot say that iron for nails was not to be had on the West Coast. Barbosa tells us (i, 188) that in his time iron was one of the three principal exports from Bhatkal, about the middle of the Coast; and we may safely infer that it came there from what are now the north-western districts of Mysore, where old workings are prominent. From Bhatkal there would have been no difficulty in carrying it in coasting boats to any point where ships were being built; but apparently it was not of the best quality, for the Portuguese, who used it in the early period, subsequently bought much of the iron they needed from the East Coast (e.g. Correa, ii, 567). The iron shipped at Masulipatam was famous for its high quality, and we may guess that this was the reason for the Portuguese

[1] In recent times benteak has been cheaper than teak, but the difference has not been very material. I have traced no figures for comparative prices in the eighteenth century.

practice: the same source was certainly available before the Portuguese came, for the coasting trade round Cape Comorin was fully developed.

Nails could thus be had. I have said above that ignorance of the art of nailing is one of the two possible hypotheses based on Varthema's observations; but I do not think that this hypothesis can safely be extended from Indian shipwrights to Arab owners, remembering that some of the "Arabs" were Egyptians. We occasionally (e.g. Correa, i, 308) meet Egyptian merchants on their own ships at Malabar ports: it does not seem possible that men who would travel on business from Cairo to Calicut would never have visited Alexandria, the great market for their goods, where they would certainly have seen shipping of the Mediterranean build. If then nailing was possible, why did Indian shipwrights not practise it? and why did Arab owners not make them do so?

No formal answer to the first question is to be expected in the literature, but the explanation is probably to be found in a consideration of Indian crafts in general. They are distinguished by economy of iron, especially in such common products as ploughs and carts; and, perhaps as a consequence of this economy, Indian craftsmen display remarkable skill and ingenuity in handling wood and canes, ropes and string, but most of them, other than the specialist metal-workers, are out of their element in dealing with iron. This economy cannot be attributed to the absence of iron, which was available—at a price—all over India; and the only hypothesis which accounts for the recorded facts is that Indian crafts developed under a regime of dear iron, so that its use was avoided when possible, and in any case minimized. Ships were built without iron, just as carts were built; and the cost of the metal would discourage craftsmen from experimenting with it.

On this hypothesis the second question answers itself. An Arab owner might have provided iron, and have imported workmen to show how ships should be nailed, thus incurring

substantial capital cost: he found the stitched ships perfectly suitable for his purpose, and saved his capital, though he recognized, as de Barros has told us, that this prevented the exploration of waters where the ships were unfit to sail. Exploration might be tempting, but it was not the Arabs' main business, which was to sail the well-known tracks at the right season, and so long as that could be done at a profit, the question of providing the stronger ships could rest. As we have seen, it came up at Goa in 1509, and probably in Malabar by 1507, as soon as the need arose for confronting the Portuguese. Till they came, the stitched ships were good enough.

There remains the question whether there is any evidence to show that iron was dear, as assumed in this hypothesis. We cannot expect to find it in the Indian literature of 1500 and earlier, if, as I suggest, it was an old-standing feature of the normal economic life of the country; but I think this is one of the cases where we may treat conditions as so stable that evidence of a somewhat later period can be carried back.

When Europeans first came into touch with the Indian iron industry, they found that it had hardened into the customary stage, it was stabilized and stagnant, subject to limitations which could be removed only by new technique. One obvious limitation was the absence of pumps,[1] which made mining in the ordinary sense impossible, and confined extraction to surface-working; but this was in practice unimportant because of the narrower limitation imposed by the fuel supply. Coal was unknown, and all the processes depended on charcoal. The limitation imposed by this fact very soon became obvious to the English pioneers who tried to develop the indigenous industry; in every case of which I have read, development led quickly to exhaustion of the supply of wood within the economical radius, and then the locality had to be abandoned till the jungle should grow

[1] For the absence of pumps in mining, see Methwold on the Kollur diamond mines (*Hakl. Soc.*, ii, 66, p. 32).

again. The same story is familiar in some other countries: in India it meant necessarily that smelting was a jungle industry, which could be carried on only at a distance from consuming centres, since the land near those centres was occupied by cultivation; and this in turn meant that the cost of production was increased by very heavy cost of transport.

Cost of production meant mainly cost of the labour employed, if we include the cost of making charcoal. So far as we know, wages were stable in the centuries before 1500, ranging not very much above the cost of subsistence; but in the jungle they would have been rather higher than elsewhere to cover the cost of bringing supplies to the spot. The processes followed were effective, in that they produced good iron, but they were tedious, and consequently wasteful of fuel and labour. We cannot suppose that these conditions originated in the sixteenth century, or that the industry had deteriorated in efficiency; there are no grounds for thinking that efficiency had increased, but if it had, the argument which follows would be strengthened. These considerations justify the use on broad lines of the price-data available for the years about 1600.

Using the data available for Akbar's court, the largest consuming market in northern India, I came to the conclusion that about 1590 peasants had to pay more than three times as much wheat as their modern successors (about 1912) for the iron they required (*India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 150). This comparison was justifiable, because at both periods there was "honest money", and a low revenue-tariff; it would be futile to bring the comparison up to date, now that the rupee is linked precariously to an indeterminate sterling, and a modern iron industry is growing up in India behind a high tariff wall.

At Surat in 1613 iron sold at four *mahmūdīs* for 33 lb. (*Letters Received by the E. I. Co.*, i, 299); in terms of wheat this is nearly double the price of 1912.

About 1620 Methwold recorded (Hakl. Soc., ii, 66, p. 34) that the iron exported from Masulipatam cost two shillings "the hundred" at the workings, but five shillings on the sea-board, the difference being due to the cost of fifteen days transport by pack-oxen, or about 100 miles. If the unit referred to is the English hundredweight, then iron was very cheap in this locality, so cheap that the price given at Surat (within the range of the coasting-trade) seems almost impossible. I suspect, however, that Methwold had in his mind the local unit of weight (about 25 lb.), and this would make the price in terms of wheat about twice as high as in 1912.

These are the earliest data I have found. It would be absurd to claim that they establish the hypothesis; but they are consistent with it, for they show that when figures first became available, iron, in North and West India if not in the East, was two or three times as expensive as it was in the free market which existed about 1912—when the ordinary countryman found the price very high. No alternative hypothesis has, so far as I know, been suggested, and that which I have offered is tenable: it fits in too with Sir Bartle Frere's observation, recorded above, that in the nineteenth century stitched vessels gave way to iron-fastened vessels as the price of iron fell.

To sum up: there is no doubt that the Arab and Gujarāt ships of *c.* 1500 were weak, and fit only for fair-weather voyages, owing primarily to the method of construction: it is possible that the Malabar ships sailing to Malacca may have been stronger, but I know of no evidence in support of this view.

The chief cause of weakness—the use of string instead of nails—would be found in the hardness of the wood if it was benteak; but if teak was used, the only assignable cause is the high cost of iron.

Whatever the cause, Arab or Indian seamen cannot be charged with lack of courage if they did not anticipate the Portuguese in rounding the Cape.

Appendix

The foregoing note may be supplemented by a record of the information which I have been able to obtain regarding the use of nails in ships of European build.

To work backwards, the Science Museum informs me that in the Bombay ships of the eighteenth century, which were essentially of European build, wooden treenails, not iron nails, were used to fasten the teak planks to the frame.

This seems to be a continuation of English seventeenth-century practice. According to *Boteler's Dialogues* (Navy Records Society, 1929), which give the practice about 1625, the timbers of the frame were put together with iron bolts, but (p. 133-4) the planks were fastened to the timbers with oaken treenails. The definition of "iron-sickness", however, states (p. 221) "a ship or boat is said to be Ironsick when the spikes are so eaten away with rust, or when the nails are so worn that they stand hollow in the planks": it is clear, therefore, that nailing the planks was a known practice when Boteler wrote; and it looks as if the change from nails to treenails was then comparatively recent. The Science Museum can give no definite information regarding English sixteenth-century practice.

The passages quoted early in this note leave no room for doubt that, whatever the English practice may have been, the Portuguese nailed their planks. The word used in most of these passages is *pregadura*, a noun of multitude which stands to *prego* as cordage stands to cord. *Prego* means a nail (iron or copper), not a treenail, which is *cavilha*; and according to all the dictionaries consulted, including the classic Moraes, the word is perfectly precise, and could not be extended to wooden pegs.

Other facts are wanting, but the probable inference is that nailing was the earlier European practice, until the danger of iron-sickness led to the substitution of treenails. With oak, the usual European timber, iron-sickness was

a very real danger. According to Brandis and Gamble—high authorities—it is not a danger when the wood is teak (*Encyc. Britt.*, 11th ed., s.v.); and consequently we may infer that the use of treenails in the Bombay shipyards was merely the transfer of English practice, and was not the result of experience with teak.

NOTE.—The editions I have used of the authorities quoted by short titles are as follows:—

CASTANHEDA. *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portuguezes.* By Fernão Lopes de Castanheda. Lisbon, 1833 (The paging is by books, not volumes.)

CORREA. *Lendas da India.* By Gaspar Correa. Lisbon, 1858.

COUTO. *Da Asia.* By Diogo de Couto. Lisbon, 1777–1788.

HAKL. SOC The publications of the Hakluyt Society, showing the series and the number of the volume.

YULE'S CATHAY. *Cathay and the Way Thither* By Sir Henry Yule. Edited by Henri Cordier. Hakluyt Society, ii, 33, 37, 38, 41.

YULE'S MARCO POLO. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo.* By Sir Henry Yule. Edited by Henri Cordier. London, 1903, 1920.

Postscript.—In the French magazine *L'Illustration*, dated 3rd December, 1938, is an article by M. N. Eustache de Lorey entitled *Le Miroir de Bagdad*, which describes a thirteenth century manuscript of the *Māqāmat* of Ḥarīrī in the Bibliothèque Nationale, with contemporary pictures. One of these represents a large ship voyaging in the Persian Gulf, and the stitching of the planks which are flush and not clinker is clearly shown. It is also noticeable that the anchor is shaped like a modern one with four prongs.

Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson, of the British Museum, has also directed my attention to a plate at folio 326 MS. no. 741, in the India Office, reproduced at p. 154 of Professor Hadi Hassan's *History of Persian Navigation* (1928). This shows two boats with very obvious iron nails and what may be chains to bind the upper planks together. The MS is probably sixteenth century.

In the first part of this paper (*supra*, pp. 63–74), the word " ton " should have been printed " tun ", *vide* " *India at the death of Akbar* ", App. D, p. 310.

413.

RICHARD BURN.

The Nam Language

By F. W. THOMAS

BEFORE publishing, with a view to further study by scholars, the available text or texts in this language, it may be advisable to supplement the notes previously contributed to this Journal (*JRAS.*, 1926, pp. 505–6; 1928, pp. 630–4) by a few further observations.

The fairly extensive MS., obtained by Sir Aurel Stein from the famous hidden library in one of the "Thousand Buddhas" cave-shrines at Ch'ien-fo-tung (near to Śa-cu, = Tun-huang, in Western Kan-su), is in the form of a roll of the yellow Chinese paper (of the somewhat thicker kind) there in use during its period (eighth to ninth century A.D. ?). It is fragmentary at beginning and end. The Nam text, consisting of *circa* 398 lines of writing, is inscribed on the *verso* of a Chinese Buddhist *sūtra*, with which it has no connection of content. The script is Tibetan, of a squarish kind, with some few peculiarities characteristic of the early period: the hand is rather coarse, and the letters fairly large and wide-spaced. The words (for the most part monosyllables) are separated by short vertical lines, |, in place of the more usual (but by no means universal) points. At the ends of clauses the line tends to be lengthened, and, where a sentence ends, it is double, ||. More emphatic punctuations, in the forms || ||, || ⸪ ||, || ⸪ ⸪ || mark, as in other examples of Tibetan script, the terminations of paragraphs, chapters, and topics.

Upon a first inspection the most prominent feature of the language, after its monosyllabism, is the extraordinary predominance of words commencing with the Tibetan character usually transliterated by *ḥ* or ', which never has syllabic or vocalic ('a ! !) value. The familiar fact that in certain cases (*Kanjur*, etc., etc.) this element functions as a nasal might suggest that it here denotes a nasalized pronunciation at

the beginning of a word. It is not advisable here to enter upon a discussion of this matter, which, as is well known, carries us far beyond the Tibeto-Burman sphere; for instance, the Tibetan writing, *ḫji* and *ḫgwar*, of the Chinese words for "sun" and "moon" is known to reflect an original nasal (Tibetan *ñi-ma*, "sun," etc.). It is possible that some Tibetan initial *ḫ*'s are descended from *m*'s, with which, in fact, they, sometimes alternate; and, since in the Nam text the *m*-prefix, if it exists at all, is entirely inoperant, some of the initial *ḫ*'s there may have that predecessor. The employment of the *ḫ* is not dependent upon the ending of the immediately preceding word, since it follows impartially all vowels and consonants. Nor is it excluded by the presence of every other prefix: we have such combinations as *ḫrkyaṅ*, *ḫskuḫu*, *ḫrgam*, *ḫrweḫi*, *ḫrdyam*, *ḫldyaṅ*, *ḫrbyo*, *ḫrmag*, *ḫrtsig*, *ḫrloho*. The prevalent association with *r* reminds us that elsewhere in Tibeto-Burman *rh* alternates with *s*: other main features of the language may be considered *infra*

The language is firmly anchored to a certain region of Central Asia, not merely by the provenance of the MS. a circumstance which by itself need not be decisive, but also by the designation *Nam-pa*, which we have found (*JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 630–4) attached to its speakers, and by the fact that a fragment in the same language (ibid., p. 633) was acquired in the Turfan region by the German Archæological expeditions to Chinese Turkestan (Professor A. H. Francke, Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1927, pp. 124 sqq.). Perhaps these two points should be a little more elucidated.

The term "Nam language" was based upon equivalents between phrases in Tibetan and the language of the Nam-pas, cited in another MS. The phrases are as follows:—

(1) Tibetan: *yab sten-rgan-gyi-ñer-ba.*
Nam-pa: *yab ṅal-* (*lde* and) *ldeḫi-thol-prom.*

Here the sense of the Tibetan ("father high (*sten*)-old-of-taking-care (*gñer*)") is itself not entirely clear; but *ṅal*, if it were Tibetan, would mean "fatigue", "exhaustion", and

in a kindred language might well mean "old": it does not occur in the MS., which has not many words ending in *-l*. But *lde*, as a participial or gerundival suffix (= Tibetan *de*, *te*, *ste*), is frequent as *te*, *ḫte*, and *prom* is a very common auxiliary verb (= Tibetan *ḫkhum* or *ḫbyed*). *Thol*, with the meaning "bury", is found in Tibetan documents from Central Asia, and in the present case that meaning is certain from the context.

(2) Tibetan: *gloṅ-myig-loṅ-ḫna-bya-gloṅ-gi-lgo-daṅ-rje*.
Nam-pa: *yab-ltoṅ-teḫi-mye-kru* (also °*kro* and °*ku*).

The Tibetan seems to mean "Blinded-eye blind" or "Blind bird's head (*lgo* = *mgo* ?) and lord". The Nam word *ltoṅ* may very appropriately mean "blind", since the Tibetan *ldoṅ* has that sense (= *mig-loṅ*): *teḫi* is, no doubt, identical with the *ldeḫi* of passage (1). Other names of similar construction are *Ḫbriṅ-te Sman-skyol, Bżagste Ṅar-ḫbyam.*

The phrase *mye-kru* may, in the form *mye-klu*, occur in the MS.

(3) Tibetan: *span-gi-boṅ-bu-stag-cuṅ*.
Nam-pa: *cho-pyi-cog-zu* (also *żu*).

"Ass of the meadow" (= marsh), "little tiger."

Here, in view of the fact that in North-Eastern Tibet there was a district with the name *Cog-ro*, which might well mean "meadow region" (*ro* being common in such names), we are inclined to take *cog-zu* as meaning "ass of the meadow" and *cho-pyi* as corresponding to "little tiger": and this is supported by the circumstance that the same individual ass is elsewhere mentioned as *żu-tsog-żu*, "ass, meadow ass," without the epithet "little tiger". In the form *gcog* the word *cog* would bear in the MS. (l. 69) the meaning "meadow". For a connection with *cho-byi* in the sense of "tiger" we may have to go rather far. But in the Tibeto-Burman dialects of Nepal we find many forms,[1] e.g. :—

[1] Given according to B. H. Hodgson's lists, as represented by W. W. Hunter's *Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia* (in the original spelling).

kíwá (Kirāntī), *chábhá* (Rodong), *kíbha* and *kíbhá* (Chingtangya and Dungmālī), *kíba* (Yākhā, Lohorong, and Lambichong), *kípa* (Sang-pang), and *keüba* (Bālālī), *keh'va* (Limbu); while from North-Eastern Tibet we have—

khú (Gyāmī), *kong* (Gyārung), and *khoh* (Thochū).

In the MS. there occurs twice the expression *ḥmo-cha-byi*, which conceivably may have the meaning "tiger". If so, it would serve to connect the above words with terms for "tiger" in Tibeto-Burman dialects of North-Eastern India, e.g. :—

mochá (Bodo), *matsá* (Garo), *musá* and *mísa* (Kāchārī), *mesá* (Deoria Chutia).

Other words from the same region, e.g.

simiü (Abor-Mīrī), *sümyo* (Sibsagar Mīrī)

might correspond to *cha-byi*; and the primordial name might be a *khya* or *cha*, represented by

sá (Nāgā), *kyá* (Burmese, and kindred forms in languages of Burma), *khu*, *akhu*, and *takhu* (Nāgā) as well as the *khú*, *kong*, *khoḥ* cited above.

The word *zu*, "ass," may account for part of the Tibetan *gzu-lum*, "obstinate"; and it might be the *gzu* or *gdzu* which occurs several times, in *gdzu-ḥbyi* (five occurrences), in the MS.

Until we can turn into facts our suggestions concerning the actual meanings of the words found in the MS., the above comparisons may lack compulsive force. But the use of the auxiliary verb *prom*, which I know in no other dialect, and of the adjectival-participial *-te*, *-de*, found also in some other names, is a very strong point; and considering the exiguity of the material for comparison, we may place confidence in the conclusion.

When we turn to the question of the Berlin fragment published (with a, for the most part, correct transliteration) by the late Professor Francke, the identification of its language

(*JRAS.*, 1928, pp. 633–4) with that of our MS. was based upon numerous similarities, both in vocabulary and in phraseology. Many single words are common to the two texts, and of certain phrases (e.g. *ram-reg*, l. 21 = Nam, l. 122, *phu-mu* l. 18, = *ḫpu-mu-re*, Nam, l. 184, *ḫphu-ḫphu-mur*, Nam, l. 352), the like may be said. But perhaps the matter may be made evident by a simple citation. In Professor Francke's text the first four successive sentences begin :—

mor : *ma* : *de* : *klo* : . . .
yaṅ : *ma* : *ji* : *d*[*e*] : . . .
bri : *ma* : *zor* : *de* : . . .
ḫbra : *ma* : *gar* : *de* : . . .

and two others begin :—

mug : *tse* : *khyig* : *re* : *te* : . . .
ḫtham : *tse* : *re* : *te* : . . .

while in our MS. we have successive lines of verse (text, ll. 225–8) beginning :—

mor | *ḫgu* | *ḫrdzor* | . . .
ḫyaṅ | *ḫraḫ* | *ḫsaṅ* | *re* | . .
mug | *ḫgu* | *rdzor* | . . .
ḫtham | *raḫ* | *gsaṅ* | *re* | . . .
ḫbri | *ḫgu* | *rdzor* | . . .
braḫ | *ḫraḫ* | *gsaṅ* | *re* | . . .

Here in the antithetical relation characteristic of the style of the texts we have in both cases the six words *mor*, *yaṅ*,[1] *bri*, *bra*, *mug*, *ḫtham*. After this it is superfluous to add that the morphological characteristics, which we shall consider *infra*, are identical in the two cases.

With the exiguous and fragmentary material at his disposal, and not being acquainted with the more extensive India Office MS., Professor Francke could not be aware of the antithetical style of his MS., which is in sentences of a parallel, and perhaps for the most part even of a metrical, character.

[1] *mor-tsa* and *ḫyaṅ-tsa* occur also antithetically in our text, l. 388; *mor* and *yaṅ* again in ll. 9–10, 40–1.

This antithetic style is perhaps our main resource for the interpretation of the phraseology, the syntax, and the sense of the texts: for example, the first four sentences of the Berlin text end in *lo-lo, ge-ge, yo-yo, rya-rya* respectively, and these therefore are reduplicated verbs, such as we find widely employed in the area of Tibeto-Burman speech. Similar parallelisms reveal forthwith the verb substantive *re*, often attended by the adjectival-participial suffix *te* or *de*, the adjective or participle in *to* (see *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 66; 1928, p. 631, and *infra*), the noun-formative *ca*, etc., etc.

Upon the basis of certain words occurring in his text, namely—

nad	= Tibetan	*nad*,	"disease"
cham	= „	*cham*,	"fever"
rṅu	= „	*rṅu*,	"pain"
klo	= „	*glo*,	"lungs"
dro	= „	*dro*,	"heat"
myag	= „	*myag*,	"corruption"
ñis	= „	*gñis*,	"two"

Professor Francke came to the conclusion that his MS. was medical, a conclusion which should not be disregarded. It is not, however, favoured by the above observations; and some further points, such as the probable meanings of the phrases *mug-bu-rgya*, "stupid offspring," *ḫtham-gnam-tsa-ge*, "heavens" or "peoples of heaven", are not confirmatory. The particular words, most of which occur in our text, are in themselves not decisive: in monosyllabic languages, such as the Tibeto-Burman dialects, the elusive monosyllables have to a great extent each a variety of not evidently connected meanings (and not infrequently, perhaps, origins too), and between different dialects the lexicographical divergences are often wholesale: only when we have found a sort of general ratio between two dialects can we rely upon etymologies. Nevertheless Professor Francke's view should be borne in mind.

We may now examine more in detail the features of our language, and in the first place the forms of the words.

The use of the prefixed letters may be shown in a table as follows (the normal Tibetan usage being indicated by italics and, where necessary, also by notes):—

ẖ precedes . . .	all consonants, even when preceded by the prefixes *r*, *l*, and *s* (Tibetan *kh*, *g*; *ch*, *j*; *th*, *d*; *ph*, *b*; *tsh*, *dz*)—Berlin MS. *ch*, *th*, *b*, ts.
g precedes . . .	k, *c*, ch, *t* (rt, st), th, *d* (ld), *n*, p, ph, b (sb), m, *ts*, dz, w, *z*, *y*, r, l, *ś*, *s* (Tibetan adds ñ, ż)—Berlin MS. *c*, th, *n*, m, w, *y*, r, *s*.
d precedes . . .	*g*, d, *b* (Tibetan adds k, n, p, m)—Berlin MS. *nil*.
b precedes . . .	p, ph, b, *ż*, *z*, *ś*, *s* (Tibetan adds k, g, c, t, d, ts)—Berlin MS. *nil*.
m precedes . . .	*ṅ* (once, in *mṅar*) (Tibetan adds kh, g, ch, j, ñ, th, d, n, tsh, dz)—Berlin MS. *n*.
r precedes . . .	*k*, *g*, *n*, *j*, *ñ*, *t*, *d*, p, *b*, *m*, *ts*, *dz*, w, ż, ś, s (Tibetan adds n, l)—Berlin MS. *g*, *ṅ*, *t*, *b*, *m*, *ts*, s.
l precedes . . .	*t*, *d* (Tibetan adds k, g, ṅ, c, j, p, b)—Berlin MS. *j*, *d*.
s precedes . . .	*k*, *ñ*, *t*, *n*, *p*, *b*, *m*, *ts* (Tibetan adds g, ṅ, d)—Berlin MS. *ñ*, *t*, *p*.

Thus the Berlin MS., in comparison with our text, has no additional combinations, except *mn* (in one word, *mnan*) and *lj* (in one word, *ljeb* or *ljen*): in view of its small extent its deficiencies do not count. In comparison with the Tibetan the Nam text shows wide divergence, which, however, is qualified by the circumstance that the normal Tibetan forms are in part the result of a regularization and observe restrictions neglected by the early documents (which freely use such forms as *ẖk*, *ẖc*, *ẖt*, *ẖp*, *gch*, *gth*, *gtsh*, *skh*, *sth*, etc.): the earliest use of the prefixes is, however, represented by neither the

one nor the other. Towards the explanation of the divergences we may make the following suggestions :—

(*a*) The Tibetan has in this connection introduced a distinction between aspirates and non-aspirates in initial position. This distinction, which does not exist in some Tibeto-Burman dialects, and which is often disregarded in early Tibetan documents, is unoriginal. The Nam language has adopted it only in the case of the *r* and *s* prefixes, which in this case have perhaps given place to *ḫ*.

(*b*) The Tibetan does not allow (in ordinary usage) the prefixes *g*, *d*, *b* before consonants of their own articulatory class. Probably, therefore, it has changed original *gk*, *gkh*, *gg*, *gṅ* to *dk* and *bk*, *mkh* and *ḫkh*, *dg* and *bg*, *dn* and *mn*, and correspondingly in the cases of the dentals and labials. Hence its omissions and additions, noted in connection with these prefixes.

(*c*) The *m*-prefix, almost non-existent in Nam, had there probably been replaced by *ḫ*, except where (in cases like *myag*) it became absorbed in the root.

(*d*) A distinctive feature of the Nam language is the use of the prefix *g* before *w*, *r* in such words as *g-we*, and *g-ri*, which are quite distinct from original *gr* and *gw* belonging to the root. With *y* the corresponding distinction exists in Tibetan, and not unfrequently it leads to confusions; in the case of *l* (e.g. *glab*, alternating with *ḫlab* in Nam) the Tibetan has some survivals, e.g. *glan*, *glen*, from the root of *lan*, *len*. This peculiarity of the Nam language, so far as *g-r* is concerned, was noted by Professor Francke.

It appears, therefore, that in some points the Nam has departed rather less than the normal Tibetan from the original use of the prefixes, which must have been regulated not by articulation, but by significance. In the earliest Tibetan some traces of this are preserved.

Turning now to the ends of words, we find in the Nam all the final consonants of the Tibetan, namely—

g, *ṅ*, *d*, *n*, *b*, *m*, *ḫ*, *r*, *l*, *s*

and no others, except a solitary t_r in one occurrence. They are all fairly abundant, the most numerously represented being *ṅ*, *g*, *m*, *r*, and *s*. The consonant groups used in Tibetan as finals, namely—

gs, *ṅs*, *ms*, *bs*, with *rs* (but no *nd*, *rd*, *ld*)

are likewise all present, though they are not very numerous. Words with vocalic endings are likewise plentiful, representing all the Tibetan vowels, namely—

a, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*

each of which may have an appended *ẖ*. But there is also a large number of what may generically be called diphthongs, namely—

aẖa
aẖi, *iẖi*, *uẖi*, *eẖi*, *oẖi*
uẖu, *eẖu*, *oẖu*
aẖe (1) *eẖe*, *oẖe* (1)
iẖo (2) *eẖo* (1), *oẖo*

Here there would be good precedent for seeking the result of a loss of final consonants. But, if that were the fact, the abundant preservation, as we have indicated, of the Tibeto-Burman final consonants would constitute a large problem, which could hardly be solved by any supposition of, e.g., Sandhi doublets or of survival of consonants originally protected by an additional *-s*.

To deal with the matter more positively: we have to take account of the fact that there is in the Nam language a sentence-ending particle *ẖi*, which is found also after consonants (*ẖthul ẖi*, l. 67; *ẖrdag ẖi*, l. 214; *ẖlam ẖi*, ll. 224, 226–9; *ẖlad ẖi*, l. 230; *ẖtroṅ ẖi*, l. 243; *stom ẖi*, l. 255; *ẖwad ẖi*, l. 301; *ẖṅlom ẖi*, l. 385), and in verse can be or not be extra-metrical. Hence none of the *prima facie* diphthongs ending in *i* is certainly diphthongal, unless it occurs in a non-final position in the sentence. This is more evidently the case where there exists an otherwise identical word lacking the *ẖi*. We must add, further, that there is in the MS. a large number

of endings of sentences which are not indicated, and there are also cases of what may be called virtual endings of sentences, e.g. when the last word, presumably a verb, is repeated.

These considerations serve to remove from the list of *prima facie* diphthongs a proportion of their occurrences. There survive under the heads—

aẖi : *rtaẖi* (174), *ẖpaẖi* (211), *paẖi* (262 M),[1] *ẖldyaẖi* (?) (392).
uẖi : *ẖruẖi* (167), *ẖmuẖi* (183),[2] *ẖphuẖi* (190, 276 [2]), *ẖpuẖi* (274, 329 M).
eẖi : *ẖrkeẖi* (58 M), *rgyeẖi* (54), *ẖṅeẖi* (115 M), *steẖi* (54), *ẖdeẖi* (102, 339, 340), *ẖldeẖi* (318, 319, 320), *ẖpeẖi* (212, 353), *rpeẖi* (286 M), *ẖrpeẖi* (169 M), *speẖi* (140, 370 M), *ẖbeẖi* (47 M, 69 M, 110 M, 213 M, 234(2) M), *meẖi* (35 M, 78 M, 150 M, 151, 161, 185 M, 186, 343, 352 M, 369 M, 370 M), *ẖmeẖi* (218, 272 M), *smeẖi* (200), *ẖdzeẖi* (338, 339), *weẖi* 74 M, 100, 139 M, 196), *ẖweẖi* (47 M, 173, 380), *ẖrweẖi* (214), *ẖreẖi* (200), *rseẖi* (208 M), *ẖrseẖi* (384).
oẖi : *ẖkoẖi* (170).
iẖi : to be considered below.

The Tibetan has also a sentence-terminating a[illegible]cative -*o*, and this should, it seems, be admitted in Nam [illegible]n exists -*ṅo*, l. 318), since its recognition dispenses with the sol[illegible]ans ; in [illegible]s of the diphthongs— [illegible]n) the [illegible]ro
iẖo : *ẖbyiẖo* 84 (*ẖbyi* being a common word).
uẖo : *ẖkruẖo* 316 (*ẖkru* occurring elsewhere).

eẖu : this diphthong, which exists in Tibetan, generally in diminutives from words in -*a* or *o* or as a substitute for -*a*-*ba*, cannot be removed from the Nam language through any considerations of Sandhi or sentence-ending. The occurrences are as follows :—

keẖu (176, 177, 360), *ẖkeẖu* (170 M, 177, 178, 360, 362,

[1] M indicates a certainly monosyllabic value.
[2] Probably final.

364, 366),[1] *geẖu* (362), *gleẖu* (347 M, 348 M), *ẖrteẖu* (265), *neẖu* (41 M, 74(2) M, 257 M, 258 M), *tsweẖu* (196), *ẖdzeẖu*[2] (138).

eẖu is therefore a genuine diphthong, a monosyllable wherever its syllabic value can be tested.

oẖu also is a diphthong, monosyllabic wherever tested :—

ẖkoẖu (166, 168, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 177, 180, 363, generally followed by *prom*), *ẖkhoẖu* (106, 292(2), 296(2), 361, sometimes followed by *prom*), *ẖjoẖu* (137), *ldyoẖu* (256 M), *ẖldoẖu* (277 M, 300, 319), *noẖu* (41 M), *ẖnoẖu* (206), *ẖbyoẖu* (256 M), *gboẖu* (181), *ẖdzoẖu* (137, 324(2) M), *gsoẖu* (358).

We now come to the groups *aẖa*, *iẖi*, *uẖu*, *eẖe*, *oẖo*. Of the first there is only one occurrence, namely—

gyaha (266, at the end of a sentence and monosyllabic).

The others are common, as follows :—

iẖi : at end of sentence—

gcıẖi (346), *ẖciẖi* (205), *ẖjiẖi* (306), *ẖrjıẖi* (213), *ẖldiẖi* (48), *ẖkhıẖi* (?) (211).

Not at end of sentence—

ẖciẖı (350), *ẖjiẖi* (78), *ẖdiẖi* (184, 391), *ẖldiẖi* (195, 327), *ẖldyiẖi* (375), *g-riẖı* (298, 309 M, 312 M), *ẖriẖi* (62 M, 290 Diss. ?,[3] 291 M, 293, 294 M, 297 M, 300, 302, 305 M).

eẖe : *ẖkeẖe* (125 M, 158 M, 291), *ẖkweẖe* (131), *ẖkheẖe* (251, 314), *ẖgeẖe* (75, 251(2)), *ẖrgeẖe* (72), *ẖnleẖe* (288), *ẖrneẖe* (131, 347 M), *ẖjweẖe* (36 Diss.,[1] but = *ẖdzwe*, 39 M), *ẖṅyeẖe* (364), *grteẖe* (181), *theẖe* (160), *rdeẖe* (213 M), *ẖldeẖe* (370 M, 372 = *ẖlde*, 370), *neẖe* (275), *breẖe* (44), *ẖbeẖe* (46 M), *g-weẖe* (201, 298 Diss., 357(2)), *ẖweẖe* (348 M), *g-yeẖe* (166), *ẖreẖe* (74 M, 249, 251 = *ẖre* (251)), *ẖśehe* (163[4], 369), *ẖseẖe* (14, 238 M, 351 M), *gseẖe* (135, 368), *sweẖe* (130).

oẖo : at end of sentence—

ẖkhoẖo (216 M, 216 Diss.), *ẖjoẖo* (34 Diss.), *ẖtoẖo*

[1] Several times followed by *prom*.
[2] For *ẖdzoẖu* ?
[3] Diss. = dissyllable.
[4] For *ẖseẖe* ?

(140 M, 235, 315(2), 317, 359), *doẖo* (80 M), *ẖldoẖo* (110 M), *ẖldyoẖo* (355), *dro* | *ho* (105), *ẖṅoẖo* (320), *ẖbroẖo* (294), *ẖrmoẖo* (18), *ẖyoẖo* (119 M), *ẖloẖo* (381), *ẖrloẖo* (15 M), *ẖdzoẖo* (362).

Not at end of sentence—

ẖkoẖo (325, 327 *ẖko* | *ẖo*), *ẖkhoẖo* (101, 291 M), *ẖgoẖo* (261 M), *rgyoẖo* (335, 336), *ẖṅoẖo* (273, 362), *ẖtoẖo* (350, 362), *ẖdroẖo* (37), *ẖrdoẖo* (165), *ẖpoẖo* (28), *rbyoẖo* (336).

uẖu : *ẖkuẖu* (74 M, 393 (?)), *kruẖu* (321, 334), *ẖkruẖu* (294 M, 313, 316, 318, 323), *ẖskuẖu* (6), *ẖkhruẖu* (322), *ẖguẖu* (312 Diss.), *dguẖu* (236 = *dgu* ; 244 = *dgu*), *ẖjuẖu* (312 Diss), *ẖlduẖu* (44), *ẖpuẖu* (293 = *ẖpu*), *smuẖu* (22 M), *ẖtsuẖu* (166, 303 = *ẖtsu* 304), *ẖyuẖu* (49 Diss., 333, 368, 369), *ẖruẖu* (21, 293).

In the Berlin MS. there is very little, if any (only one, doubtful, word *reẖe*), trace of these diphthongs of an identical vowel ; and a question therefore arises in regard to their reality. The question is affected by two considerations :

(*a*) The fact that the forms are, where their syllabic value can be ascertained, almost invariably monosyllabic may not be quite decisive. The rare cases where, apart from the possibility of scribal error, a dissyllabic pronunciation is indicated, suggest at least an occasional actuality of pronunciation with the vowel double.

(*b*) That the forms with double vowel are merely variants of forms with single vowel is evident in many cases from the phraseology. Thus we have—

ẖman | *ẖriẖi*|*ẖphan* | 302 — *ẖman* | *g - ri* | *ẖpan* | 308
ẖmaṅ | *g - riẖi* | 309 — *ẖmaṅ* | *g - ri* | 308
g-riẖi | *sta* | *meẖi* | 312 — *g-ri* | *sta* | *meẖi* | 312
kruẖu | *ẖbro* | 294, etc. — *ẖkru* | *ẖbro* | 297, etc.
ẖkhruẖu | *ẖyog* | 322 — *khru* | *ẖyog* | 321
ẖtor | *ẖpuẖu* | 293 — *ẖtor* | *ẖpu* | 29, etc.
ẖdom | *ẖgu* | *ẖtsuẖu* | 303 — *ẖdom* | *ẖgu* | *ẖtsu* | 304

hldyaṅ | *hyuhu* | 369	*hldyaṅ* | *hyu* | 372
ṅa | *g-wehe* | 201	*ṅa* | *g-we* | 205–7
hldehe | *ge* | *htah* | *hldon* | 370	*hlde* | *ge* | *htah* | *hldon* | 370
hbaṅ | *hrehe* | *hkhehe* | 251	*hbaṅ* | *hre* | *hgehe* | 251
hwa | *ste* | *hgehe* | 75	*hwa* | *ste* | *hge* | 75
hpu | *hloho* | 381	*pu* | *hlo* | 135
rgyoho | *hto* | *stiṅ* | 335	*rgyo* | *hto* | *stiṅ* | 330
hkoho | *hgyan* | 325, 327	*hko* | *hgyan* | 325, 327
hṅoho | *hjam* | 273	*hṅo* | *hdzam* | 264

There is in these cases no sign of any difference of phrase or syntax, and the only possible explanation is a variable pronunciation. Now concerning the so-called "Tangut", Tibetan-speaking, people of North-Eastern Tibet we read in Prejevalsky's *Mongolia* (translation by E. Delmar Morgan, 1876, vol. ii, p. 112) as follows :—

"The Tangutans have a way of pronouncing their words very rapidly, and their language is characterized by the following particulars . . . Vowels at the end of words are often lengthened out: *pchi-i* (mule), *sha-a* (meat), *tzia-a* (tea), *veh-e-e* (husband), *siya-a* (hat); or in the middle of [compound] words *sa'azyuyu* (earth), *dooa* (tobacco)."

Since the speakers of the Nam language must have occupied a region adjacent to these "Tangutans", it is probable that the latter have preserved here a mode of articulation characteristic (whatever its ultimate origin) of the original Nam population. The absence of the double vowel from the Berlin fragment and its presence in our MS. may be due either to a real difference of dialect or to the fact that our text was written down (see *infra*) from oral communication.

The list of diphthongs is accordingly reduced to the following :—

ahi : a few single examples, *rtahi*, *hpahi*, *pahi*, *hldyahi* (?).
uhi : a few cases, *hruhi*, *hmuhi*, *hphuhi*, *hpuhi*, some of them probably with sentence-ending *hi*.
ehi : frequent and including *mehi*, which probably means

"eye" (also perhaps "is not", Tib *med*): no evidence of confusion with *-e*, e.g. with *me*, probably meaning "fire".

oẖi : one instance (*ẖkoẖi*) only, therefore doubtful.
aẖu : one instance (*kaẖu*) in the Berlin MS. (l. 1).
eẖu : rather frequent : no sign of confusion with *-e*.
oẖu · frequent : no sign of confusion with *-o*.

Until the meaning of some of the words in question is definitely ascertained, it is premature to inquire whether to any of these diphthongs, e.g. *uẖi*, *eẖi*, *eẖu*, *oẖu*, a theory of lost consonant finals can be applied.[1] As in Tibetan, no word ending in a consonant contains a diphthong or doubled vowel.

The general aspect of Nam words has incidentally been illustrated. It remains to add that in "root" words initial tenues, tenues aspiratæ and mediæ are often compounded with a following *w*, *y*, *r*, *l*, giving the types—

kw,[1] *pw*, *tw*, *khw*,[2] [*phw*], *thw*,
ky, *py*, *ty*, *khy*, *phy*, *thy*,
kr, *pr*, *tr*, *khr*, *phr*, *thr*,
kl, *pl*, [*tl*] *khl*, *phl*, [*thl*]

of course, in different respective quantity ; and similarly we find also such combinations as *ṅw* (even *nl*), *ldy*, *my*, *tsw*, *ry*, *rw*, *rwy* (even *rl* ?), *sw*, *sr*, *sl*. Initial *ż* and *z* are not common. A characteristic feature of the language is the initial *ld* and *ldy*, the former found also, but more rarely, in Tibetan, where, no doubt, *ld* is partly represented by *l* and *d*.

The use of the prefix *ẖ* has already been noted. That of *g*, which often alternates with *ẖ*, and that of *b* are probably more regular and with more definite significations. But for any serious discussion of this we must await a better knowledge of the language. Especially is this the case in regard to prefixes used with nouns not deverbal.

[1] *keẖu* "speak" and *ẖkoẖu ẖkhoẖu* "speak", with *prom*, are possibly the Chinese words *kao* "speak" and *k'ou* "mouth".

[2] *k* and *kh* imply here also *g*; similarly we imply *d* and *b*.

To come now to words in combination and to grammar. Here for the most part we must be content with a series of negations.

Apparently there is in the Nam language no trace of the Tibetan formatives *pa*, *ba*, *ma*, *po*, *bo*, *mo*, except possibly in the case of *ma*, which is found also in Burmese, and *mo*. Nor is there very much evidence for the *ka*, *ga* occasionally seen in Tibetan. But there are three formatives *ca* or *tsa*, *to*, and *ta*, each of which has some interest.

ca is seen in the parallel phrases *ljeb-ca* and *doṅ-ca* of the Berlin MS. (ll. 10–11), and perhaps also, as *ḫcaḫ*, in the *meḫi-klu-ḫcaḫ* of our text. In the form *tsa* it is more common in both: thus we find—

ig :.*ma* : *tsa* : *ge* : (Berlin, l. 6).

me : *tsa* : (Berlin, l. 14).

ḫtham : *gnam* : *tsa* : *ge* : (Berlin, l. 18).

klu | *ḫrto* | *tsa* | *ge* | (Nam, l. 24).

ḫkhu | *tsa* | and *gphaḫ* | *tsa* | (Nam, 60, probably = "uncle's people" and "father's people").

ḫthan | *le* | *ḫtsa* | *ge* | (Nam, ll. 131, 220).

ḫtor | *ḫñi* | *ḫtsa* | *ge* | (Nam, l. 215).

rgye[*d*] | *ḫraḫ* | *ḫtsaḫ* | *ge* | (Nam, l. 342).

This formative, which in Tibetan is seen in the phrase *bu-tsa* and °*tsha* "children" (cf. *ḫkhu-tsa* and *gphaḫ-tsa*), has evidently a generalizing effect. The *ge*, which so often accompanies it, but also occurs very frequently otherwise (both in the Berlin fragment, *khu-ge*, *pu-ge*, etc., and in our MS.), might possibly have a pluralizing force and conceivably is the Chinese word *ke* = "all". But probably it is only an article; we find it in Tibetan words, such as *yi-ge* = *yig*, and in a number of place-names, *Hel-ge* and °*ke*, *Śud-ke*, *Mer-ke*, and phrases, such as *rtog-ge*, *rug-ge*. In the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan there are very many names of the forms *Kaṃcǵe*, *Moticǵa*, *Potsaǵa*, besides still more numerous ones (*Ṣulǵe*, *Vaṣǵe*, *Catmaǵe*, *Malṕiǵe*, etc.) in *-ge* without the *ca* or *tsa*; and this evidently lends strong support to

the view propounded in *JRAS.*, 1927, pp. 544–6, that the strange plural-forming *ca*, found in the Kharoṣṭhī Prakrit, is really a Tibeto-Burman element: we have now found the usage in an area adjacent to, and in constant connection with, Chinese Turkestan. The loss of the vowel in *Kaṃc[a]ǵe*, etc., reminds us of Prejevalsky's remark concerning the rapid pronunciation of the Tangutans.

The suffix *to* (perhaps also *sto*) is used to form adjectives or participles and is very common, e.g., in—

dguẖu | *mu* | *ẖto* | *re* | (Nam, ll. 236–244).
ẖtar | *phyaṅ* | *ẖto* | *re* | (Nam, l. 374).
ẖnor | *ẖldog* | *g-yaẖ* | *to* | *dze* | (Nam, l. 317).

This suffix is evidently the same that has previously (*JRAS.*, 1927, p. 66) been noted in ancient Tibetan names, probably titles of honour, such as *Btsan-to-re*,[1] "one who is powerful," where we know the meanings of the words. It appears, further (loc. cit.), in the place-name *Mu-to-lyiṅ*, applied to a summer residence on the upper Hoang-ho and probably meaning "Cool Park" (*glin*).[2] It is also employed, as in Tibetan, to conclude sentences, as in—

ldyo | *stor* | *ẖthu* | *re* | *ẖdrab* | *stor* | *ẖtoẖo* || (l. 140)

and of this there seem to be several examples in the Berlin MS. Furthermore, it is not seldom followed by an auxiliary or other verb, as in—

stor | *rje* | *ẖbro* | *re* | *stor* | *to* | *ẖrun* || (l. 138)

with which, in all probability, we may compare the expressions in the Berlin MS.

les : *to* : *dom* : (l. 8).
doṅ : *to* · *gyud* : (l. 9).

As perhaps a variant of this *-to*, we may mention *ẖdo*, *ldo*, which probably forms abstracts, as in *ẖtor-ẖdo-ẖchuṅ* (l. 185), meaning "in bigness small".

[1] *sto* in *Sgra-ya-sto*, etc.
[2] A *Mu-t'ou-lin* may be seen in Dr. Filchner's map of Kan-su (1910), N 11, near the Ts'ing-kiang River.

The suffix *ta* (also *sta*) is clearly used with verb roots to form nouns of action or agency, as in—

skye | *ta* | *ram* | (l. 157, "to be alive, or life, is agreeable" ?).
glo | *ta* | *rdzogs* || (l. 157, "intention is fulfilled" ?).

But it seems likely that in the sense of connection it could be used with nouns also, and with this sense we can perhaps recognize it in proper names and other terms found in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, such as *Śirsata*, *Taṃcǵota*, *Parvata* ("a man of Parban (= Chinese Pe-pin)"). Its original sense was, no doubt, "that," and it has also uses not suffixal.

Declension.—Of any modification of Nam words to express case-relations there is apparently no trace. Moreover, the post-positions employed in Tibetan to express plurality and duality (*cag*, *cog*, *dag*, *rnams*, *tsho*) seem to be, except possibly the last of them, entirely wanting. There is no sign of a Genitive suffix corresponding to the Tibetan *kyi*, *gyi*, *-i*, or of a Locative *su*. But vowel stems form, as in Tibetan, a Locative in *-r* (e.g *rgyed-ḫrar* from *-ḫraḫ*), and in the same sense the *na* found also in Tibetan is used. For the Dative we have again the same *la* as in Tibetan. The very common post-position *dze*, used apparently in a local (and temporal) sense, may be the Chinese word *tsai*, elsewhere also found, as *dze* and *dzeḫi*, in this use (*JRAS.*, 1926, p. 526; 1927, p. 306).

As in early Tibetan, the prospective sense (futurity, necessity, duty) was expressed, probably, by the prefix *g* (*glab* "to be said"); the Aoristic (perfective or preterite) correspondingly by *b* (*bprom* "performed", *bphyag* "saluted"). The Imperative, or the sense of demand, etc., we should expect to be conveyed by vowel-modification, as in Tibetan *mdzod* "make" ($\sqrt{}$*mdzad*), *sñog* "follow" ($\sqrt{}$*sñeg*), *chos* "arrange" ($\sqrt{}$*ḫchaḫ*); and this accounts, no doubt, for the word *ḫlob* (378), as Imperative of *ḫlab*, *glab*. A Preterite ending in *-s* is established in the case of *ḫgyaṅs*, *ḫkroms*, *ḫthogs*, *ḫproms*, *ḫtshors* by the fact that they are final in their

respective sentences and occur in the same connections as do the corresponding forms without *s*. There are not a few others (*ḫyos* from *g-yo*, etc.) of probably the same nature; and the sentence-ending phrase *ḫtag-ḫtos* (l. 279), reflected in the next sentence by *ḫtag-ḫto-na*, shows that the *s* could be appended to the participial form in *-to*; cf. the repeated *gce-tos* in the Berlin MS. (ll. 5 and 8).

From the above sketch it will be evident that the syntax of the Nam language is of a simple character; in fact, it is in the form merely of short predications, with the predicate, verb or adjective or participial expression, at the end: no doubt, this order is sometimes, for the sake of emphasis (the text being metrical), violated, so that the negative or the subject may close the sentence. That the language possessed an interrogative-relative pronoun corresponding to the Tibetan *ci* (*ji*) appears from a repeated phrase in the Berlin MS.—

ji-khan-de-(khan) (ll. 10, 15, 16)

which surely means "[in] whatever house (place), [in] that house [place]". But subordination is normally expressed, in the fashion of Tibetan and cognate and similar languages, by placing the subordinate statement first and appending to it a Gerund particle, in Tibetan *cin*, etc., *te, de, ste, na* (the Locative particle) to express condition or circumstance, *la* (the Dative particle) to express circumstance or addition, and *nas* and *las* (the Ablatival particles) to express priority or cause or reason. The Nam language uses *te* (*de, lde*) and *na*, and the former is often preceded by the substantive verb *re* "is" or "being". This has been exemplified above from the Berlin MS. But our text generally dispenses with the *te*, since *re* in the sense of "being" does what is required; and the resultant sentence-type, very abundantly instanced, is on the lines of the verse—

gdim | *chis* | *ldom* | *re* | *ḫtsog* | *ḫldaṅ* | *ḫstaṅ* ||

The sentence-terminating affirmatives or exclamatives, *-o* and *-ḫi*, have already been mentioned: to be added are

na, frequent in Tibetan, and *ra*, frequent in Central-Asian Chinese.

We have now to consider briefly upon what evidence the above description is based and what is the nature of the text from which it is deduced. How can we expect to penetrate the meaning and structure of a document which presents at first sight only a rapid fire of very strange, disconcerting monosyllables whose significations are entirely unknown? The answer depends upon two circumstances. In the first place, the text presents a very large number of repeated words, and also, as we become familiar with it, repeated phrases; and the style is such that both words and phrases are frequently in a relation of antithesis (of fact or expression), which is bound to throw light upon the two or several members of the antithesis. Secondly, the punctuation, as described *supra*, soon reveals the fact that parts of the text are metrical; despite the frequent inadequacy and occasional incorrectness of that punctuation, a study of the phraseology tends, by indicating the points of section, to continual enlargement of the certainly metrical area, until finally we acknowledge that most of the text is in verse. These two considerations afford us a grasp of the linguistic structure and the style of the work.

As to its meaning: For the reasons already mentioned mere etymologizing on the basis of ordinary Tibetan is unpromising, and upon trial it is found to be practically ineffective. Identical or identifiable forms are rarer than might be expected, and the comparisons are generally found misleading. Let us take, for instance, the words *śid* and *dgu*: the former occurs in Tibetan in the sense of "funeral ceremony" and this is probably an old meaning, since *śid* = "die", connected with *śi* = "die", exists elsewhere in the Tibeto-Burman field. But *śid*, with no doubt a quite different origin, has also the sense of "fruitful field". Neither of these meanings suits the Nam text, and we shall have to search long before we discover, in a fragment from Eastern Tibet, positive

evidence of its meaning "high". *Dgu* is Tibetan for "nine", also used as a kind of pluralizing form, = "all": if we think of a variant prefix, we may then arrive at *sgu* "bent", *sgur* and *rgur* "bent", *rgud* "trouble", "decline", *rgun* "grapes", etc., etc. But we shall never, without exceptional good fortune, light upon the actual meaning, which is "hot" or "heat", confirmed by antithesis to *mu* "cold". In some cases our fortune may be better: in *glo* we may recognize the Tibetan *blo* "mind", "heart", and then actually find the word in this form in old documents: when applied to the phrase *glo-ta-rdzogs* "thoughts fulfilled", it does yield good sense; but we cannot know forthwith that that sense is applicable where the word occurs; and this is a double accident, because that *rdzogs* should really have the sense of the Tibetan word *rdzogs* was not at all inevitable—in fact, when we find it to have that meaning, we suspect an interposition of a Tibetan scribe. Unless we obtain a notion of the purport of the text as a whole, the verification of such a rendering is not really in prospect.

A fertile method in regard to "unknown languages" in Central Asia has been to discover in the texts phrases or citations, or even translations, from known forms of speech; and in this connection the Buddhist literature in Sanskrit and Chinese has been a key which has promptly opened the door to research In the Nam text a many times-repeated scrutiny has failed to discover any trace of Sanskrit expressions or of Buddhism: in regard to Tibetan, Turkī, "Tokharī," Saka-Khotanī the result is the same, unless the expressions *stom-ḫkan* (l. 281) and *stoṅ-ḫpoṅ* (l. 321) are really the *stom-gyan* and *ston-dpon* of the Tibetan documents (equivalent, it has been suggested, *Acta Orientalia*, xiii, pp. 52–4, to the *toṃga* of the Kharoṣṭhī); and unless the *the-kyen* of l. 103 and the *ḫkaḫ-ḫgaṅ* of l. 207 are the Turkish *tegin* and *khagan*, all which suggestions are, we must add, as void of solid foundation as would be the equation of *sku-*

h̲phu-h̲ti (l. 104), in itself quite possible,[1] to Sanskrit *Subhūti*. The Chinese items which have been noted *supra* (pp. 206, 209) are such as might have passed into the language of an uncivilized border people which during many centuries had been under Chinese control.

If the language of the text is thus without any note of Buddhism, it is certain that the content is likewise. Have we any inkling of its character ? In ll. 248–9 we find—

h̲ldi | *rgyed* | *h̲rar* | *rgyed* | *h̲tre* | *h̲te* | *ge* | *gse* | *h̲śo* | *h̲kon* || ⸫ ⸫ ||

whereof *h̲ldi* may be = Tibetan *h̲di* " this ", and the phrases *h̲ldi-rgyed-h̲rar* and *rgyed-h̲tre* (or *h̲dre*) *-h̲te-ge* recur in ll. 87, 216, 237, 243, and ll. 87, 94 respectively. Since *h̲rar* is obviously the old Locative in *-r* from the word *ra*, " place " or " enclosure ", found copiously in Tibetan and elsewhere and also, in the form *h̲rah̲*, in the Nam text, which actually gives *h̲ldi-rgyed-h̲rah̲* (l. 216) and *rgyed-h̲rah̲* (l. 341) ; and, since the phrase *rgyed-h̲tre* (or *h̲dre*) *-h̲te-ge* recurs in ll. 87, 94, while *gse*, perhaps, = Tibetan *gtse* " injure " or *se* or *bse* " a kind of demon ", and *h̲tre* or *h̲dre* may be = Tibetan *h̲dre* " fiend ", the meaning should be—

" In this *rgyed*-area the *rgyed*-fiends' injury . . ."

The very emphatic punctuation at the end of this sentence suggests a colophon ; and we are led to inquire whether the last word *h̲kon*, which does not recur, may be the *kvon*, = Chinese *chüan* " chapter ", which has been found (*JRAS.*, 1927, p. 298 ; 1930, p. 61) in other, but Chinese, MSS. from *Tun-huang*. At the present, quite conjectural, stage it is not worth while to inquire whether the preceding monosyllable *h̲śo* is a numeral (in which case there would be several possibilities) or something else.

We cannot say what a " *rgyed*-area " may be ; but, if it means " the world " (conceivably " high realm ", " heaven ", with *rgyed* as a *d/n* variant of the *rgyen* noted below, p. 215),

[1] It may be added that the MS. probably contains at least one Central Asian ethnic name.

our text may belong to a world-wide class of early literature, of which, of course, the *Book of Genesis* is the best known example, but which in India is abundantly instanced in the *Purāṇas*, works of late composition, but developed from a very ancient original. Such works commence with a cosmology, or at any rate with an account of the early world, usually a period of heaven or a golden age, and then trace the process of descent upon earth, division of creatures and races, and come down to actual history and ethical reflections. This type is represented also in the Buddhist legends concerning early ages, and is faithfully preserved even in the Tibetan *Rgyal-rabs* or *Rājāvalī*, as may be seen in the translation published by Professor A. H. Francke (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. ii, pp. 63 sqq). The real Bon-po literature, not yet accessible, has much strange mythology and legend on these lines, in principle pre-Buddhist; and no doubt the Tibeto-Burman tribes in touch with Kan-su had, in connection with their Shamanist or Bon-po religions, something even more primitive of the same kind. That this is not mere conjecture may be inferred from the fact that a Tibetan fragment from Tun-huang, relating to good and bad ages of the world, has been published in part (*JRAS.*, 1931, pp 818–19): other fragments, unpublished, contain similar matter and will afford help in the elucidation of the Nam text.

Some such view of the nature of the text is necessary in order to account for the fact that it was thought deserving of being written down by monks or priests in Tun-huang. In confirmation of this we may quote the single piece of actual Tibetan occurring in the MS. It reads (l. 180)—

de | *nas* | *rabs* | *bgyis* | *gsan* | *ḫldi* | *ḫlab* |

" From this point [division of] race was made : this is told as secret."

We see then that the text, originally transmitted orally, contained the mythologico-historical notions of a Nam-shan tribe or tribes. From the evidence of other fragments, in a sort of Tibetan and more or less completely translatable, we

can see that it is interested in the animals of the region and also that it may contain much homely moralizing. There is one fairly long passage, a lyric of vengeance, which despite a total difference of vocabulary seems almost an echo of a passage, quite translatable, in a fragment representing North-Eastern Tibet. The full interpretation of the text may be a rather gradual operation. As a specimen of a rendering, quite conjectural and non-committal, of two short moralizing passages, and also as a specimen of the text, we may glance at the following (ll. 158–160) :—

(1) *chos* | *ta* | *nan* | *re* | *ẖde* | *ta* | *rgyen* | *ẖlab* | *ta* | *ẖwen* ||
ẖnaẖ | *ẖchos* | *ẖre* | *ge* | *ẖldan* | *myi* | *śeg* |
spye | *chos* | *ẖre* | *ge* | *gtsan* | *myi* | *ẖrgan* |
śi | *ẖchos* | *re* | *ge* | *ẖpu* | *myi* | *ldin* ||

"Beginnings being bad, efforts (?) are uphill (?), speech is empty.
Born in spring, wood does not burn (split):
Born in summer, corn does not mature:
Born in winter, birds do not fly."

Here we may be certain of *chos* (*ẖchos*), *ẖlab*, *myi* "not", and of the use of the particles *ta*, *ge*, and the verb substantive *re* (*ẖre*); *ẖwen* may be akin to Tibetan *dben* "solitary", "empty"; *śeg* = Tibetan *sreg* "burn" or (more probably) *gśeg* | *gśog* "split wood"; *gtsaṅ* = *stsan*, *rtsan* "corn"; *rgan* = Tibetan *rgan* "old"; *ẖnaẖ* and *śi* may correspond to words for "spring" (*non*) and "winter" (*tsu*) in Si-hsia, a later language from an adjacent region, and *spye* may have some relation to Tibetan *sbyar* "summer"[1]; *ẖldaṅ*, which causes difficulty in several occurrences, may be = Tibetan *ldaṅ* "rise up" ("grow"?) or *gdaṅ* "peg", "stick"; *ldin* = Tibetan *ldi* "float", "soar". *Rgyen* "uphill" = Tibetan *gyen* can be shown to be rather apt in this application. For *pu* = "bird" (Tibetan has *bya*, original *pụya*?) we can cite Si-hsia *wo*,

[1] If *spye* is derived from **spyar*, then *ẖde* may be derived from *ẖdar* and may mean "spreading", "success", as in Tibetan.

T'auchū (*mdr-)wau*, Balti *bü-u*, Limbū (Nepal) *pū*, Lepcha (Sikkim) *fo*, Nāgā *vo*, *vū*, etc., Kachin *wǔ*, Kuki-Chin *vā*, *wu-chiem*, etc., Lūi *p'ū*, in Sir G. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. I, ii, pp. 116–17.

(2) *ḫkhu* | *tsa* | *śid* | *dze* | *ḫpha* | *ḫṅur* | *ḫṅur* ||
gphaḫ | *tsa* | *glom* | *dze* | *ḫkhu* | *ḫnur* | *ḫṅur* || (ll. 60–1).

"Where the uncle's [1] family is high, the father groans: where the father's family is extravagant, the uncle groans." Here *khu* = "uncle" (Tibetan *khu* and *'a-khu*), and *pha* = "father", and the use of *tsa*, as in Tibetan *bu-tsa* and *°tsha* "children", etc., may be regarded as quite promising; *śid* we have elsewhere in *śid-rabs* "high race"; and *ṅur* in Tibetan means "grunt". As regards *glom* we can cite only Tibetan *gron* "squander", "expense". The rendering of the two lines seems to suit the context; but we should not be deceived as the conjectural character of the version of either passage.

The *Nam-pa* language, as old as the Tibetan and in structure more primitive, is likely to have been closely related to that of the Tibeto-Burman people known to the Chinese by a name which has been transliterated at different times as *Jo-Kiang*, *Żi-k'iang* (F. W. K. Muller), and Dža-K'iong (De Groot), a people, who according to detailed, generally accepted, statements of the Chinese Annals of the "Former Han" dynasty occupied from remote times the whole stretch of country immediately south of the mountains (so far as it was inhabited at all) from the Nan-shan to the longitude of Khotan, and who may be shown to have furnished an element in the population of Southern Turkestan, to the north of those mountains, from Kan-su in the east to districts even west of Khotan.[2]

[1] i.e. mother's (the social system consisting of *pha* and *khu*).
[2] The *Namtiga* of the Kharoṣṭhī document, No. 308, may well be a "Nam-tig man", *Nam-tig* being (*JRAS.*, 1928, p. 633) the name of the people speaking the Nam language

Demetrias in Sind?

By E. H. JOHNSTON

CERTAIN periods of Indian history present extraordinary difficulties to the scholar who would deal with them, because he should be equally expert in so many different languages and literatures, and no one in practice can be a specialist in all. This is particularly true for the centuries when the Greeks were a force in the land. Incomplete and scattered statements from Greek and Latin historians and geographers have to be dovetailed in with the still more imperfect information to be derived from Sanskrit and Pali literature, as well as with inscriptions and coins; and in addition Chinese reports have to be reckoned with. Hitherto this period has been mostly treated from the Indian angle and, though much use has been made of the classical authorities, that use has not been accompanied by adequate critical knowledge of the sources. We Indologists have therefore every reason to be deeply grateful to Dr. Tarn, whose recently published *Greeks in Bactria and India*, the fruit of many years' labour, explains authoritatively the bearing of the Greek evidence and enables us for the first time to see the history of the age as a coherent and intelligible whole. In carrying out his task, he has naturally had occasion to draw deductions from the Indian material, for which he is dependent on second-hand information. Now, while I have no desire to spill ink on so useless a matter as purely destructive criticism, I am of opinion that some of his inferences are based on misunderstanding of the evidence from this source and will not stand the test of critical examination. These matters, it should be remarked, are not fundamental to his views, which seem likely to commend themselves in the main to students of Indian history, as they do in fact to me, but I feel that the prestige of his book will give currency to unsustainable *obiter dicta* and that therefore it is desirable to make clear

at once how they strike a Sanskrit scholar. Some of the questions involved are, moreover, of considerable interest in themselves.

This paper is focussed on the suggestion that Demetrius founded a city and port in Sind which was called Demetrias after him, but I group round this problem discussions of various other matters, in regard to which Dr. Tarn's theories give rise to difficulties from my point of view. A seaport of this name was unknown to the classical authors, whether historians or geographers ; if such a city ever existed, some at least of the latter class could not have failed to mention it, and we can only get round this objection by the assumption that the name, Demetrias, had gone out of use by the first century A.D. On the Indian side the grammarians know a city, called Dāttāmitrī after Dattāmitra, in the Sauvīra country, and this city is evidently identical with Datāmitī, the home-town of a Yavana who has left an inscription in one of the Nasik caves. Dattāmitra is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, and he and Bhagadatta, frequently named in the same epic, are equated with Demetrius and Apollodotus respectively, from which Dāttāmitrī is naturally inferred to be a form of the Greek name Demetrias.

It is more convenient to start by testing the argument from the epic. While it is true that the two identifications have the sanction of Weber's great name, in principle such a mention of kings, who lived during the period in which the *Mahābhārata* was in the making and who, moreover, were foreigners to India, is unlikely. The epic does refer to tribes such as the Śakas, who were unknown to India at the latest possible date to which its inception could be assigned, but all its characters are on the plane of legend ; and the introduction of Demetrius and Apollodotus could only have taken place at a very late epoch, when they had become legendary heroes. Nor, so far as I am aware, is any other king of the historical period treated as living in the time of the epic. We are therefore entitled to ask for strict proof,

not conjecture, before accepting the proposed identifications.

Of the two kings named, Bhagadatta is mentioned with some frequency, though in conjunctures which show clearly that, so far from being an original actor in the epic story, he was a late addition to the cast. He is invariably described as the King of Prāgjyotiṣa, a city and kingdom whose location appears to have been discussed only by the late Professor Sylvain Lévi.[1] Three entirely different sites have been given to it in literature, and, as one of these is purely fabulous, it seems that a country, which originated in myth, was later identified with actually existing kingdoms. In legend it is associated with the Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa cycle and the story of the demon Naraka ; as such, it is placed in the western region just short of Mount Meru by the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, sarga xlii in the Bombay recension, sarga xliii in the Bengali recension, though Gorresio, wrongly it seems, omitted the relevant verse as an interpolation in his edition, and sarga xxxv in the north-western recension as recently edited in Lahore),[2] by the Buddhist text known as the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* (Lévi, loc. cit.) and by *Harivaṁśa*, 12847 ff. In later literature, including the Purāṇas [3] and Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, xiv, it is assigned to Eastern India and is usually equated with Kāmarūpa (part of Assam).[4]

[1] *JA.*, 1918, i, pp. 120–1

[2] For a conspectus of the MS. evidence about the verse in question see Ruben, *Studien zur Textgeschichte des Rāmāyana*, Stuttgart, 1936, pp. 77 and 132.

[3] See the lists in W. Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, pp. 74 and 82, and the same author's *Bhāratavarṣa* (Stuttgart, 1931), pp. 46, 60. In the latter work the common geographical matter of the Purānas has been put together and critically edited, though the notes to the translation do not always propose the best identifications of localities.

[4] Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 12, 15, and 30, identifies Gauhati with Prāgjyotiṣapura, and in some of the inscriptions Assamese kings call themselves lords of Prāgjyotiṣa. Kālidāsa (*Raghuvaṁśa*, iv, 81) places it on the further side of the Brahmaputra, but, if Mallinātha construes the following verses correctly, he distinguished it from Kāmarūpa.

The third situation can be worked out with some definiteness from the data provided by the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* ; the evidence of the latter is valuable, because Kalhaṇa as a Kashmiri would have some knowledge of the hill kingdoms to the east of Kashmir. In ii, 147–8, Meghavāhana marries a princess Amṛtaprabhā of Prāgjyotiṣa, whose father's *guru*, according to iii, 10, was known in the language of his home country by the Tibetan title of *ston-pa* ; therefore Prāgjyotiṣa was a kingdom subject to Tibetan influence. Again, iv, 168 ff., Lalitāditya in his tour of conquest (*digvijaya*) overcomes in turn the Bhauttas (the Tibetans), the Daradas (Dardistan), and Prāgjyotiṣa, and goes on to the ocean of sand which Lévi took to mean the Taklamakan. It looks as if a real kingdom is meant, probably either on the upper waters of the Indus or in the direction of Hunza and Nagar. The epic agrees more or less with this conclusion. No very distinct idea emerges from Karna's *digvijaya*, iii, 15237 ff., which places Prāgjyotiṣa to the north in the Himalayas, or from the journey of the horse for Yudhiṣṭhira's *aśvamedha* sacrifice, xiv, 2175 ff. ; but the former definitely dissociates Bhagadatta from the Yavanas, who are recorded as living in the western region. More precise details are given in Arjuna's *digvijaya*, ii, 994 ff., according to which, starting towards the north from Hastināpura, he first deals with the Kulindas and other tribes, and next subdues the inhabitants of Śākaladvīpa and the kings of the seven *dvīpas*, by which must be understood the area round Sialkot and the various doabs of the Panjab. He then attacks Bhagadatta in Prāgjyotiṣa, proceeding thence over the various mountain kingdoms to Kashmir and the lands of the Daradas and Kāmbojas, at which point he may be left. This possibly indicates a more southerly position for Prāgjyotiṣa than that given by Kalhana, but the epic writers probably had a less clear idea of Himalayan topography. At ii, 1002, and v, 584,[1]

[1] The vulgate reading of this verse, adopted in the critical Poona edition, v, 19, 15, viz. *Tasya Cīnaiḥ Kirātaiś ca kāñcanair iva saṁvṛtam Babhau*

Bhagadatta's subjects are described as Cīnas and Kirātas; the exact content of the former term here is uncertain and may possibly stand either for the Tibetans or for the tribes of Chinese Turkestan, and the latter is a generic name for the Himalayan peoples without specific location. At ii, 1002, however, these tribes are accompanied by warriors living along the banks (or shore) of the *sāgara* (*sāgarānūpavāsin*), and at v, 74, Bhagadatta is said to dwell by the eastern *sāgara* (*pūrvasāgaravāsin*). The meaning of *sāgara* cannot be exactly determined except that Sörensen's "sea-coast"[1] is out of the question in view of Arjuna's line of march in his campaign as sketched above; having regard to the statements already quoted from the *Rājataranginī*, it may mean the upper Indus, or else the reference is to one of the lakes in the mountains.

Positive evidence of any connection with the Greeks is hard to discover, except that at ii, 578, Bhagadatta is called king of the Yavanas, and at ii, 1834, he is accompanied by Yavanas. But his one constant characteristic trait is that he fights on an elephant, not a chariot as is the habit of the original heroes of the epic, and is supremely skilled in handling them (*gajānkuśadharaśreṣṭha*, v, 5804, and similarly at other passages); this was hardly a Greek accomplishment, though the Kirātas are noted for it according to v, 4318. It is therefore uncertain whether Yavana really means Greek in these verses. If then Dr. Tarn is right in holding Apollodotus to have been Demetrius's brother and to have been his sub-king, first in Seistan and then in India, ruling an area from Gandhāra and Taxila in the north down the Indus Valley to Barygaza in the south, I fail to see how he can be identified, simply on the ground of the equivalence of Bhaga and Apollo, with a king whose realm lay in the Himalayas east or north of

balam anādhṛsyam karṇikāravanaṁ yathā, is unsatisfactory. Either one should amend to *kāñcanair eva*, or, following the K tradition, read *Kāmbojaiś caiva saṁvṛtam*. The golden colour of the Kirātas is often referred to in literature, and the first suggestion is probably the sounder.

[1] *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, p. 113 b.

Kashmir and whose method of fighting was not that of the Greeks. If one must account for Bhagadatta's occasional association with the Yavanas and accept their identification with the Greeks in those passages, I would suggest considering the possibility that we have here the earliest reference to the still current legends by which some of the hill princes trace their descent to Greek ancestors.

The Demetrius-Dattāmitra equation stands on a different footing; quite a number of scholars have believed in it, and the evidence of the *Mahābhārata* plays a small but curious part in it. The name occurs only once, at i, 5537, a passage for which we are fortunate enough to have the text given by the critical Poona edition.[1] There the entire episode is excluded from the text and is printed in vol. I, appendix i, text 80, pp. 927–9; actually it is found in all recensions except those derived from Kashmir and Nepal.[2] The degree of agreement between the different recensions throughout this *parvan* shows that a standard text was drawn up at a fairly late date from which they all derive, and despite the wide diffusion of this passage its failure to find a place in the Nepali version till recent times suggests that it was not inserted till after the lapse of a considerable period from that event; its incoherence and pointlessness further argue its spurious nature. Lines 41–6, as given in the critical edition recount how Arjuna, in fighting with the Sauvīras, subdued first a king of the Yavanas, next a Sauvīra named Vittala, and then a Sauvīra named Sumitra who was known (*khyāta*) as Dattamitra. Only the MSS. of Nīlakaṇṭha's version have the name in the form Dattāmitra, which from other sources we know to be right. To the author of this story Dattāmitra

[1] This edition has not yet reached most of the verses discussed in the previous section about Bhagadatta; some modification of my remarks may be necessary, when Professor Edgerton's edition of the *Sabhāparvan* appears, but it is not probable that any alteration in my conclusions will be required.

[2] It appears only in the later Nepali MSS., not in the oldest one; see Sukthankar, *Ann. Bhandarkar ORI.*, XIX, 204.

was apparently not a personal name, but designated either the lord of the town Dāttāmitrī or the chief of a tribe called Dattāmitra. In any case the evidence is far too late to have any affirmative value for the identification of Dattāmitra with Demetrius, and is only of interest as showing that, if that position can be established by other means, Demetrius had become a legendary figure in India and was no longer known to have been a Greek.

At this point consideration may suitably be given to the evidence of the grammarians, which has been strangely misreported of recent years. The later scholiasts, in commenting on *Pānini*, iv, 2, 76, and 123, give as illustrations the forms Dāttāmitrī as the name of a town and Dāttāmitrīya as the designation of its inhabitants derived from an eponymous Dattāmitra. Neither sūtra is commented on by Patañjali, whose *Mahābhāṣya* consequently does not mention the names [1]; and the second sūtra has nothing of any value for my purpose. In iv, 2, 76, Pāṇini lays down that among the Sauvīras, Sālvas, and the eastern peoples the names of towns can be formed from personal names by the feminine ending -ī with *vṛddhi* of the first syllable. The rule, or its counterpart in the grammar used by him, is probably alluded to by Aśvaghoṣa at *Saundarananda*, i, 58, where he observes that towns have taken their names from the hermitages of Kakanda, Makanda and Kuśāmba, the first two of these instances recurring as illustrations of the sūtra in the later commentators.[2] The first commentary, of those we have, to deal with the rule is the *Kāśikā Vṛtti*, which cites Dāttāmitrī as the only instance of town-names in this form among the Sauvīras; nor does

[1] When Dr. Tarn, p. 458, n. 2, gives Patañjali as a reference, he has been misled by scholars carelessly copying their predecessors, instead of checking their references. I have not troubled to trace the mistake further back than D. R. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 12.

[2] It is curious that the wording of the sūtra excludes Kauśāmbī; did Pāṇini not know of its existence? The name occurs in the Pāṇinean gaṇa to iv, 2, 97, which is probably much later. Though Aśvaghoṣa takes Kuśāmba to be a ṛṣi, he is named as a king in the epics and Purāṇas.

any other Sauvīra town-name of this type appear to be quoted anywhere. The word is, however, known to the slightly earlier Candragomin,[1] which suggests that the illustration derives from previous grammatical works. Pāṇini, moreover, in framing the sūtra, must have had some actual town in mind; this kind of formation is not at all common, and in the absence of any other known town in the Sauvīra country called by a name formed under the rule there is a considerable degree of probability that he included the Sauvīras in the sūtra for the sake of explaining Dāttāmitrī. While by no means subscribing to the present tendency to exaggerate Pāṇini's antiquity, I find it difficult to suppose that he was as late as Demetrius, and if then he knew the town Dāttāmitrī, so that it was in existence already before 200 B.C. and under that name, the identification of Dattāmitra and Demetrius must be given up. This matter raises two other points of interest. If Dāttāmitrī, a town whose existence is only known otherwise from the Nasik inscription and which was apparently unknown in later times, survived through many centuries as the standard illustration of Pāṇini's rule, we have an instance which justifies the often held view that Patañjali's allusions to the Greeks and other historical events of the second century B.C. were mere school examples and prove only the upper limits of his date, not his actual date. Further, the verse I have quoted from the *Saundarananda* seems to imply that this unusual type of place-name occurs only in the case of towns called after eponymous ṛṣis; the true explanation of the name may be that Dattāmitra was a ṛṣi, of whom we know precisely as much as we do of Kakanda and the others, that is nothing.

Both the epic passage and the grammarians' references place Dāttāmitrī among the Sauvīras, whose location requires testing,[2] as Dr. Tarn considers he is justified in putting them

[1] See his *vṛtti* on his own grammar, iii, 1, 67 (ed. Liebich, *AKM.*, XIV, p. 188). I have failed to trace the rule in the *Kātantra*.

[2] For full discussion of the evidence see Lüders, *SBPAW.*, 1930, pp. 52 ff.

on the sea-coast in the second century B.C. The earliest mention of the tribe is possibly in the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, i, 1, 2, 13–14, but unfortunately this work has been so strongly interpolated that not even statements in the first two *praśnas* can be safely used for historical dating. Pāṇini (iv, 1, 148–150, and 2, 76) was evidently well acquainted with them, and as certain allusions in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya to the Sauvīras (ed. Jolly and Schmidt, i, 6, 9, and 20, 26) are of a purely legendary character, some time must have elapsed between the advent of the tribe to India and the composition of that work. Its date cannot be as late as A.D. 200, and for many reasons is hardly likely to be earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.[1] The Sauvīras are mainly known to Buddhist literature by a legend which would place the foundation of their capital, Rauruka, at the same epoch as that of Pāṭaliputra. The tale, like other references to Rauruka,[2] is late, and no reliance can be reposed in it for dating their entry into India. Rauruka, unknown outside Buddhist texts, is identified by Lüders (op. cit., p. 57) with the old site of Aror near Rohri in Sind; the only positive evidence, such as it is, of its real existence is its

[1] The latest discussion is in *Indian Culture*, IV, pp. 435 ff., which has some useful points. The evidence from Buddhist sources, discussed by me in the *Journal*, 1929, pp. 77–89, can now be fortified from a recently discovered work of Nāgārjuna who, it is generally agreed, probably lived in the second century A.D. Ch. ii of his *Ratnāvalī* (*Journal*, 1936, pp. 237 ff.), stresses the duty of a king to follow *dharma* as the highest policy (*nīti*). Verse 30 runs:—

Parātisaṁdhānaparā kaṣṭā durgatipaddhatiḥ |
Anarthavidyā duṣprajñair arthavidyā kathaṁ kṛtā ||

The verb *atisaṁdhā* in the sense of "overreach", "ruin by deceitful means" is a euphemistic term which occurs frequently in the *Arthaśāstra* (Shamasastry, *Index Verborum*, pp. 22–4), but does not appear to have been used in this sense by any earlier writer; the similar use in *Jātakamālā*, p. 53 (cf. *Journal*, 1929, p. 82), in a passage evidently referring to the *Arthaśāstra* may be compared, and I do not think there can be any reasonable doubt that Nāgārjuna here has Kauṭilya's doctrine in mind and employs *arthavidyā* as a synonym for *arthaśāstra*.

[2] A reference, not usually noticed, is at *Petavatthu*, ii, 9, 13–15, where Minayeff reads Bheruva, but the Burmese MSS., apparently correctly, have Roruva, the usual Pali form of the name.

mention in the *Mahāmāyūrī's* list of Yakṣas, verse 34 (Lévi, *JA.*, 1915, i, p. 39), which suggests a more northerly location. For all the places, mentioned immediately before or after it, which can be identified, are in Gandhāra or the neighbourhood.[1] The absence of the Sauvīras from the later Vedic texts, combined with these references, leads to the conclusion that their entry into India should probably be dated to the period of Persian domination in the Indus Valley.

In considering the evidence for their location, we must not assume them to be migratory or nomadic. Tribes in India, it is true, often gave their names to districts, which retained the name long after the tribe had ceased to exist, for instance, the Avantis, the Kāśis, the Gayas; but it also often happened that an adventurer from a tribe, followed usually by a number of his clansmen, left his home and carved out a new kingdom for himself, so that the same tribal name may be found in more than one part of India. The histories of Indian principalities are full of such stories, and this equally is not a case of migration. It is necessary to make these points clear, because we have to satisfy ourselves whether in the later passages it is the tribe or the district known by its name that is meant. Taking the epic first, the references in which have been fully analysed by Lüders, the striking point is the constant association of the Sauvīras with the Sindhus or Saindhavas. While stating that at one time both countries were under one rule, it clearly treats them as two separate entities; but it should be borne in

[1] The text gives *Trigupto Hanumātīre* for the immediately preceding place, for which Lüders with some probability prefers the variant reading *Trigupto hy Anūpatīre*; and he then takes Anūpa to refer to the sea-coast, thus ruining the geographical order observed in the work. Anūpa usually implies dwellers in a valley along a river; thus the Anūpas of Rudradāman's inscription are the same as the Anūpas of Kirfel, *Bhāratavarṣa*, p. 48, who dwell on the slopes of the Vindhya, i.e. along the Narmadā, apparently in the neighbourhood of Mahiṣmatī. See also p. 221 above for a similar use. The rule is not invariable; for the Anūpa district of the Sindhu king at *Harivaṁśa*, 6408 ff. is the land where Dvāravatī was built, and therefore indicates the sea-coast there. In the present case the reference is presumably to the Indus valley, if the amendment is correct.

mind in each case of the two names being joined in a compound that they may either represent the entire area jointly or be intended separately as two different districts. The *Mahābhārata* further couples the Sauvīras in places with the Śibis, Kekayas, and Madras, who all belonged to the Panjab, and with the Gāndhāras; and *Harivaṁśa*, 1679–1681, explains the connection by the story that Śibi had four sons, Vṛṣadarbha, Suvīra, Kekaya, and Madraka. The geographical text in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is of doubtful value, as the *pāda* mentioning the Sindhu-Sauvīras with the Kaikeyas appears only in the northern recension [1] and is therefore late. The older statements in the Purāṇas confirm the epic, Kirfel's longer text (op. cit., p. 44) naming the Sauvīras in the same line as the Gāndhāras, Yavanas, Sindhus, and Madras; his other text (ibid., p. 23), common to three Purāṇas, names, after the dwellers in Pāriyātra, the Sauvīras, Saindhavas, Hūṇas (a doubtful reading), Śālvas, inhabitants of Śākala, Madras, etc. All this evidence is consistent with the usual view that the Sauvīra country lay in the Panjab, along the Indus somewhere between Gandhāra and Multan. The suggestion has, however, been made that the Sindhu country lay north of this round Peshawar on the strength of *Raghuvaṁśa*, xv, 87–9.[2] This is based in my view on a misapprehension of the passage. Kālidāsa makes Rāma give Bharata the Sindhudeśa; the latter then conquers the Gandharvas, which the sequel shows to mean Gandhāra. For he presents it to his sons, who proceed to found the two cities of Puṣkalāvatī and Takṣaśilā. Sindhudeśa then cannot stand here for the district round Peshawar, nor do I know any other passage which supports that identification; it must indicate the whole, or an unspecified portion, of the Indus valley below Gandhāra. Pali legend knows equally

[1] Ruben, op. cit., p. 125.

[2] Jacobi in *Festschrift Wackernagel*, p. 124, followed by Keith, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 33. Dr. Tarn, p. 235, has misunderstood the latter when he says that Patañjali places the Abhīras in Sindhudeśa; the *Mahābhāṣya* does not say where they lived.

that Bharata ruled in this area, recording him as the traditional king of the Sovīra country.[1] By itself the evidence of this period does not make clear whether the Sindhu country was north or south of the Sauvīra country; but if any stress can be laid on the position of Rauruka in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, there would be no room for the Saindhavas north of the Sauvīras, and the later development of the name suggests that it always lay lower down the Indus, perhaps, say, from Multan on.

So far the evidence makes no distinction between the country and the tribe inhabiting it; but if Dr. Tarn is right in supposing that the Sauvīras had moved to the sea-coast by the second century B.C., such a distinction must be made. Unfortunately we have nothing that can be dated with certainty to this period. The earliest historical evidence is in the well-known Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman, which enumerates the peoples conquered by him. The list was well dealt with by the late Professor Rapson,[2] to whose remarks there is little to add; it is best taken in order to see what countries are included. It starts from the east with the Ākaras and Avanti, which between them cover Malwa; next come the Anūpas, whose location by Rapson in the Narmadā valley must be correct in view of the evidence of the Purānas already referred to (p. 226, n. 1). The Ānarttas and Saurāṣṭras with Śvabhra represent most of Gujarat, and Maru and Kaccha, the southern part of the desert and Kacch. The Sindhus and Sauvīras come in here, followed by the Kukuras, whom Rapson tentatively identified with Hiuan Tsang's Ku-ch'ai-lo in agreement with Bhandarkar; but, as the first syllable must stand in the system of transliteration employed by the Chinese pilgrim for *gu* or *go*, we have some such name as Julien's Gurjjara or Watters' Guchala.[3]

[1] *Dīgha*, II, 236: *Jātaka*, III, 470.

[2] *B.M. Catalogue, Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp. xxxi ff., lx f., and cxviii f.

[3] Personally I see no reason for differing from Bühler's conclusion, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 192, that the people referred to are the Gurjjaras and that the capital is identical with Bhillamāla, the native town of the astronomer Brahmagupta, now called Bhinmal (fifty miles north-west of Mount Abu).

The Kukuras are known to us from the epic as connected with the Bhojas and Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis, but their position is a matter of guesswork. The Aparāntas Rapson put in the North Konkan; but if he was right—and there is good evidence for his view—the apparent geographical order of the names is upset, and the Purāṇas (Kirfel, op. cit., p. 44), name them among the northern peoples, which certainly excludes the Konkan. The term may be used generally here of tribes beyond the Indus, but a definite identification to my mind is not possible. This last remark applies to the Niṣādas as well. For the last people, the Yaudheyas,[1] the coin-finds cover an enormous area from the East Panjab down towards Rajputana, and their name may survive in the Joheyas of Bahawalpur; one would expect Rudradāman to have encountered them in the latter neighbourhood or in South-Western Rajputana. This analysis of the names leaves the Indus valley for the Sindhus and Sauvīras, and as none of the other tribes, except possibly the Aparāntas and Kukuras, can be held to have been then occupying the sea-coast by the mouth of the Indus, it is reasonable to suppose that it was included in one of these two countries. That we should take the Sindhus and Sauvīras as distinct at this period appears from Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, ii, 30, 32–3, which differentiates between the Saindhava horses assigned to the best class and the Sauvīraka to the middling. If then the two countries occupied much of the Indus valley from the sea-coast upwards, I do not see how we can avoid placing the Sindhus on the sea-coast and the Sauvīras further north, having regard to the earlier evidence already mentioned and to the statements of Albiruni quoted below.

Another rather vague piece of evidence for the Sindhu kingdom including the sea-coast at a late period is to be found in the account of Kṛṣṇa's journey from the north to found Dvārakā at *Harivaṁśa*, 6408 ff.; for he arrives in the Anūpa district of the Sindhurāja and there founds the town, so

[1] See Allan, *B.M. Catalogue, Coins of Ancient India*, pp. cxlvii ff.

that here Anūpa can only mean the sea-coast. The parallel passage in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, i, 10, states that coming down the Jumna valley and crossing the desert, Kṛṣṇa first reached the Sauvīra and Abhīra countries, then the Ānarttas and finally Dvārakā; similar indications are given at x, 71, 21. One cannot infer more from these late passages than that the writer looked on the Sauvīra country as lying north or north-west from Gujarat and as not being on the sea-coast.

Of the few references in Pali literature, only two need be mentioned. *Vimānavatthu*, 84, 7, mentions the Sindhusovīra land as a place to which merchants from Aṅga and Magadha go in search of merchandise; and the commentary adds that it is reached by crossing the desert. There is nothing here to show that a seaport is contemplated. On the other hand, *Milindapañha*, 359, in enumerating a few ports in all parts of Asia, calls one of them Sovīra, which could be understood as a town in the Sauvīra country. This portion of the work is a late addition made in Ceylon, and its evidentiary value is small; it can hardly be held to establish anything without corroboration to place the meaning beyond doubt.[1]

Finally there remain for examination the somewhat puzzling data of *Bṛhatsamhitā*, xiv, with Albiruni's comments on them. In verses 32–3 Varāhamihira names the king of the centre and the kings of the eight points of the compass round him; the king of Avanti is in the southern region, of the Ānarttas in the south-west, and of Sindhu-Sauvīra in the west. But in verses 17–19 he gives a long list of the peoples in the south-west, which includes the Dravidas, Surāṣtra, the Ānarttas, Sindhu-Sauvīra, Sindhu, Pahlava, etc. The distinction between Sindhu-Sauvīra and Sindhu is curious and is repeated by Alberuni (tr. Sachau, I, p. 302, which fails

[1] I do not deal here with the Jain evidence, which is of no great value; the *Abhidhânarājendra* sums it up by describing the Sovīra country as lying along the Indus. But a late Jain story translated by Meyer (*Hindu Tales*, p. 109) tells how Udāyana, king of the Sovīra and Sindhu country, crossed the desert to attack Ujjain, and this is hardly the route he would have taken if he had been in command of the coast.

to join Sindhu-Sauvīra, as is required by the subsequent mention of Sindhu). Albiruni observes (ibid., 298–9) that the names in the lists are often traditional, not those by which the countries are now known, and twice (ibid., pp. 300 and 302) he glosses Sauvīra with Multan and Jahrāwār. The latter is presumably Jhārāwar, which according to another passage from the same author lies at the junction of the Jihlam and Chenab above Multan.[1] This gloss is of importance as showing exactly where Hindu medieval tradition placed the Sauvīras, and it is in general agreement with the rest of the evidence.

This discussion leads in my opinion to two conclusions, firstly that at quite an early date the Sauvīras ceased to be recognizable as a tribe, their name being applied to a country, and secondly that at the earliest period the name may have indicated the part of the Indus valley immediately below Gandhāra, and later certainly meant the area round and above Multan. Dāttāmitrī must be sought within these limits, not on the sea-coast.

While in this case Dr. Tarn's theory of Sauvīra tribal migration cannot be substantiated, there are two instances of such tribal movements which deserve a few words as possibly connected with the period of Greek rule in India. The *Mahābhārata* frequently mentions a tribe called the Kāmbojas, usually in association with the Yavanas, Śakas, or Bahlīkas; and the Pali canon at *Majjhima*, ii, 149, like the Aśoka edicts, couples them with the Yonas. They are generally placed in Kafiristan, a view from which I see no reason to dissent. But there is evidence that a section of them moved south. *Petavatthu*, ii, 9, 1–2, mentions Dvārakā as a place in the Kamboja country to which merchants go for trade, and the commentary explains Dvārakā as meaning Dvāravatī. This work is no doubt one of the latest in the canon, but can hardly be supposed later than the first or second century A.D. *Arthaśāstra*, xi, 1, 4, supports this,

[1] Cf. Raverty, *JASB.*, 1892, p. 219.

saying that the Kāmbojas, Surāṣṭras, and other Kṣatriyā confederacies live by trade and arms, the joining of the two names indicating propinquity. Again, ibid., ii, 30, 32, the best breeds of horses are given in an order, which seems to be geographical, as Kāmbojaka, Saindhava, Ārattaja, and Vanāyuja; the Ārattas were a Panjab tribe, and the Vanāyus were a Persian tribe according to Halāyudha as quoted by Mallinātha on *Raghuvaṁśa*, v, 73. If the Kāmbojas of Afghanistan were meant, they should have been named third; moreover the horses of Kafiristan do not appear ever to have enjoyed any repute,[1] while Kathiawar was long famous for its breed. A geographical text, found in the *Garuḍa* and *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇas* and probably rather late (Kirfel, op. cit., p. 25), names as the inhabitants of the south-western region the Ambaṣthas, Draviḍas, Lātas, Kāmbojas, Strīmukhas, Śakas, and Ānarttas; and *Bṛhatsamhitā*, xiv, 17, includes them in the long list of peoples belonging to the south-western quarter which I have already quoted. Such widely scattered statements, running contrary to generally accepted tradition, prove that the Kāmbojas, who presumably somewhat resembled the Powindahs of the present day in Afghanistan, had made a settlement, perhaps in small numbers only, in Gujarat, not later than the beginning of our era; is it too far-fetched to suppose that a trace of their settlement has survived in the name of Cambay, for which no satisfactory derivation appears as yet to have been proposed?[2] The references suggest that the settlement took place in the time either of the Yavanas or of the Śakas, but do not provide material for a decision of the point.

The other instance is that of the Śibis, who are known to

[1] The best known Afghan breed, the Bāhlīka, appears among the middling horses; this list is clearly in geographical order, but in an inverse direction to the list of the best class. Hiuan Tsang refers, however, to the Kapiśa breed of horses.

[2] It is possible that it was adventurers from this tribe who in the tenth century A.D. founded a short-lived dynasty bearing this name at Priyaṅgu in Bengal, *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, pp. 150 ff.

the literature as a Panjab tribe, but whose coins, belonging probably to the second century B.C., have been found only in a limited area round Chitor.[1] Dr. Tarn (pp. 151, 170) infers from this that they must have been settled there by Apollodotus. The conclusion does not necessarily follow from the evidence; the tribe may have been there for some time and may have been enjoying a brief period of independence during the troubles of the second century B.C., of which they availed themselves, like other contemporary tribes, to start coining for themselves. Some light is thrown on them by the most famous of the Jātakas, that of Vessantara or Viśvamtara, to whose geographical indications insufficient attention has been paid since Cunningham's day.[2] The story is extant in several versions, but though that in Pali is as it stands a late production it has retained fragments of an older story, missing from the others. In later times the hermitage to which Vessantara retired was placed in the Himalayas, and Hiuan Tsang found in Gandhāra pilgrimage spots associated with incidents that occurred on the Bodhisattva's journey. According to the Pali version, Vessantara's father was a Sibi chief living at Jetuttara. Vessantara, when exiled, travelled first to the kingdom of Ceta, which it seems impossible to dissociate from the Cedi (Ceti in Pali) country. Thence he went an equal distance to the mountain of Vaṁka (Vakra in Sanskrit), where he made his hermitage and which the Pali version, in common with the others, locates in the fabulous forest of Gandhamadāna. But this hermitage of Viśvaṁtara is mentioned in *Buddhacarita*, xi, 73; the Buddha, after leaving Rājagṛha, goes first to the hermitage of Viśvaṁtara and then to that of Arāḍa, which is stated, ibid., vii, 54, to be in the Vindhyas. The latter name, as we know from the inscriptions, covered in older times the hills near Gaya. As Aśvaghoṣa does not suggest that the Buddha travelled any great distance to reach these places, we have to look for the

[1] Allan, op. cit., pp. cxxiii–cxxv.

[2] See *ASR.*, VI, pp. 190 ff., by Carlleyle, who quotes Cunningham's views.

name Vakra or Vaṁka somewhere in the hills not too far from Rājagṛha. There was, as it happens, a district called Vaṁkahāra in Pali to the south of Gaya,[1] and it seems to me natural to conclude that Vessantara's Vaṁka mountain lay in this area according to the original story, on which the Pali version has partly drawn for its geography and which was known to Aśvaghoṣa. Vessantara's journey according to this account then was across central India with the Cedi country half-way between Vaṁka and Jetuttara. It is significant for the mention of the Cedi country how Kaliṅga keeps cropping up in the story, its appearance being utterly nonsensical in the extant versions with their Himalayan setting; for Khāravela's Hathigumpha inscription couples Kaliṅga with Ceti (i.e. Cedi) As the only place in Central India which has any known association with the Śibis is the district round Chitor, Cunningham's identification of Jetuttara with that town, based though it was on a wrong spelling of the name, probably hit the mark. But the story of Vessantara is undoubtedly old, and if it located the Śibis at Chitor, it is hardly likely that their advent there can be dated as late as the second century B.C. In the light of this possibility and of the absence of any known connection between the Śibis and the Greeks, I do not think it would be wise to accept Dr. Tarn's hypothesis that it was Apollodotus who brought them to Mādhyamikā.

So far I have dealt with the literary evidence for Dattāmitra, Dāttāmitrī, the Sauvīra country, and tribal movements generally in the Greek period, and the ground has thus been cleared for examining the Nasik inscription[2] which contains the one historical mention of Dāttāmitrī. Dr. Tarn's theories require him to put its probable date between 50 and 30 B.C., but naturally its date must be determined, not to suit theories, but by the evidence of its palæography and of the architecture

[1] C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 132–3.
[2] E. Senart, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 90, No. 18.

of the cave where it was incised. According to Burgess,[1] this cave belongs in style to a group which is connected with Usabhadata, son-in-law of Nahapāṇa ; and, though his exact date is still uncertain, it cannot be earlier than the second half of the first century A.D., and more probably lies in the first quarter of the following century. Palæography appears to agree with this evidence.[2] If these caves were re-examined in detail in the light of later knowledge, it is conceivable that a different result might possibly be arrived at, but till then it would be inadvisable to accept any theory involving an earlier date. The donor is said to be a certain Yoṇaka called Indragnidatta, son of Dhammadeva, of Datāmitī. There is no reason to doubt that Datāmitī is the Prakrit form of Dāttāmitrī, but some indication of its position is given by the epithet *otarāha*, whose significance Dr. Tarn (p. 257, n. 3) has overlooked. The word does not occur elsewhere except in the *Mahābhāṣya* on *Pān.*, iv, 2, 104, in the Sanskrit form *auttarāha*, but it seems impossible to assign any meaning to it other than that suggested by Senart and generally accepted, of " northerner " ; that is equivalent to saying that Dāttāmitrī was in the north. Now the many geographical lists we have of India are all agreed in treating the coast of Sind as being in the western region. The Southern Panjab is the lowest possible area along the Indus which could be described as being in the north. Till, therefore, a different interpretation can be put with certainty on *otarāha*, we must conclude that Dāttāmitrī was not south of Multan, and the inscription, so far as it goes, corroborates the evidence of the literature about the location of the Sauvīra country.

Dr. Tarn lays particular stress on the employment of the

[1] *ASWI.*, IV, p. 38. Dr. Tarn's reference, p. 254, n 5, to Sir J. Marshall's views as expressed in *CHI*, I, p. 637, suggests a failure to realize the fact that there are a number of caves at Nasik of varying dates. The passage he alludes to is, when properly understood, in consonance with the views I express above.

[2] The latest consideration of the palæography (O. Stein, *Indian Culture*, I, 351) gives the last part of the first century A.D.

word Yonaka instead of Yona; he does not admit that it is a normal Indian formation, and holds that it must have been taken direct from Ἰωνακός, current in the Hellenistic Greek of the Further East.[1] This conclusion is likely to be found surprising by Sanskritists; the addition of the ending *-ka* to tribal names in Sanskrit and the Prakrits without change of meaning is common enough, particularly so in the case of dissyllabic names with a long first syllable. It will be sufficient to quote Bhojaka for Bhoja in Khāravela's Hathigumpha inscription and the frequent substitution of

[1] pp 416–18. Dr Tarn uses this with other arguments to suggest that the *Milindapañha* derives from a Greek original, which has left its traces in that work. He has proved that the type of literature to which it belongs, while unknown otherwise to India, was known to Hellenistic Greek. This is a point of considerable importance, but his further conclusion is difficult to follow. Besides the use of Yonaka, he relies on the passage describing how the guardian of a city would from the central cross-roads see a man coming from any of the four quarters (*Milindapañha*, p. 62), as showing that the author had in mind, not an Indian city, but a four-square city of the Hellenistic type. The evidence available does not allow us to draw decisively any such conclusion. Hopkins (*CHI.*, I, pp. 271–2) holds the epics to describe cities as laid out in squares, and *Arthaśāstra*, ii, 4, 1, lays down that a town shall be divided by three roads running east and west and three at right angles; ibid, 10, places the king's palace to the north of the heart of the town (*vāstuhrdaya*). This is all that can be gleaned on the subject from the earlier works, and suggests serious misgivings about the Hellenistic origin of the simile Excavation so far has proved inconclusive, and later theory in Southern India certainly envisaged central cross-roads, as may be seen in plates xliii–xlv of Ram Raz's *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*. P. K. Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, p 39, translates the *Mānasāra* as contemplating straight streets across a fortified village or town forming cross-roads with a temple or hall in the middle; this would probably allow a central viewpoint. How far theory and practice agreed at any time is no doubt hard to determine, but I do not think any inference can be safely drawn from the simile. As regards the unexplained name, Sabbadinna, of one of Menander's councillors (cf Dr. Tarn, p. 422), I am not satisfied that it may not be Indian, seeing that Śarva is a recognized name of Śiva and Sarva in later literature is included among the names of Kṛṣṇa. A Mathurā inscription of Huviṣka's time has preserved the name Śavatrātā (Lüders, *Journal*, 1912, p. 158), and the Ghosundi inscription has the curious name Sarvatāta or Sarvatrāta (*Ind. Ant.*, 1932, pp. 203 ff.); Sabbadinna might therefore be equivalent to Śivadatta or less probably to Kṛṣṇadatta, though what conclusion should be drawn from such a hypothesis is another matter. That there is any real evidence for a Greek "Questions of Menander" seems to me doubtful.

Madra by Madraka in the *Mahābhārata*. In Pali, besides the *Milindapañha*, Yonaka is used at *Dīpavaṁsa*, viii, 7, and parallel passages in other works [1]; and Malalasekhera quotes the form from two commentaries (but from Ceylonese editions not available to me) in the *Pali Names Dictionary*. At *Papañcasūdanī*, III, 409, the Burmese and Siamese editions read *Yonakaraṭṭha* for *Yonaraṭṭha* adopted in the Pali Text Society's text. The number of cases is not inappreciable, considering how seldom the Yavanas are mentioned in Pali literature. The Jains, according to the *Abhidhānarājendra* regularly used Javaṇa, Javana, or Yavana; and the only quotation given under Joṇa, a list of tribal names, has Joṇaya (= Yonaka) instead. In these circumstances to suppose that Yonaka was a direct borrowing from eastern Hellenistic Greek, and not a normal Indian formation from Yona, seems to me entirely unnecessary.

In connection with the emphasis thus wrongly placed on the word, reference may be made to the deduction drawn by Dr. Tarn, pp. 255–7, from an inscription at Karli that Indians were admitted to the status of Greek citizens. The inscription is very brief, merely *Dhenukākaṭā Dhammayavanasa*; the term Dhammayavana is understood to mean a citizen of a Greek *polis*. The equivalent of the Greek word for one possessing civic rights naturally does not exist in Sanskrit, and in view of the use of *dharmadāra*, *dharmabhrātṛ*, *dharmaputra*, etc., in the legal literature, it is conceivable that a word might have been coined with *dharma* to express the idea. But presuming that the inscription is preserved complete, it is of unusual type in that under this interpretation the donor's personal name is not given; further, there is no reason to hold Dhenukākaṭā to have been a Greek *polis*, and it is not clear to me how an inhabitant of it could have Greek civic rights. Unless it can be shown that part of the inscription is missing, the only reasonable explanation is the generally accepted one that the donor's name is Dhamma the

[1] See *Mahāvaṁsa*, critical apparatus on xii, 4.

Yavana or, less probably, Dhammayavana. Dhamma may either represent a foreign name or be a shortened form of a name such as Dhammarakkhita; Senart's hesitations about it are difficult to understand. In any case the essential question that we should ask of all these inscriptions is whether they throw any light on the process by which after the collapse of the Greek dynasties the Greeks became merged in the general population of India, not whether they illumine the nature of the Greek institutions that prevailed in India generations before most of them were inscribed. This process resulted in the word Yavana being used almost like Feringhi in modern times, but exactly how that came about has still to be explained in detail.[1]

The final difficulty in the way of the identification of Dattāmitra with Demetrius lies in the fact that none of the various forms which Demetrius' name took in India shows *ttǎ* in the second syllable; nor does it seem a probable form for it to take in popular speech, unless the Sanskrit name was already in existence. As regards one possible piece of evidence, the reading of Khāravela's Hathigumpha inscription is unfortunately quite uncertain, and Professor Barua, who, since the publication of Dr Tarn's book, has reconsidered its text on the strength of the late Dr. Jayaswal's rubbings,[2]

[1] O Stein *Indian Culture*, I, 343–357, touches on the point.

[2] *IHQ*, XIV, p 465, to be read with p 477, n. 178. Despite the disputes about this passage, its general meaning seems to me clear. Khāravela advanced from Kalinga through the hills and, emerging in the Gaya district, stormed the fort of Gorathagiri, which lay in the Barabar hills (see V H Jackson, *JBORS*, I, pp. 159 ff); he then ravaged the neighbourhood of Rājagṛha, evidently without taking it On "the report of this heroic deed" (*kammapadānasam* (or *pa*) *nādena*) the Greek king retired to Mathurā with his army. Khāravela then, according to his own account which may well conceal the real truth, never came to grips with the Greeks and did not make any serious impression on Magadha; the presumption is that he found the Greeks too strong for him to dare attempt more than a hasty raid, and that it was only after he had retired that the Greeks withdrew to Mathurā, an event which he chose to put down to fear of his forces. The record of his twelfth year, though incomplete in detail, shows that Magadha after the Greek abandonment of it was no longer able to offer the same resistance

concludes that the name after the word *Yavanarājā* may consist of either three or six syllables and that the second character might be *mi*, the rest being illegible; if the name was Demetrius, the evidence, such as it is, is against any form like Dattāmitra. If, however, there is nothing to prove the equivalence of the two names, it is equally impossible to disprove the identity, because of the difficulty of explaining the form Dattāmitra.[1] The ending *-mitra* naturally suggests the likelihood of an Iranian origin, and Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 81, gives a number of names beginning with Dāt°, including Dāt-ohanmazd, where the second member stands for Ahura Mazda. But, though following the analogy of this name, whose meaning as given by Justi is open to doubt, Dātomithra is a possible form, it does not explain the long *ā* in the Sanskrit name. For the latter language the analysis Datta-amitra does not make sense; grammatically it could be Dattā, a feminine name (scholiasts on *Pān.*, iv, 1, 121), compounded with *mitra* (*Pān.*, vi, 3, 38), but I question whether that takes matters any further, unless it is a nickname. On this issue it is impossible at present to offer a reasonable solution.

The foregoing discussion has inevitably led us down many bypaths and it will be well to sum up the two main points. Dāttāmitrī is admittedly in the Sauvīra country, and there is no reliable evidence to show that the latter was ever identified with any area other than that lying along the Indus north of Multan. Further, the town may well have been known to Pānini and in that case was called by that name before the time of Demetrius, and it is shown by the Nasik inscription to have been still so called at a period when, if it had been a seaport on the coast of Sind, it must have been mentioned by the classical geographers. Evidence is thus completely lacking on all sides to show that Demetrius

[1] The latest work on proper names in Sanskrit is Van Velze, *Names of Persons in Early Sanskrit Literature*, Utrecht, 1938; but it gives no help in this case.

founded a town after his name in Sind. Previous scholars from Bhandarkar and Burgess on had equated it with the known Demetrias in Arachosia, but there is not the slightest reason to believe that the Sauvīra country ever included Arachosia. If, then, Dāttāmitrī is the Sanskrit form of Demetrias, Demetrius must have founded it somewhere on the Indus south of Gandhāra and north of Multan; the acceptance of this theory, for which there is no outside evidence, involves a reconsideration of Pāṇini's date on lines that no Sanskrit scholar is likely to undertake except for much better reasons. If the equation Dāttāmitrī-Demetrias must be given up, no ground remains for identifying Dattāmitra with Demetrius.[1] The single passage which mentions Dattāmitra uses it as a title of a king with the personal name of Sumitra, who is said to be a Sauvīra and has no connection with the Yavanas. Nor does linguistic analysis afford any help. I infer that Dattāmitra is no more to be identified with Demetrius than Bhagadatta is with Apollodotus.

[1] Yet another hypothesis is possibly admissible. Assuming, as I think we must, that Dāttāmitrī existed before Demetrias in Arachosia was founded, popular speech may have found the latter name too difficult and adopted the known form from a neighbouring country. Such a confusion cannot be proved from the nature of the case, and under this theory one could not take Dattāmitra in the epic and grammarians as standing for Demetrius; it would not be possible then to say which town was meant by the Nasik inscription.

Some Observations on the Jātakas

By B. C. LAW

THOUGH much has been written on the Jātakas or Buddha's Birth-stories, there is no consensus of opinion as yet about the exact signification of the term *Jātaka* as employed in Buddhist literature. One may correctly say, no doubt, with the late Professor Rhys Davids that the Jātaka proper is *atītavatthu* or the "story of the past".[1] It is precisely in this sense that the Bharhut labels designate many of the illustrations.[2] Though this is generally the case with the Jātakas, Professor B. M. Barua contends for a definition of Jātaka which embraces also the *paccuppanna-vatthu*, or the "story of the present".[3] He points out that according to the *Culla-Niddesa*, a work of the Pāli Canon, which cannot be dated earlier than the third century B.C., the term *Jātaka* is obviously applied alike to the story of the present and to that of the past, the undermentioned four Suttantas being mentioned as typical examples of Jātaka [4] :—

(1) *Mahāpadāniya.*[5]
(2) *Mahā-Sudassanīya.*[6]
(3) *Mahā-Govindiya.*[7]
(4) *Maghādeviya.*[8]

[1] *Buddhist India*, pp. 192, 194; cf. also Introduction to *Buddhist Birth-stories*, revised ed., p. lxviii.

[2] Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. xxv, fig. 1, etc.; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 194 f.; Hultzsch, *Jātakas at Bharhut* (*JRAS.*, 1912), Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (*EI.*, vol. x); Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, section ii, N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, pt. 1

[3] *Calcutta Review*, 1927, p. 57.

[4] *Niddesa*, ii, p. 80.

[5] Same as *Mahāpadāna-Suttanta* (D., ii, pp. 1 ff.).

[6] Variant, *Mahā-Sudassana-Suttanta* (same as in D., ii, pp. 160 ff.).

[7] Same as *Mahā-Govinda-Suttanta* (D., ii, pp. 220 ff.).

[8] Same as *Makhādeva-Sutta* (M., ii, pp. 74 ff.).

In the last three of these, the Buddha narrates three different stories of the past, while in the first he relates only the story of the present along with stories of the last existence of six previous Buddhas, from Vipassi to Kassapa.

It should, however, be noted that so far as the Pāli Canon, or, for the matter of that, Pāli literature is concerned, a distinction is sought to be drawn and consistently maintained between Gotama's career as Bodhisatta and his subsequent career as Buddha, the former extending up to, or culminating in Buddhahood.[1] Keeping this fact in view, it may generally be maintained that a Jātaka is no more than an episode of the life of Gotama as a Bodhisatta, whether it appertains to his last birth or to any of his previous births. The idea of the past in its two degrees, immediate and remote (*avidūra* and *dūra*), is carefully conveyed by two sets of expressions even in the Pāli Nikāyas .—

(1) *Aham pi pubbe va sambodhā anabhisambuddho bodhisatto va samāno* ("Even I, prior to enlightenment, when I had not as yet obtained supreme wisdom, while I was still a Bodhisatta")—in the case of immediate past.[2]

(2) *Bhūtapubbaṃ* (formerly)—in the case of remote past.[3]

In the Pāli Jātaka-Commentary, the *atīta-vatthu* or Jātaka proper is invariably introduced with the word *atīte* ("in the past", 'in times gone by"), while both the earlier introductory words *bhūtapubba* and concluding form of identification are faithfully retained in the *Mahāvastu*, as will appear from the following parallels :—

(1) Pāli Suttas: *Bhūtapubbam . . Siyā kho pana te, Ānanda, evaṃ assa. añño nūna tena samayena Jotipālo māṇavo ahosī ti Na kho pan'etam, Ānanda, evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ. Ahaṃ tena samayena Jotipālo māṇavo ahosin ti.*

(2) *Mahāvastu*, ii, pp. 166 ff., 176 (as elsewhere) :—

[1] D., ii, p. 35.
[2] M., i, pp. 163, 240.
[3] D., ii, pp 169, 230; M., ii, pp. 45, 74

Bhūtapūrvaṃ, bhikṣavaḥ, atītam adhvāne . . . syāt khalu, bhikṣavah, yuṣmākam evam asyād anyaḥ sa tena samayena Vajraseno nāma aśva-vāṇijako abhūṣi. Naitad evaṃ draṣṭavyaṃ. Tat kasya hetoḥ? Ahaṃ sa, bhikṣavaḥ, tena kālena, tena samayena Vajraseno nāma aśva-vāṇijako abhūṣi.

It must, nevertheless, be noted that nowhere in the *Mahāvastu* has the term *Jātaka* been applied to a story other than that of the past.

Tradition ascribes the extant Jātaka-Commentary[1] to Buddhaghosa.[2] Rhys Davids pertinently observed: "If not, however, by Buddhaghosa, the work must have been composed after his time; but probably not long after . . . and had the present work been much later than his time, it would not have been ascribed to Buddhaghosa at all."[3]

Fortunately there is no paucity of positive internal evidence to urge against the above tradition. Buddhaghosa, as is well known, has narrated several Jātakas, omitting, of course, the concluding portion, in his commentaries on the first four Nikāyas, the Vinaya texts, and the Abhidhamma treatises, as also in his *Visuddhimagga*. Now, comparing his narration of a Birth-story with that in the present Jātaka-Commentary, one may easily notice the points of agreement and difference between them. So far as the verses and their explanations go, there is hardly any difference worth noting. The difference mainly lies in the wording and presentation of details. Let one comparison here suffice

In Buddhaghosa's narration, the Mūlapariyāya Jātaka is commenced with the words: *Bhūtapubbaṃ, bhikkhave, aññataro disāpāmokkho brāhmaṇo Bārāṇasiyaṃ paṭivasati, tiṇṇaṃ Vedānaṃ pāragū*, etc.[4]

[1] The title suggested in the opening verses in Fausboll's edition is *Jātakatthavannanā*, and that in the Siamese edition, *Apadānaṭṭhakathā* (p. 1) "*Apadānatthakathaṃ, bhante, kātabban ti visesato*", also *Apadānassa 'tthavannanā* (p. 2). But the title adopted for the present Siamese edition is *Jātakatthakathā*.

[2] *Gandhavamsa, JPTS.*, 1886, p. 59.

[3] Introduction to *Buddhist Birth-stories*, p lx.

[4] *Papañca-sūdanī*, i, p. 57.

The same in the Jātaka-Commentary begins with the words: *Atīte Bārāṇasiyaṃ Brahmadatte rajjaṃ kārente Bodhisatto brāhmaṇakule nibbattitvā vayappatto tiṇṇaṃ Vedānaṃ pāragū*, etc.[1]

Here the following points may be noted, each of importance:

(1) That Buddhaghosa adhered to the earlier Sutta phraseology when he introduced the story with the word *bhūtapubbaṃ*.[2]

(2) That he independently narrated it in Pāli on the basis of a Sinhalese version then available to him.

(3) That the verses and their explanations were taken over intact from the Sinhalese work.[3]

(4) That he by his Pāli narrations of the stories had set the example which was certainly "quickly followed".[4]

Rhys Davids called our attention to an earlier Jātaka-Commentary (Jātakaṭṭhakathā) in Eḷu or Old Sinhalese, which is presupposed by the present Commentary.[5] Nothing could be a better suggestion on the part of Rhys Davids than to opine: "Our Pāli work may have been based upon it, but cannot be said to be a mere version of it."[6]

In this connection I may observe that though it professedly followed the Mahâvihâra method of exposition,[7] the present Commentary in Fausböll's edition does not claim to have been based upon any single Commentary in Sinhalese. It claims certainly, on the other hand, to have been a critically prepared reliable Pāli version based upon a previous Jātaka-

[1] Fausboll, *Jātaka*, No. 245.

[2] Even where the word *atīte* occurs, the text differs in language from that in the *Jātaka-Commentary*. Cf. *Papañca-sūdanī*, iii, p. 69, and Fausboll, *Jātaka*, iii, p. 376.

[3] This is partially corroborated by the quotations of gāthās in the *Milindapañhā* from the *Jātakas*.

[4] This was clearly anticipated by Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth-stories*, Introd., p. lx.

[5] The present Commentary, as already pointed out by Rhys Davids, refers three times to an earlier *aṭṭhakathā* (Introd., p. lx). See Fausböll, i, p. 62.

[6] Introd., p. lx. [7] Fausböll, i, p. 1.

ṭṭhakathā (probably of the Mahāvihāra school) and a few other commentaries, vaguely referred to in the lump by the expression *Sesa-aṭṭhakathāsu* ("in the remaining commentaries").[1]

Now, turning to the introductory verses in the Siamese edition, I find that there was a separate version of the Jātaka-Commentary which followed with meticulous care the same method of exposition as in the Porāṇaṭṭhakathā in Old Sinhalese.[2]

The difference between the two versions is accentuated also by the undermentioned three facts :—

(1) That the Paṇāmagāthā or Introductory verses are quite different in them.

(2) That the titles of the Jātakas vary here and there.

(3) That the order and titles of the last ten Mahājātakas, too, are at variance.

The total number of the Jātakas is, no doubt, the same in both of them ; it is 547, falling short of the traditional total of 550 as given by Buddhaghosa and others by three Jātakas.

In the Paṇāmagāthā in Fausböll's edition we are told that the work was undertaken at the personal request of three Theras, one of whom, Buddhamitta by name, belonged to the Mahiṃsāsaka sect[3] (*Mahiṃsāsaka-vaṃsamhi sambhūtena*). In the Siamese edition, on the other hand, we read that the work was undertaken in compliance with a repeated request of a number of wise and learned monks.[4]

[1] Ibid., i, p. 62 : *yaṃ pana Jātakaṭṭhakathāyaṃ . . . tam sesa-aṭṭhakathāsu n'atthi, tasmā idham eva gahetabbaṃ.*

[2] Siamese ed., i, p. 2 : *Purāna-Sīhalabhāṣāya Porāṇaṭṭhakathāya ca thapitaṃ taṃ na sādheti sādhūnaṃ icchiticchitaṃ. Tasmā tam upanissāya Porāṇaṭṭhakathā-nayaṃ vivajjetvā viruddhatthe visesatthaṃ pakāsayaṃ visesa-vaṇṇanaṃ seṭṭhaṃ karissām'aṭṭhavaṇṇanan ti.*

[3] Fausböll, i, p. 1.

[4] Siamese ed., i, p. 1 :

> "*Dhīrātidhīrehi āgamaññūhi viññūhi*
> *Apadānaṭṭhakathaṃ, bhante, kātabban ti visesato*
> *Punappunādaren'eva yācito'haṃ yasassibhi*
> *tasmāhaṃ sāpadānassa Apadānassa sesato,*" etc.

As for the difference in titles, however immaterial, the following table may suffice to indicate it [1] :—

Fausboll.	*Siamese.*
Kuruṅga (21)	Kurunga-miga (21)
Gagga (155)	Bhagga (155)
Telovāda (246)	Bālovāda (246)
Kakkaṭa (267)	Suvaṇṇa-kakkata (267)
Maccha-Uddāna (288)	Maccha-dāna (288)
Bhadra-Ghata (291)	Bhadra-ghaṭabheda (291)
Kāya-vicchinda (293)	Kāya-nibbinda (293)
Komāya-putta (299)	Komāriya-putta (299)
Kassapamandiya (312)	Kassapanandiya (312)
Sasa (316)	Sasapaṇḍita (316)
Ambacora (344)	Amba (344)
Dhonasākha (353)	Venasākha (353)
Ghata (355)	Dhaṅka (355)
Ahiguṇḍika (365)	Ahituṇḍika (365)
Nandiyamiga (385)	Nandiyamigarāja (385)
Dhajavihetha (391)	Pabbajita-vihethaka (391)
Bhisapuppha (392)	Upasinghapuppha (392)
Vighāsa (393)	Vighāsāda (393)
Kāka (395)	Mani (395)
Sattubhasta (402)	Senaka (402)
Kaccāni (417)	Kaccānigotta (417)
Cetiya (422)	Cetiyarāja (422)
Mahāsuka (429)	Mahāsuvarāja (429)
Cullasuka (430)	Cullasuvakarāja (430)
Hārita (431)	Haritaca (431)
Padakusalamāṇava (432)	Padakusala (432)
Saṃkha (442)	Samkhabrāhmana (442)
Biḷāri-Kosiya (450)	Biḷāra (450)
Ghata (454)	Ghatapaṇḍita (454)
Dhamma (457)	Dhammadevaputta (457)
Yuvañjaya (460)	Yudhañjaya (460)
Kāliṅga-bodhi (479)	Kālinga (479)
Sarabha-miga (483)	Sarabha (483)

[1] Minor variants are not noticed here.

Fausböll.	*Siamese.*
Sivi (499)	Sivirāja (499)
Sirimanda (500)	Sirimeṇḍaka (500)
Rohanta-miga (501)	Rohana (501)

It is neither in Fausböll's nor in typically Ceylonese editions of the present Jātaka-Commentary but only in the Siamese that I find the recension of the Pāli Birth-stories which are elaborately illustrated on the glazed plaques at the Ānanda Pagoda in Pagan. With regard to the order and titles of the Jātakas illustrated on the Ānanda Pagoda as compared with those in Fausböll's edition, Duroiselle observes: "The order of the shorter stories up to No. 537 included strictly follows that of the Pāli Jātaka as edited by Fausböll (vols. i–v), although the names here and there may slightly differ. But the traditional order of the Mahānipāta or the collection of the last ten long stories (vol. vi of Fausböll) is not quite the same." [1] This very observation, as is shown below, is *mutatis mutandis* applicable to the recension in the Siamese edition with equal force.

Fausböll	*Siamese*	*Ānanda Pagoda.* [2]
Mūgapakkha [3] (538)	Temiya [4] (538)	Temiya [5] (538)
Mahājanaka (539)	Mahājanaka (539)	Mahājanaka (539)
Sāma (540)	Suvannasāma (540)	Suvaṇṇasāma [6] (540)
Nimi (541)	Nimirāja (541)	Nemi (541)
Khaṇḍahāla (542)	Candakumāra (544)	Candakumāra [7] (544)
Bhūridatta (543)	Bhūridatta (543)	Bhūridatta (543)
Mahānāradakassapa (544)	Brahmanārada (545)	Mahābrahmanārada [8] (545)
Vidhurapaṇḍita (545)	Vidhura (546)	(?) Vidhura (546)
Mahā-ummagga (546)	Mahosatha (542)	Mahosadha [9] (542)
Vessantara (547)	Vessantara (547)	Vessantara (547)

[1] *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. ii, pt 1, pp. iv–v

[2] For the list, see *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. ii, pt. 1, p. v, and the whole volume.

[3] Bharhut title, *Mugapakaya*.

[4] *Cariyā-Piṭaka* has *Temiya-cariyā* (fourth chapter, Adhiṭṭhānapāramitā).

[5] Popular Burmese name *Temi-zat* (= *Temiya-Jātaka*), *Epigraphia Birmanica*, ii, pt. 1, p. 1.

[6] Ibid., ii, pt. 1, p. 29. [7] Ibid., ii, pt. 1, p. 76. [8] Ibid., ii, pt. 1, p. 88.

[9] Ibid., ii, pt. 1, p. 38. The Talaings, or rather Möns, call it "*jāt-Mahos*".

Thus we have two slightly different recensions of the Pāli Jātaka-Commentary, one mainly based upon the Mahāvihāra Aṭṭhakathā and the other upon the Porāṇa, and both containing 547 birth-stories in all. I may now proceed to show that there was a third recension of the same fulfilling the traditional total of 550 mentioned by Buddhaghosa and others after him. In the Preface to the *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. ii, pt. i, p. iv, f.n. 1, Duroiselle informs us that the terracotta plaques at the Petleik Pagoda, Pagan, illustrate 550 stories. How this traditional number has been made up cannot be definitely stated until the letterpress which was being written on those plaques is published. In the absence of that, one may at the most indulge in certain surmises, none of which may ultimately come true. It may, with fair certainty, be conjectured that the required number has been made up by adding three Jātakas to or including them in one of the two recensions of 547. The question is: what are these three Jātakas, and what difference will their inclusion make to the order of all the Jātakas? The second part of the question cannot be answered now. As regards the first part, out of the three required Jātakas, two may, perhaps, be supplied from the *Cariyā-Piṭaka*, and one from the *Mahāvastu*, the two stories from the former being those of Mahāgovinda [1] and Sacca, [2] and that from the latter the Vṛṣabha-Jātaka, [3] illustrated on the Bharhut railing, [4] or all the three from the *Cariyā-Piṭaka*, viz. those of Mahāgovinda, Sacca, and Mahālomahaṃsa. [5] I say from the *Cariyā-Piṭaka*, because the Pāli *cariyās* were presumably all based upon an earlier collection of the Jātakas.

[1] *Cariyā-Piṭaka*, No. 5; *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 197; not included in the scheme of 547.

[2] *Cariyā-Piṭaka*, No. 28, wrongly identified with *Saccaṃkira-Jātaka*. The story is not to be found in Fausböll's *Jātaka*. See *Cariyā-Piṭaka-Commentary*, edited by D. L. Barua for the *PTS.*, pp. 231–3.

[3] *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 28; cf. *Dharmaruci* story *Divyā*, xviii.

[4] Barua, *Barhut*, bk. iii, pl. lxxx, 109.

[5] *Calcutta Review*, 1927, p. 57.

Besides these three recensions, two of 547 and one of 550 Jātakas, I may even speak of another of 500 Birth-stories, which, as a Pāli Canonical work, must be regarded as the oldest of all the four. The *Culla-niddesa* gives the tota number of Jātakas then known to the Buddhist Community as 500 (*pañcajātakasatāni*).[1] The statement in the *Culla-niddesa* cannot but be construed as referring to a Pāli Canonical text containing 500 Jātakas. According to Fa-Hien's itinerary,[2] the Abhayagiri School had a recension which recognized only 500 Jātakas, a total perfectly agreeing with the number in the *Culla-niddesa*.[3] I can say, therefore, that there were from a certain late date two traditional numbers, one maintained by the teachers of Abhayagiri and the other by those of Mahāvihāra.

In the immediate historical and literary background of the Pāli Canonical collection of 500 Jātakas are the Suttanta Jātakas, "the earliest forms" in which we find the Jātakas as distinguished from the fables, parables, legends, and current folk-tales pre-supposed by them. The *Culla-niddesa*, as already noted, gives just four typical examples of them. Rhys Davids has drawn our attention to some more. Applying the single criterion of concluding identification [4] or the two criteria of narration of the tale by the Buddha and identification of the narrator with the hero,[5] Rhys Davids' list of Suttanta-Jātakas [6] may be modified and presented as below :—

(1) Mahāpadāna-story (D., ii, p. 1).
(2) Mahā-Sudassana (D., ii, p. 169).
(3) Mahā-Govinda (D., ii, p. 220).
(4) Makhādeva (M., ii, p. 74).

[1] *Niddesa*, ii, p. 80.
[2] Beal, *Records of the Western World*, i, p. lxxv.
[3] The point is discussed by Barua in *Barhut*, bk. i, p. 90, and fully in *Indian Culture*, vol. v, No. 2.
[4] Applied by Rhys Davids, Introd., p. xlviii.
[5] Applied by Barua, evidently on the basis of the statement in the *Culla-niddesa*, ii, p. 80.
[6] *Buddhist India*, p. 195.

(5) Mahāvijita's Priest (D., i, p. 134).
(6) Ghaṭikāra (M., ii, p. 53).
(7) Pacetana's wheelwright (A., i, p. 111).

Considered in the light of the above observations, the position of the Pāli Canonical collection of Jātakas is absolutely clear; it contained 500 Birth-stories at any rate, so it was known to the compiler of the *Culla-niddesa* in about the third century B.C., if not earlier still. It was virtually the same work that was held to be authoritative among the monks of Abhayagiri monastery in Ceylon as far down as Fa-Hien's visit, if not later still. The present Jātaka-Commentary is veritably the same as the Canonical Text without certain remodellings, certain amplifications, certain additions and alterations here and there The Mahāvihāra School stood for a total of 550 Jātakas, and produced works to justify it. But whether the actual number found is 547 or 550, scholars have convincingly shown that the latter was elicited out of the former only by certain manipulations [1] which, clever or not, are naïvely mechanical and meaningless in effect.

Even after conceding that the 547 or 550 Birth-stories in three recensions of the Pāli Jātaka-Commentary are thus reducible to 500, or for the matter of that, 500 is the correct number of Jātakas as known to the author of the *Culla-niddesa* and to the monks of Abhayagiri, I cannot be persuaded to dismiss the traditional number 550 as altogether unjustifiable. Here the real crux is—where to find the additional 50 Jātakas. To me, the question is not so difficult to answer as at first sight. There are principally these two sources, from either of which the Jātakas may be supplied :—

(1) The fifty Birth-stories (Paṇṇāsa-Jātakam) that are not contained in the present commentary collection of Jātakas but available in Siam in a separate collection.[2]

[1] Barua, *Barhut*, bk. i, pp. 90–1. Cf. also Rhys Davids, Introd., p. lv, f.n. 1.

[2] For an account of it, see Léon Feer, *Étude sur les Jātakas*, pp. 62–5, 66–71.

Or (2) the Jātakas that are embedded in the Pāli Nikāyas,[1] or related in the *Cariyā-Piṭaka* and its Commentary,[2] the *Mahāvastu*,[3] and other works, but not included in the Pāli Commentary collection of 547 Jātakas.

[1] e.g. *Mahāvijaya's Priest* (D., i, p. 143), *Mahāgovinda* (D., ii), *Ghaṭikāra* (M., ii, p. 53), and *Pacetana's Wheelwright* (A., i, p. 111). Cf. *Buddhist India*, p. 196.

[2] e.g. *Saccasavhaya-paṇḍita* (No. 28) and *Mahālomahaṃsa* (No. 35), in addition to *Mahāgovinda* (No. 5).

[3] e.g. *Rakṣita-* (*Mahāvastu*, i, p. 283); *Hastināga-* (i, p. 286); *Ṛṣabha-* (i, p. 288), *Godhā-* (ii, p. 64); *Hārapradāna-* (ii, p. 67); *Vyāghrībhūtā Yaśodharā-* (ii, p. 69); *Siri-* (ii, p. 89); *Kinnarī-* (ii, p. 94); *Mṛga-* (ii, p. 234); *Sakunta-* (ii, p. 241), *Kacchapa-* (ii, p. 244), *Surūpa-mṛgarāja-* (ii, p 255); *Anangaṇa-* (ii, p. 271); *Vṛṣabha-* (iii, p. 28); *Vānara-* (iii, p. 31); *Punyavanta-* (iii, p. 33); *Vijitāvi-* (iii, p. 41); *Supātra-* (iii, p. 125); *Padumāvatī-* (iii, p. 155); *Candra-Sūrya-* (iii, p. 172); *Gangapāla-* (iii, p. 182), *Dharmalabdha-* (iii, p. 286); (i) *Ājñātakaundinya-* (iii, p. 347); (ii) *Ājñātakaundinya-* (iii, p 349); *Pañcabhadravargīya-* (iii, p. 354), in addition to *Mahāgovinda-* (iii, p. 197).

The Rescue of the Chinese Rhinoceros

By L. C. HOPKINS

SOME twenty-four years ago there was carried on a high and formidable argument between two Professors of Chinese concerning the rhinoceros and his Chinese name. In the end each contestant remained, as is usual in such literary warfare or "incidents", of the same opinion still, while the third parties to the dispute finding their minds in some confusion on the matter, concluded that either Professor A was in the right, or else, perhaps, it was Professor B. And so the question rested for some years, and sleeping dogs were allowed to lie. But in due course An Yang in the Province of Honan surrendered its long hidden store of bone and tortoise-shell, inscribed with archaic characters. And on the discoveries and problems thus presented we have been browsing ever since. Among these novel forms are two, each of which is partly one and partly the other. Discoveries, because though written forms do exist, these do not descend from the archaic figures under discussion. Problems, because the equation of certain bone pictures with the exact identity of the quadrupeds indicated in the inscriptions, has hitherto been disputed or equivocal. The bone figures of both these novelties display beasts of large bulk, both have horns, and both are furnished with tails, carefully marked by trifid tufts by the scribe. In the recording entries both follow a word *chu*, meaning to chase, and those who hunted the quarry were the Yin Sovereigns of the time. Where then is the difficulty in identifying the particular species of Big Game hunted by the sporting rulers of the Shang-Yin line ? Briefly, the horns in each case have been a dilemma hindering full assurance of our conclusions. And at this point it is necessary to insert a few illustrations, partly from figures cited in recent Chinese works on ancient inscribed bone fragments, and partly from certain ink squeezes, of especial value and authority, made in Peiping from animal skulls and ribs excavated at An Yang in Honan. These

were obviously trophies preserved by some royal sportsman of the Yin Dynasty, and were inscribed by a contemporaneous hand. The space available for the scribe's use was abundant on such materials, and the figure below profits by such a welcome and unchallengeable exhumation. I am much indebted to Professor Perceval Yetts for presenting me with the actual rubbing made in Peiping from the animal skull in the collection of the National Research Institute of History and Philology. Fig. 1 below is copied from this rubbing. Another and excellent reproduction of a rubbing from the same skull is shown on p. 1 of Shang Ch'êng-tso's own preface to his work, *Yin Ch'i I Ts'un,* 殷契佚存.

It is to the animal figures as displayed in the legend on this trophy of Shang-Yin Chases, that I have been able to decide in my own mind between the claims of the now extinct rhinoceros, and the wild buffalo, now only represented in China by the domesticated water buffalo of the rice-fields. The crucial passage is as follows :—

huo captured

po white

ssŭ rhinoceros

FIG. 1.

Crude and unfinished as these drawings are—the line of the underparts is omitted altogether — the salient feature of the rhinoceros, its single reverted horn, is well marked, and its blunt muzzle. Much less convincing are the counterparts of the above beast that frequent the small and fragmentary inscribed bones inquiring as to the chances of hunting on a named day, and recording, in other cases, the success or otherwise of the day's sport. The inscriptions in which these examples occur, are on a minute scale, often less than one centimetre in height, and when internal graphic details are added, as in these particular instances they are, what shall it profit a horned pachyderm if he loses his stomach and gains a complex of curves and chevrons upon his head ?

No wonder then if such minutiæ on such a restricted scale of size have caused a certain bedevilment of interpretation and decipherment among the experts and antiquaries in China. The several figures that follow, together with the short notes to each, will, I hope, help to illustrate what is said above.

FIG. 2

This figure, rather unusually complete and detailed, appears on Bone No. 25 in Shang Ch'êng-tso's work, *Yin Ch'i I Ts'un.*[1] The six characters still remaining visible in whole or in part, are transcribed in the second volume, thus, 貞 其 · 逐 · 馬 獲 · *chêng ch'i* · *chu* · *ma huo*, "inquired as to * * hunting * * horses captured." The three points represent breaks in the original text caused by the fractures of the edges of the bone.

It is strange that Shang should have taken the figure in the text to be a horse, since that would imply that wild horses were to be found and hunted in Honan Province or the neighbouring Shansi or Shantung. Nor is there any trace of the tell-tale mane.

FIG. 3.

This figure is taken from an inscription on a long bone, a rib, of some large quadruped, which was excavated I presume by the Chinese Government Commission under Dr. Li Chi in Honan. The four characters of the passage extracted are in modern writing, 獲 商 戠 兕 *huo shang chih ssŭ*, and record the capture of a *ssŭ* (in my view, rhinoceros), as did the previous passage. But whereas in that the qualifying word was *po*, white, here there are two characters to be dealt with. The first is 商 *shang*, which may be taken in its ordinary usage either as a regional name (and by extension, dynastic also), or as the earlier scription of the homophone 賞 *shang*, to bestow, in which sense Mr. Shang Ch'êng-tso accepts it here. The second character is an early form of

[1] 殷 契 佚 存, 2 volumes.

a word later and still written 戠 *chih*, the meaning of which was unknown to the author of the *Shuo Wên*, who writes the word "wanting", 闕 *ch'üeh*, where he usually gives the sense of the character heading the entry. Mr. Shang, however, is undaunted by the lacuna. Following the, as I think, dubious guidance of homophonous syllables he arrives at the conclusion that 戠 *chih* meant yellow. If the four characters of the above inscription are given the values Mr. Shang attributes to them, capture, bestow, yellow, rhinoceros, I see no plausible translation possible. But if 商 *shang* was here used as a regional name, and accepting 戠 *chih* as yellow or brown, an English rendering as "captured a Shang-country brown rhinoceros", may pass as a tentative solution.[1]

FIG 4

In this figure we find one variant of the type usually seen on the Honan relics, and showing that diagrammatized version of the beast making its way from the picture on the further bank to the stiff, stark character (兕 *ssŭ*) on this, a slow transition serving as a kind of purgatorial condition of survival in the literature of the Far East.

We should also notice in this figure the over-emphatic stress laid on the head and horn, and the corresponding undue reduction of the trunk and limbs to the exact conformation of a man, as then written, . In this deformation this particular variant is aberrant and misleading, as we shall see.

Fig. 5 is still more diagrammatic than the last, but differs by having two legs and the tufted tail shown.[2]

[1] See the *Yin Ch'i I Ts'un*, vol. i, p. 55, Bone No. 518

[2] The bone fragment from which this figure is copied (殷 虛 書 契 *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, 前, ch. 1, p. 19) presents a singular feature. It is a moderate, irregularly broken piece of bone, inscribed with characters in what seem to be two panels, an upper and a lower, between which no direct connection can be detected. In the lower panel are two ranks of

The three figures, Nos. 3, 4, and 5, though perhaps not in each case those I should otherwise have used to illustrate this part of my paper, appear here because they are those chosen by Mr. 唐蘭 T'ang Lan to support his short but acute note on this type of archaic character, which concludes thus: "Thus then, a beast with one horn, and that horn of exceptional size, 又特大者 *yu t'ê ta chê*, should (當爲 *tang wei*) represent the form of the 兕 *ssŭ*, obviously and beyond question, 亦皎然無疑者也, *i chiao jan wu i chê yeh*."

So, too, what Mr. T'ang Lan, working from these archaic types, determines to be the sibilating syllable *ssŭ*, I, for my part, on similar grounds, claim as the outline of the quadrisyllabic quadruped, rhinoceros.

I will add only two more examples of the character under discussion, but not cited by T'ang Lan.[1]

Fig. 6 stands alone near the broken edge of a bone fragment, without visible context, and with blunt muzzle, complete with horn, legs, tail, and stomach.

Fig. 7 is the last in a text of probably five characters, of which the third is only partly visible owing to the broken bone edge. So far as recognized, and in modern writing, the text runs, 王逐 [?] 二兕, *Wang chu* [?] *erh ssŭ*, the King hunted — two rhinoceroses.

These seven figures will, I hope, be held to justify my belief that they portray a rhinoceros. For there are only two quadrupeds they can possibly stand for, one is the rhinoceros, the other the wild buffalo. And if as a portrait of the first, the "salient point", 特點 *t'ê tien*, as Mr. Tung Tso-pin well

five characters each, each of the lower rank being exactly aligned below its number above. And these ten are virtually identical copies of Fig. 5 above. The object and explanation of this squadron of rhinoceroses eludes us.

[1] They are from the *Y.H.S.C.* 前, pp. 46 and 47.

describes it, is not sufficiently salient, if the pictured beast does not, indeed, raise his horn on high, but allows it to trail backwards over his shoulders more than it does in nature, still less does the shape suggest the buffalo's horn advancing first laterally outward, then in a bold curve (if I may coin the word) serpenticularly upward.

I must not ignore the fact that a very different view of this series of animal forms is held by Mr. Tung Tso-pin, a well-known Chinese authority on the national antiquities. Perhaps "*has* been held" would have been more correct, for the passages on pp. 2 and 3 of Section 10 of the *Chia Ku Hsüeh*, where Mr. Tung's views are cited, are cancelled in the corrigenda, appended to the second volume, by the note 兕字誤釋當删, *ssŭ tzŭ wu shih tang shan.*

But the net result of Tung's critical examination of the material provided by the Honan relics—he cites fifteen examples, including two of T'ang Lan's—is that they are figures of a mysterious beast named Lin, written 麟, and that this beast was a unicorn. Beyond this he does not go, nor am I concerned to discuss his arguments. They may be summed up as a conjectural identification of a misunderstood figure with a supposititious creature of beneficent disposition but indeterminate form and structure. It would lead us nowhere.

It will perhaps be well before concluding this paper, to show the reasons given by Mr. T'ang Lan for his considered opinion that the animal figures cited by him corroborate Hsü Shên's Lesser Seal version of 兕 *ssŭ*, viz. [seal character] (Fig. 8), and his explanation of it.

Under Fig. 8 Hsü wrote, 如野牛而青色 * * 象形, *ju yeh niu erh ch'ing sê* * * *hsiang hsing,*[1] "like a wild ox, dark in colour, * * a pictogram," that is, explains T'ang Lan,

[1] Before the last two characters, Tuan Yü-ts'ai in his edition has "restored" seven characters to the effect that "the hide was tough and thick and could be made into armour". T'ang Lan omits these.

the figure [seal form] of the Oracle sentences slightly changed. He continues: The *Shuo Wên* has long contained a scholiast's interpolation, 校語 *chiao yü*, reading "with head the same as in 禽 *ch'in* and 離 *li*", so that there must have been another MS. copy with a Seal form [seal form] (Fig. 9), which again is a variant of the figure [seal form] (Fig. 10). Thus then, judging by the conformation of the character, this type occurring in the oracular sentences should stand for 兕 *ssŭ*, that is, the *Shuo Wên's* [seal form], there can be no doubt about it.

Mr. T'ang then cites some geographical confirmation as to the habitat and range of the *ssŭ* in which I need not follow him.

A few observations in conclusion. It will be noticed that the two passages cited in Figs. 1, from a skull, and No. 3 from a rib, both contain the old form of 獲 *huo*, "to capture." This is a peculiar word to use when a rhinoceros, or for that matter, a wild buffalo, is in question, and in view. I wonder if *I* had been one of the beaters in a Shang-Yin Royal Hunt, and had received an urgent royal command, "Go, capture that rhinoceros," how even under the spur of the most loyal devotion and the strongest language, I should have tried to do it. And further, we may wonder if these so-called "captures" were post-mortem captures, and if so, how, when, and by what means, the quarry came by its death.

Another and more pertinent question relates to the colour of the beast's coat. In the case of the skull from which Fig. 1 was copied, the word white, 白 *po*, is expressly used. In that of Fig. 3 (the inscribed rib), accepting provisionally Mr. Shang's sense of yellow for 戠 *chih*, we should read yellow or brown, as the colour of the hide.

I am much indebted to Captain Guy Dollman, of the British Museum (Natural History), for the following illuminating reply to a query I had addressed to him on this

point. He writes, " The use of the term ' White Rhinoceros ' certainly seems at first glance to be curious but perhaps not more curious than the fact that the White Rhinoceros of Africa was so-called. It has probably arisen from the same source, that is through the body being heavily plastered with clay which gives these animals a white appearance."

In another letter Captain Dollman informs me that " regarding the rhinoceros we have received reports concerning a species which used to live in China during historic times. This may have been the Javan Rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*) or perhaps the Indian Rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*). Or it may have been a distinct species ".

But of whatever species it was, it is extinct now in China, like its fellow pachyderm the elephant. Whether it was exterminated by the Shang-Yin royal hunting parties, with their predilection for blood-sports, or lost its *joie de vivre* with the slow seepage of the oncoming tide of human occupation into its haunts, we do not know. But I hope it may be granted by the readers of this paper that I have rescued the memory of the Chinese rhinoceros from complete oblivion, thanks to the excavations in Honan, and the testimony of the written letter that remains.

425.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

WHO WAS JOHANNES OCREATUS?

The identity of Johannes Ocreatus has long been a puzzle to both Orientalists and historians. We know of this writer as the author of an arithmetical treatise beginning *Prologus H. Ocreati in Helceph ad Adelardum Batensem magistrum suum*, and as a translator of Euclid, but, so far as the present writer is aware, his precise identity is still shrouded in mystery.

For many years I have felt that this Johannes Ocreatus is but a poorly Latinized form of the name of the tenth century Arabic mathematician, Yuḥannā . . . b. al-Ḥārit͟h al-Biṭrīq, a translator to whom has been attributed a version of Euclid.

It is true that the *Prologue H.* tells us that the author was a disciple of Adelard of Bath (if Bath is intended), but this statement could be due to the inclusion of a marginal note into the body of the text by a careless copyist.

As for the name Ocreatus, it is quite explicable how it could come to be formed from al-Ḥārit͟h when we know the conditions under which much of the translation from Arabic into Latin was made. In Spain some of it was done *viva voce* from Arabic into Spanish and then from Spanish into Latin. Gerard of Cremona employed a Mozárabe named Gallipus (= G͟hālib) who turned the Arabic into Spanish, whilst Gerard himself fashioned the Spanish into Latin. We see the same kind of thing with Gundissalinus or Gundisalvus, who was aided by a Jew, John Avendehut (= Ibn Dāwud), and even Michael Scot had the help of a certain Alphagirus (= al-Fak͟hr).

In view of this it is quite easily understood how the name Yuḥannā al-Ḥārit͟h could become Johannes Ocreatus. At any rate, the Arabic origin of *Prologus H.* is palpable enough.

403. HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

ENGLISH GRAVES IN PERSIA

It is well known that in many cases Englishmen dying in Persia were interred in the nearest Armenian burial ground. During a visit paid to that country in 1937, Mr. H. Kurdian copied a number of inscriptions from British graves, and these he has obligingly communicated to the Society.

The earliest is an epitaph on the tomb of William Bell, in the Armenian Cemetery at Isfahan. Bell was the East India Company's Agent in Persia and died at Isfahan on 24th February, 1624 (see *Calendar of State Papers*, 1622–4, p. 268, where his burial is described). The Latin inscription on his monument was copied by Sir Frederic Goldsmid in 1865 (*Telegraph and Travel*, p. 562), and it is still fairly legible.

From the churchyard of the Armenian Monastery of Sourp Amenaprgich, New Julfa, Mr. Kurdian collected the following epitaphs. The tombstones on which they were inscribed have been used to pave the churchyard, but they are in fair condition.

1. Stuart Cumming McDonald, Born 27th July 1867. Died 4th August 1868.

2. Sacred / to the / Beloved Memory / of / Fredk. Wm. Waddell / Born 10th January 1871 / Died 2nd October 1871.

3. Sacred to the Memory of Claudius James Rich, Esqr., of the Bombay Civil Service. Many Years British Resident . . . who departed this life at Shiraz on the 5th October, 1821, Aged . . . Years ; from whence his remains were removed by his affectionate friend Colonel J. MacDonald Kineir and reinterred here on the 17th July 1826.

4. Sacred to the Memory of Andrew Jukes, Esq., Political Agent in The Persian Gulph, who departed this life at Isphahan on the 10th November 1821, Aged 43 and lies interred here.

5. Gvelin Gordon Bruce / 1st October 1873 / Aged 16 Months / Before the Throne / Washed and Made White / in the Blood / of / The Lamb.

6. Sacred to the Memory of Charles Darnley Stuart, who

departed this life at Yezdikhust on the 14th July 1826, Aged 21 years and was interred on the 17th of the same month.

7. Sacred to the Memory [of] / Major Arthur Stock of Madras N.S., who departed this life at Isfahan the 5th August 1831, Aged 55 Years.

8. Sacred / to / the Memory of / John Stanley Hughes / Persian Telegraph Department / who departed this Life / 11th February 1871 / Aged 28 Years.

9. Sacred to the Memory of Geo. Malcom, Esq., of Bombay Civil Service, who departed this life at Yezdikhust on the 15th July 1826 Aged 21 Years and was interred here on the 17th of the same month.

10. To the / Beloved Memory / of / John A. Orford / who Died / January 9th 1869. / Aged 19 Months.

11. Sacred to the Memory of John Taylor Esq., M.D., of the Bombay Medical Establishment, who departed this life at Shiraz the 5th December 1922 and lies here interred

Finally, Mr. Kurdian notes that, when visiting Tabriz in 1931, he found in the churchyard of Sourp Asdvadzadzin, six inscriptions on tombstones now used as paving, and in very bad condition. Four of these were in French and two in English, the latter commemorating Sergeant George Dickson of the 26th Regiment (date of death illegible), and Isabella Nisbet, who died 3rd September 1834, aged one year.

409.

THE DATE OF THE WORD URDU

Further Information

In the *Journal*, 1930, p. 393, I mentioned that Gilchrist, writing in 1796, may have been the first to use the word Urdū, standing alone, as the name of the language, because no examples of the word had been found to which an earlier date could be assigned with certainty.

For the phrase *zabān ĕ Urdū* (without other qualification) I gave as the earliest instance a sentence in Muṣḥafī's *Taẕkira e Shu'arā e Hindī*, 1794.

Recently, however, one of my Ph.D. students, Mr. Muḥammad Bāqir Malik, has drawn my attention to two passages, both earlier than 1796, in which the word Urdū is used by itself for the language.

First he points out that Urdū occurs alone in the very *taẕkira* which I had referred to. The words are :—

rūze dar Shāhjahānābād bakhāna e Luṯf 'Alī Khān Nāṯiq mushā'ira būd, gazal ĕ ṯarḥī e Mīr Ṣāḥib ki radīfash ba'd ĕ qāfīa harf ĕ aur bama'nī e takarrur dāsht būd; va azī jĕhat ba'ze az fuṣaḥā ū rā khilāf ĕ Urdū shimurda pairavīash nakardand.

"One day in Delhi in the house of Luṭf 'Alī Khān Nāṭiq there was a poetical assembly; there was a *ṯarḥī gazal* of Mīr Ṣaḥib's which had as its *radīf* following the *qāfīa* the word *aur* meaning repetition; and for this reason some chaste writers, regarding it as contrary to Urdū, did not follow it" (i.e. refused to write lines on that model); (*ṯarḥī, radīf, qāfīa,* and *gazal* are technical terms in prosody.)

This brings the date for Urdū to 1794, two years earlier than 1796. But more important is a couplet which he cites, written twelve years earlier still, in 1782, fourteen years before Gilchrist's date, 1796. The lines are :—

vŏh Urdū kyā hai yĕh Hindī zabā̃ hai
ki jis kā qāil ab sārā jahā̃ hai.

"Why call it Urdū? It is the Hindī language which now the whole world acknowledges."

This is taken from the *Nāma e Murād*, a poetical letter written by Murād Shāh, an eighteenth-century saint, the son of Karm Shāh. The letter was published fifteen years ago in the Panjāb, the province to which he belonged, by his grandson or great-grandson in the direct paternal line, Gulām Dastgīr Nāmī. The date is fixed by the following words written by Nāmī:—

yĕh khatt terah Jamādī us̱ Sānī 1196 *mẽ likhā geā* . . . .
. . . . *yĕh khatt abhī tak hamārī taḥvīl mẽ hai.*

(I have spelt the name of the month as pronounced in Urdū.)

"This letter was written on the 13th of Jamādī us̱ Ṣānī, 1196 (= 26th May, 1782). . . . This letter is in our care."

We have now got the date for the word Urdū, *used alone* for the language, as far back as 26th May, 1782. To any who may wish to help in tracing the use of the word still further back, may I point out that the date sought for is that of the earliest use of the word standing by itself and meaning the Urdū language?

422. T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

A GREEK TERM IN AN INDIAN INSCRIPTION

Vol. xxiv, part i, of the *Epigraphia Indica* contains an edition of the Bajaur inscription of the time of the Mahārāja Minedra (Menander) by the late N. G. Majumdar. I shall not, in this place, try to discuss and correct such details where I cannot accept his results. But I would draw attention to the writer's remark on the bottom of the casket: *Viśpilena anaṃkayena lakhit(r)e* "written by Viśpila aṇaṃkaya". Majumdar reads *aṇaṃkatena*, but a comparison with the many instances where *ye* occurs in the record shows that my reading is absolutely certain. *Aṇaṃkaya* can hardly be an Indian word, and I am convinced that it is a rendering

of ἀναγκαῖος. The well-known papyrologist Dr. Leiv Amundsen tells me that ἀναγκαῖος was used in Hellenistic times about a ruler's "advisors", "court" = φίλοι (cf. Dittenberger, Or. Gr. Inscr. Sel. 763·31; letter from Eumenes II, 167/6 B.C.), and became something of an honorific title (cf. Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, New Haven, 1934, p. 250). So far as I can ascertain, it is not known to have been part of the normal official terminology. The same is, however, the case with the title *meridarkh*, which Professor Thomas traced in Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions twenty-five years ago.

436. STEN KONOW.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

ÉTUDES SUR LES VILLAGES ARAMÉENS DE L'ANTI-LIBAN. By S. REICH. (Documents d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas, Tome vii.) pp. 196, pl. 32, diagrams 33. Damascus.

In three villages some thirty miles north of Damascus Aramaic is still spoken. Only one of them is still Christian; and even there Aramaic has survived in spite of the religious authorities, though now it is fast losing ground. Each village has its peculiarities of speech. All the songs are Arabic and the men speak Arabic among themselves because modern ideas cannot be expressed in Aramaic. The reasons for the change are two: the unifying force of Islam and the change in social conditions. Formerly these villages were a day's journey from Damascus; now the trip takes an hour in a motor. This book is a record of the language and customs before they pass away. It consists of texts with translations describing the main facts of life, birth, marriage, and death, harvest and festivals, with a few connecting links of description and comment. There is nothing about the grammar of the language because another scholar is at work on that, but there are plenty of notes explaining words which would be otherwise unintelligible. The relevant literature is always mentioned, including several works in Arabic, both medieval and modern. In one village marriage is a big business, so it is customary to wait till there are at least ten couples so that the whole population is invited. Before the wedding a drama is acted. Bedouin come to steal the flocks, represented by the children. The soldiers of the government protect the flocks under the orders of the governor and a comic cadi, while a lord of misrule makes himself a general nuisance.

another it is the custom to distribute soap before a wedding. ie value of the book is enhanced by the photographs which istrate the text and are often beautiful in themselves. . Reich is to be congratulated on a piece of work which oth thorough and pleasing.

80. A. S. TRITTON.

IE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AT MOUNT SINAI. Facsimiles and Descriptions. pp. 12, pls. 78. 1932.

IE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN JERUSALEM: Facsimiles and Descriptions. By W. H. PAINE HATCH. pp. 12, 12; pls. 66. 1934.

American Schools of Oriental Research · Publications of the Jerusalem School. Vols. I and II. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

'ruits of scientific journeys undertaken under the auspices the American Schools of Oriental Research, these two lumes contain photographs and full descriptions of New stament MSS. in Greek, to be found in the libraries of Catherine's Convent at Mount Sinai and of the Greek triarchate in Jerusalem.

'he former library is well known to students from the :overy therein of the Codex Sinaiticus, but the authorities 'e hitherto imposed a ban upon photographing its treasures. anks to the fact that Professor Hatch was accompanied his journey by Dr. Rendel Harris, who enjoyed the personal :ndship of the Archbishop, this ban was lifted. The result sumptuous collection of seventy-eight plates illustrating :ry Greek MS. of the New Testament in the Convent Library. : manuscripts date from the tenth to the thirteenth century, st of them belonging to saec. xi–xii. The photographs is constitute a body of material which is of no mean value palæographists, and this amply compensates for any itement that may here be lacking in the field of textual tory.

A brief but exhaustive description accompanies each plate. This states the contents and date of the relevant manuscript, and indicates any palæographical peculiarities. Dr. Hatch dates the codices by the form of writing exhibited, and where he differs from Gardthausen or Von Soden he registers their alternatives.

The manuscripts in the Library of the Patriarchate in Jerusalem are fifty-five in number, mostly dating from the twelfth century. These are illustrated in the same manner as in the companion volume.

There is only one ground for regret concerning the nature of this publication, and that is that the interesting miniatures which appear in several of the Sinaitic MSS. are not reproduced. These have more than purely artistic importance, for they reflect traditions concerning the authorship and transmission of the Gospels. We shall be hearing a great deal about them in a work to be published in the future by Dr. Robert Eisler. The miniatures in the Jerusalem MSS. have already been printed by Dr. Hatch in a separate work.

These two books are a monument alike of careful and accurate scholarship and of typographical excellence. The plates are not bound, but supplied loose in folders.

A. 655. T. H. GASTER.

ANTHEDON, SINAI. By Sir FLINDERS PETRIE and J. C. ELLIS. British School of Archæology in Egypt. 42nd year, 1936. 13½ × 10, pp. vii + 16, pls. li. London: British School of Egyptian Archæology, 1937.

Tell ez Zuweyid, which Sir Flinders Petrie identifies with the classical Anthedon, was a fortified post in Northern Sinai, close to the modern al Arish; the earliest levels go back to about 1400 B.C., and after the beginning of the Roman period the site seems to have been abandoned in favour of other "tells" in the neighbourhood. The town was "not

of importance for trade" and the buildings found possess little intrinsic interest; the value of the work lies in the fact that it has given a series of pottery types which, as coming from the frontier between Egypt and Syria, serves as a useful link between the products of the two countries. Sir Flinders makes the most of his material; but it must be admitted that the precise chronology obtained by correlating 5 in. strata with the known facts of history, as well as the "prosperity curves", based on the numbers of objects found in the respective strata, fail altogether to carry conviction; it is difficult to believe that they are put forward seriously.

A. 988. C. L. WOOLLEY.

LE PROBLÈME HITTITE. (Études d'Archéologie et d'Histoire.) By EUGÈNE CAVAIGNAC. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xviii + 200, pls. 8, maps 2. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1936.

The purpose of this book is apparently to give in popular language an account of the progress made up to the date of publication in the study of the Hittites, their rise to power, their empire, and their ultimate history. The first hundred pages are mostly devoted to the history of the period, and here Professor Cavaignac is most at home. There is a chapter on the civilization of the imperial period, and two more on the neo-Hittite empire, of the first millennium B.C., called by the author "le temps des Hittites hiéroglyphiques". This is an unfortunate title, since current excavations at Boghazköi alone are showing that the hieroglyphic script was used at least moderately often in the imperial period of the second millennium also. Professor Cavaignac's account of the hieroglyphics is principally based on the work of Professor Hrozný, but he does not pay sufficient tribute to the really brilliant contributions of Forrer and Bossert. There is, in fact, not much originality in this book, though many may find it useful. The portion which seems best to the reviewer

is the two chapters at the end on the history of Anatolia in the first millennium B.C., when the Hittites had ceased to exist there; and these chapters *a priori* ought not really to be there at all if the very badly chosen title refers, as one would presume, to the Hittites. From such a title one would imagine at first sight that a specific problem or point is dealt with, but it is not so.

In the reviewer's opinion, Delaporte's *Les Hittites* has covered most of the same ground in a very much better manner.

A 747. R. D. BARNETT.

LUKIANS SCHRIFT UBER DIE SYRISCHE GOTTIN ÜBERSETZT UND ERLAUTERT. Von D. DR. CARL CLEMEN. Der Alte Orient, Band 37, Heft 34. 9 × 6, pp. 57. Leipzig J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1938.

The ascription of the short treatise on the Syrian Goddess to Lucian has been questioned, by no one with more violent language than that used by the Dutch Hellenist Cobet, who describes it as *si Musis placet, Ionice ab eo qui neque Ionice satis sciebat neque recte et eleganter scribere aut scite et venuste narrare aut fingere unquam didicerat.* In spite of this vituperation the genuineness of the treatise is accepted by many, among them Dr. Clemen, who offers a scholarly translation of the Teubner text, takes its statements seriously, and illustrates them from practices noticed by Frazer, Robertson Smith, and other authorities on primitive cults.

On p. 49 the Fihrist is quoted from Count Baudissin for the assertion that certain of the *Harranitischen Ssabier an einem bestimmten Jahrestage den Gottern Schweine opferten und an diesem Tage* (*sonst also nicht*) *Schweinefleisch assen.* The passage is in Flügel's edition, p. 326; the inference from it is unnecessary, since in the same work, p. 319, line 20, we are told that the Sabians were forbidden to eat swine's

flesh. It is rather curious that whereas the older commentators on Isaiah lxvi, 3, supposed swine's blood to be taken as an example of something that might not be offered, the more recent interpreters (followed by Dr. Clemen) infer from the passage that it was offered.

B 159. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE MAKING OF MODERN TURKEY: FROM BYZANTIUM TO ANGORA. By Sir HARRY LUKE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. viii + 246, pl. 1. London: MacMillan, 1936. 10*s*. 6*d*.

This book deals with the background of modern Turkey and the creation of the Republic and is an attempt to analyse the revolution achieved by Kemal Atatürk and to place it in its true perspective. The opening chapter describes the Ottoman Empire as the heir of Byzantium; it includes an account of the *millet* system which the writer shows was taken over by the Turks from their predecessors but extended considerably both in principle and in application; the Capitulations were the outcome of this development. The use of the word *millet* (Arabic *millah*) is originally Koranic (2/114, v. Bell, *The Qur'ān*, London, 1937) and means "type of religion", and appears to have been borrowed from the Syriac *meltha* meaning "word". The word is used in Turkish and Arabic especially of a group of people united by a common faith. The subsequent chapters form a disconnected account of the last century and a half and deal with the attempts at reform made by Selīm III and Mahmūd II, the Christian *millets*, the Islamic background, the Young Turks, and the transitional period from 1918 to 1924, although the political aspect of the revolution is unfortunately excluded. The part on the cultural reforms, especially on the law and the language, is interesting. There are a few small mistakes which might have been avoided. The battle of Sakaria was fought 14th August, 1921, that of Domlu Punar at the end of August, 1922, the author seems to have considered them as one event.

Terjumān (p. 6) is an Arabic word, not Persian. *Mekhémé* should read *meḥkémé* throughout; the "White Sea" in Turkish means the Mediterranean and not the Marmora. The book is readable and contains many interesting anecdotes culled from the author's experiences.

A 712. J. HEYWORTH-DUNNE.

PALESTINE OF THE CRUSADES. By C. N. JOHNS. 8 × 6½, pp. 41, map 1, plans 2. Jerusalem: Col. F. J. Salmon, Commissioner for Lands and Surveys, 1938. Mils. 250.

The Department of Antiquities and the Survey of Palestine are to be congratulated on the success of this attempt to plot all available information relating to the Kingdom of Jerusalem on a map of adequate scale (1:350,000). There is an obvious difficulty in combining data of different periods in a single map, but the plan which has been adopted is certainly the best. This is to take the period of Saladin as a basis, and to superimpose the data of the earlier and later periods. The task of sorting them out is facilitated for the student by the excellent annotated gazetteer compiled by Mr. C. N. Johns, the brevity and compression of which give little indication of the amount of labour and research which he has put into it. Both text and map show how surprisingly large is the quantity of Crusading remains still to be found in Palestine, and even yet, as is indicated in a foreword, much new material awaits discovery. But while the map may be open to revision in detail, the great bulk of its information is above criticism. The accompanying booklet contains also an introduction, in which the history and territorial institutions of the kingdom are briefly, but accurately, related, together with detailed plans of Jerusalem and Acre.

B. 150. H. A. R. GIBB.

Far East

De Maleische Alexanderroman. By Pieter Johannes van Leeuwen. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 344. Meppel: B. ten Brink, 1937.

This thesis for a doctorate in literature and philosophy of the University of Utrecht deals with the Malay version of the story of Alexander the Great, the ultimate origin of which was a Greek work falsely attributed to Callisthenes. After a brief account of the versions in other languages based on this work, Dr. van Leeuwen passes on to the evolution of the Arabic one from which the Malay story is derived. In the Arabic version he recognizes the additional influence of the Qur'ān, the Shāhnāma of Firdausi, and several other factors. A Malay version existed more than three (and perhaps four) centuries ago, as the work is mentioned in the Sĕjarah Mĕlayu. Of the existing Malay manuscripts (the oldest of which is dated A.D 1713), Dr. van Leeuwen has examined ten (including the one in our Society's Farquhar Collection), and he gives brief descriptions of them. On internal evidence he classifies them into two groups, besides one manuscript which stands somewhat apart. He then gives several long extracts for comparing on opposite pages the texts of these variant versions A Dutch summary of the story, notes on the texts, a brief vocabulary, and a bibliography complete this scholarly piece of work

With regard to the author's difficulty about Farquhar's military rank in the year 1818 (p. 24), I may point out that a footnote on p. 128 in vol. i of Newbold's *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* gives the garrison orders issued by him on the 19th September of that year, beginning with the words " by Major William Farquhar ". As Dr. van Leeuwen has cited the preceding page it is curious that he did not notice this.

In the colophon of Manuscript I, romanized on p. 27, the word *Daérah* should not have a capital, and the comma

following it should precede it ; *S r b ā n* evidently represents Seremban (the administrative capital of the Negri Sembilan), in the district of which there is a subdivision called Labu, and *fi* is the Arabic preposition preceding the word *sanat*, " year " (A.H., in Malay usage).

B. 45. C. O. BLAGDEN.

INSCRIPTIONS DU CAMBODGE. Edited and translated by G. COEDÈS. Vol. I. 11 × 7½, pp. 322. Together with Vol. of Plates, Nos. 244 to 287 inclusive. 13¼ × 9½. Collection de Textes et Documents sur l'Indochine, III. Hanoi : Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1937.

The volume under review contains a selection of the most important texts in Sanskrit discovered in French Indo-China since 1929, discoveries due to the labours of MM. Marchal, Batteur, Fombertaux, and Trouvé of the Angkor Conservation Service, of M. Parmentier, M. Mauger, M. Paris, and of M. Dalet. Among the *stelæ* now translated and edited are those relating to the foundation of such great monuments as the Bakon, Prah Ko, Bantay Srei, and Pré Rup, new inscriptions from the Bayan, Koh Ker, Bantay Srei, and Prasat Khna, and the beautiful inscription of Prasat Tor. The form of the publication follows the model already laid down by MM. Barth and Bergaigne in their classic corpus entitled *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge*. The volume is dedicated to the memory of M. Finot, the late Director of the " École Française d'Extrême-Orient ", to whom M. Coedès expresses his great indebtedness.

The inscriptions edited in the present volume are for the most part dedications to various Hindu gods, in which the valour and power of the king who set them up are extolled. They contain, however, much new and valuable information relating to the cults fashionable in Cambodia in the seventh to the eleventh centuries, and are of great help in fixing the dates of the various kings. It is interesting to note that in

one of the earliest (of the reign of Jayavarman I, *circa* A.D. 670) mention is made of Kañcipura, the capital of the Pallava kingdom in India. M. Coedès remarks that this is the only occasion in which he has found such a reference in Cambodian inscriptions, and in the writer's opinion, it is of considerable significance as a clue to the origin of early Khmer art and architecture.

One other *stela* may be mentioned, that of Prasat Tor, which was composed in the reign of Jayavarman VII about A.D. 1189. In this inscription a reference is made to the conquest of a king of the west which Professor Coedès interprets as the King of Burma, at that time Narapatisithu, who reigned at Pagan from 1173 to 1210. Harvey, in his *History of Burma*, makes no mention of such a war but he does refer to the carrying off, by Narapatisithu, of a Sinhalese princess on her way to Cambodia, and it is possible that this incident caused trouble between the two countries.

Professor Coedès' reputation is so well established that it is scarcely necessary to dwell on the scholarship and erudition which he has brought to bear in the editing of this work. It does but add one more to the long list of achievements already accredited to his name.

B. 33. REGINALD LE MAY.

LE THÉÂTRE COMIQUE DES JAPONAIS (Introduction a l'étude des kyôghén). By ANDRÉ BEAUJARD. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 190. Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1937. Frs. 25.

The plays of the *Nō*, or lyrical drama of Japan, are very short and it is rare for the actual presentation of one to last more than an hour; but a *Nō* entertainment itself is a formidable affair, as many as five or six plays being acted at one performance. They are, moreover, written in the

ancient language of Japan and so larded with historical literary, and other allusions that to follow them intelligentl demands the unremitting and concentrated attention of the spectator. This is fatiguing even to an audience as patient as a Japanese, and it was to afford a relief to this tension and at the same time provide a foil to the austerity of the *Nō* plays themselves that the practice arose of putting on a farce after each.

Of these farces, called *kyōgen* ('mad words'), M. Revon is quoted as remarking that they are "*bouffonneries sans importance, ne méritant guère une place dans la littérature que comme annexes des nô*", and it is true that they have nc great intrinsic value. Nevertheless they are in their humble way a portion of Japan's literary heritage, and M. Beaujarc deserves the thanks of the student for the conscientious study he has here made of them. The main portion of his commendably brief essay consists of nine chapters, in which he discusses fully the more important features of these farces—their origin and development, the form of their presentation on the stage, their texts, language, style, and subject matter, the influence they exercised on the theatre and the novel in the Tokugawa and Meiji eras, etc. His book, however, is hardly meant for the general reader; but the student already equipped with a certain knowledge of Japanese and of the *N*ˉ plays should find it definitely useful, though it is perhaps to be regretted that its author did not make it the seque instead of the forerunner to another work he has in preparation *Comédies et drames lyriques de l'ancien Japon* (*traductions analyses*). It would also have been an advantage, though this is a small matter, if Japanese words in the text of the present work had been accompanied by their respective ideographs.

A. 983. H. PARLETT.

CHINESE LYRICS. Tr. by CH'U TA-KAO. 7¾ × 5, pp. xvii + 55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937. 4*s.* 6*d.*

To me it seems that the poetry of one language cannot be translated into another. I do not mean that the ideas expressed by the poet defy translation, but that the feeling conveyed by the poem and its rhythmical arrangement are distinct from one language to another. I state this in order to emphasize how difficult was the task of translating this little volume *Chinese Lyrics*.

Chinese poems have been translated and known in the West for many years. But most of those done are confined to the styles composed by five-character and seven-character lines respectively and arranged rhythmically with only two different tones, i.e. the *even* tone and the *oblique* tone. The Chinese language has altogether four tones, one *even* and three *oblique*. In this little volume, *Chinese Lyrics*, the poems are written according to the rhythmical arrangement with four different tones and the number of characters in the lines varies. We have the special name *tz'ŭ* for this kind of poem, and it is apparently more difficult to write than the kind I have mentioned above. I admire Mr. Ch'u's first attempt at translating this special branch of our poetry for the Western reader. In his translations he has done his best to convey the subtle feeling which we all possess, and I think only he, who has the same feeling as those poets, could do them justice, though as for the rhythmical part it is impossible for anyone to transfer it into another language.

Although there are only fifty-three poems in this little volume, yet the selection representing all distinguished schools in this branch is excellent, and it can be used as a guide by the students of Chinese who want to make further studies. Ten of the most well known *tz'ŭ*, by Prince Li Yü, which have been hanging on our lips for generations, are well translated. It is said that the deepest sorrow and the most radiant joy can only be intimately depicted by the Prince who was

hurled from the throne in the later part of his life. Liu Yung's school is esteemed for choosing beautiful words and for describing with fine sentiment scenes of parting or separation. Two of his poems are translated here. But I begin to find the wording too rich and the thought too scanty after I have read more of his work. A distinct change in *tz'ŭ* is represented by the school of Su Shih and Hsin Ch'i-chi, because these two brilliant poets do not bow to any restriction in expressing their thoughts freely and spend no time in the tedious work of choosing charming words and depicting narrow emotional feeling. *On the Red Cliff*, by Su Shih, and *In My Carousal* and *To My Children*, by Hsin Ch'i-chi, are good examples. Li Ch'ing-chao is the most celebrated poetess throughout Chinese history up till now, and her *tz'ŭ* has its own inimitable charm, but unfortunately she has not left many for us to admire and recite. One of them is translated here by Mr. Ch'u. Kuan Tao-shêng is much more known as a lady painter than as a poetess One of her *tz'ŭ* translated here is known by heart by all Chinese.

As a whole this little book will undoubtedly have made a wide appeal to those who are interested in poetry, especially in Chinese literature. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's introduction has benefited me a great deal by letting me know what he thought of our poetry.

A 909 CHIANG YEE.

THE STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE By JOS. MULLIE. Translated from the Flemish by A. OMER VERSICHEL. Vols II and III. Collection Internationale de Monographies Linguistiques—Anthropos—Tome V. 10 × 7, pp. 696. Pei-p'ing: Pei-t'ang Lazaris Press, 1937.

The scale on which this work has been planned almost takes one's breath away. The present instalment, containing chapters 8–12, treats of verbs and "converbs", adverbs

prepositions and postpositions, conjunctions, and interjections; but the third volume, so-called, consists only of an index rerum. Certainly this attempt to impose a complete set of grammatical forms and terms on the Chinese language is the most determined and thoroughgoing that has yet been made. Our ears are stunned and our heads reel under the impact of a multitude of "rules" such as the following: "Intransitive verbs that have a determinate subject take the adjunct of duration denoting the full exclusion of the action between the subject and the negative particle which is before the verb; because of the stress laid on it the adjunct of duration can be placed before the subject. But the adjunct of duration is placed after the verb in the case where the action merely falls short of the time stated." Sir Richard Paget recently told the British Association that grammar in human speech was an unnecessary complication which was gradually being done away with in Chinese. It would be truer, perhaps, to say that grammar disappeared long ago from Chinese, but that misguided enthusiasts are now industriously trying to bring it back.

For purposes of reference the book is by no means without value. A very large number of well-chosen sentences are included to illustrate the niceties of the Northern Pekingese dialect, and these will repay careful study; but the book as a whole is too bewildering in the very complexity of its detail to be placed with confidence in the hands of a beginner or even an advanced student. The translator has grappled manfully with an ungrateful task, and may be said to emerge successfully from the ordeal, though here and there we find slight indications that English is not his native tongue: thus, he gives "out-knocked" as an example of an English compound verb; and a sentence like this has a certain foreign quaintness about it: "It is quite strange that the determinated accusative with *pa* though being a real accusative, is hardly used with the form of impossibility of the converbal compounds and also of the ordinary verbs. In such cases the

exposed accusative or the neuter accusative are preferably used." The transliteration of characters is given throughout in two forms—a slightly modified "Wade" and a most repulsive-looking system, bursting with diacritical marks, which may rejoice the heart of the phonologist but is surely out of place in an introductory handbook.

A 904 LIONEL GILES.

L'ART DES ÎLES MARQUISES. By WILLOWDEAN C. HANDY. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$, pp. 55, figs. 24, pls. 20. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1938. Frs. 75.

The twenty excellent plates illustrate for the most part patterns of tattooing, patterns said by the Marquesans to be derived from the face and extremities of *tiki*, the mythical ancestor, from animals, from the vegetable world, from rock-carvings and legends, patterns geometric, patterns pictorial. The text describes the ideals, scope, and materials of the Marquesan craftsman. "Les procédés de tout art étant rituellement déterminés, et les dessins particuliers fixés par la tradition, la capacité d'un artiste se mesurait essentiellement à l'exactitude de son savoir et de son exécution. Ignorer le dessin d'un motif, ne pas le mettre à sa place exacte dans l'ornementation, se tromper dans le maniement des peignes à tatouer, dans les coups d'herminette ou dans les tailles à la dent de rat, était chose aussi sérieuse que de bafouiller ou d'omettre un mot au cours des incantations magiques."

In the text there is no comparative study of design, though in the introduction Dr. E. S. C. Handy talks of Melanesian influence and quotes from his book, *The Problems of Polynesian Origins*, Honolulu, 1930. It might well have been fruitful to pursue the method of Dr. Heine-Geldern and compare these Marquesan designs with Melanesian, Dayak, and Batak patterns and even (e.g. pls. ix and x) with the designs on ancient Chinese bronzes. But apparently the author is a field-worker with no comparative data at her disposal.

B. 103. R. O. WINSTEDT.

De West-Toradjas op Midden-Celebes. By Alb. C. Kruyt. Published by the Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen. XL. 10¼ × 7. Deel I. pp. xii + 543, pls. 2, figs. 36, maps 5. Deel II. pp. viii + 630. Deel III. pp. viii + 632. Deel Platen. pp. 24, pls. 255. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers-Maatschappij: Amsterdam, 1938.

This monumental work of over 1800 pages is a survey of the West-Torajas of Central Celebes, a people who since the publications of Dr. Paul and Dr. Fritz Sarassin have been recognized as having peculiar interest for comparative students.

The first 330 pages are devoted to the land and people of the territorial divisions, Donggala and Poso. For each division there are sections dealing with the geography of each district, its inhabitants, the origin of its noble families, its tribal wars, and the history of its relations with the Dutch Government. The next 170 pages catalogue the localities and types of prehistoric and archæological discoveries in those divisions and districts, giving detailed particulars of stone mortars, sacred stones of villages, and rice-fields, clay burial urns, monoliths, bronze axes, stone images. The next 43 pages discuss sociology, the position of chiefs, of the common people and of slaves; intermarriage between the different classes; the penalties for theft, wounding, murder, and other crimes; the taking of oaths, trial by ordeal, and the law of debt.

The first volume is a geographical, sociological, and archæological survey, designed primarily for the use of government officials and explorers on the spot.

The second volume (630 pages) is of more general interest. It deals with such topics as houses and temples; war, talismans, oracles, dreams, mutilation of the dead, war-dances; man and his struggle against the ghostly powers that surround him; the world and cosmic myths; gods and spirits, and shamanism. On all these subjects there is detailed first-hand information at once full and reliable,

giving this long and painstaking work the permanent value one would expect from such an authority as Alb. C. Kruyt. There are sections, like that on the name for the shaman (pp. 500–1), which will be of interest to philologists and lexicographers

B 131, 186 R. O. WINSTEDT.

H. N. SIEBURGH EN ZIJN BETEEKENIS VOOR DE JAVAANSCHE OUDHEIDKUNDE. By J. V. DE BRUIJN. 9¾ × 6¼, pp. 209, pls. 5. Leiden: Drukkerij "Luctor et Emergo", 1937.

This book, a thesis for the Leiden doctorate of letters and philosophy, contains a detailed and critical account of the paintings, sketches, and manuscripts left by Sieburgh, who between 1837 and 1842 gave his means, and ultimately his life, to the study of the old buildings of Java. The summary (pp. 194, 195) specifies the few items which possess an objective archæological value owing to the disappearance of the originals or other causes. So far as can be judged without seeing the original materials, the work has been well done: its chief value must lie in saving the time of other students.

A. 997 (†) W. H. MORELAND.

A DICTIONARY OF CHINESE BUDDHIST TERMS. Compiled by W. E. SOOTHILL and L. HODOUS. 11¼ × 8½, pp. xix + 510. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1937. £4 4*s*.

An up-to-date dictionary in a European language of Chinese as used in the Buddhist translations is certainly one of the chief immediate desiderata for Buddhist studies; and the work under review, as intended to be the first step towards filling this gap, will be of great interest to two classes of students, those who approach the Chinese texts from the study of Sanskrit, and those who begin from the Chinese standpoint. It is the latter class that the two collaborators

appear to have had mainly in mind, and as the reviewer belongs to the other, his remarks may perhaps fail to make due allowance for the difference in the angle of vision. It being difficult to assess the value of a lexicographical work except after years of use, it should be explained that the test applied, which was one of some severity, has been constant reference to the dictionary in the course of comparing the Chinese translation of the *Uttaratantra* with the still unpublished Sanskrit text; and that test it bore with credit. Few omissions were found, and those mostly of words used in a general, not a technical, sense. The meanings given were found to cover the varying uses of the different words, and the Sanskrit equivalents, so far as registered, were accurate. The get-up is excellent, the arrangement clear, though a weakling like the reviewer would have preferred to have had the characters ordered according to the radicals rather than according to the number of strokes, and the freedom from misprints and the absence of any sign of dual authorship deserve every praise.

To say much on the debit side would be of little value, and the following observations are meant not so much as criticism but as indicating points which will require attention when a more complete dictionary is attempted. In the first place the Chinese in their interpretations of Buddhism experienced the difficulty well-known to all of us of finding precise equivalents for the technical terms with which the Sanskrit texts abound, and they had, as we have, to use words which of themselves do not convey the full and exact significance of the original term and which therefore must be read with the Sanskrit equivalent at the back of the student's mind. A mere translation of a Chinese word into English accordingly is insufficient, if the inquirer is to be helped to grasp its real bearing, and it is essential for clearness that the Sanskrit equivalents should be given throughout. Though the index shows that some three or four thousand Sanskrit proper names and expressions are to be found in

this dictionary, actually a great many technical terms, many of them far from rare, are missing, and in the majority of cases the Sanskrit word is not forthcoming. The ideal, then, for a lexicon of this sort is that it should be based primarily on a word for word comparison of Sanskrit originals with Chinese versions, but, though this was out of the question in the present case, use does not appear to have been made of much valuable material which has been available for a number of years, such as Rahder's *Index to the Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, Tucci's list of logical terms in *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts*, or the Sanskrit-Chinese edition of the *Mahāvyutpatti*, or for transliteration the list in Von Stael-Holstein's *Gaṇḍī-stotragāthā*. A single instance, chosen at random, will illustrate the lack of precision to which the methods here adopted lead. On 180*b* *ssŭ chieh* is explained as " the four knots or bonds, saṁyojana, which hinder free development ", meaning *rāga*, *dveṣa*, *moha*, and *lobha* ; actually the Sanskrit equivalent should be *bandhana*, and the category usually contains three members only, omitting *lobha* or *rāga*. *Chieh* alone, 386*a*, is defined without Sanskrit equivalent as " bond, tie, knot ", etc., with categories of three, five, and nine bonds, the reference here being, as appears from the corresponding entries under the different numbers, to the *saṁyojanas* ; and *chieh shih* is described somewhat loosely as " the bondage and instigators of the passions ", leaving one to guess that the expression is used for both *saṁyojana* and *paryavasthāna*. It requires fairly detailed knowledge of Buddhist dogmatics to infer from such explanations the exact meaning to be read into the Chinese terms.

The second point, to which attention should be paid in the ideal dictionary of the future, is the difference in terminology between the different schools of translators in China, the gap being just as wide as it is, say, between the translations of the Pali Text Society, of the *Abhidharmakośa*, and of *Hobogirin*. The work under review does not attempt to deal with this problem, which constitutes one of the most

serious obstacles to the comprehension of the texts for those who cannot use Japanese works of reference.

In conclusion it may be said that this dictionary does, and does well, that which it set out to do, but that a great deal more is required, if the authors' desire to facilitate the study of Chinese Buddhism is to be fulfilled.

A. 972. E. H. JOHNSTON.

RANGGA LAWE. By C. C. BERG. Bibliotheca Javanica, 1. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 202. Weltevreden: Albrecht, 1930.

TANTRI KĀMANDAKA. By Dr. C. HOOYKAAS. Bibliotheca Javanica, 2. $9\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 213, ills. in cover 64. Bandoeng: A. C. Nix, 1931.

SMARADAHANA. By R. Ng. Dr. POERBATJARAKA. Bibliotheca Javanica, 3. $9\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xii + 127. Bandoeng: A. C. Nix, 1931.

NĪTIÇĀSTRA. By R. Ng. Dr. POERBATJARAKA. Bibliotheca Javanica, 4. $9\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$, pp. 83. Bandoeng: A. C. Nix, 1933.

HET OUD-JAVAANSCHE BRAHMĀṆḌA-PURĀṆA. By Dr. J. GONDA. Bibliotheca Javanica, 5. $9\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 390. n.d. Bandoeng: A. C. Nix, 1933.

HET OUD-JAVAANSCHE BRAHMĀṆḌA-PURĀṆA. Translated by Dr. J. GONDA. Bibliotheca Javanica, 6. $9\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$, pp. ix + 134. Bandoeng: A. C. Nix, 1933.

HET OUD-JAVAANSCHE BHĪṢMAPARWA. By Dr. J. GONDA. Bibliotheca Javanica, 7. $9\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$, pp. 168. Bandoeng: A. C. Nix, 1936.

AANTEEKENINGEN BIJ HET OUD-JAVAANSCHE BHĪṢMAPARWA. By Dr. J. GONDA. Bibliotheca Javanica, 7a. $9\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. i + 60. Bandoeng: A. C. Nix, 1937. F. 1.50.

The above-mentioned works are volumes of the *Bibliotheca Javanica* issued by the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences with a view to the preservation of old Javanese works which have survived in manuscript. The Javanese

literature of the Hindu period is largely based on Sanskrit originals and most of these works fall under that category.

The first on the list, entitled *Rangga Lawe*, is, however, an exception to the rule; it is a versified historical romance in fourteen cantos dealing with the events that occurred in Java towards the end of the thirteenth century, which included a Chinese invasion and the foundation of the medieval capital, Majapahit. For the text a large number of manuscripts mentioned in the introduction have been consulted, and their variant readings are given in the footnotes. A summary in Dutch of the events related precedes the text; and a long list of proper names and a very short one of corrigenda end the volume.

The *Tantri Kāmandaka* is based on a recension of the Sanskrit Pañcatantra and embodies a large number of Sanskrit verses, of which a Javanese explanation is given. The illustrations are reproduced from a palmleaf manuscript preserved, as much of the old Javanese literature is, in the island of Bali. They illustrate the second part of the work, from p. 117, where the jackal begins to incite the bull against the lion. The text and translation are on opposite pages and a short introduction precedes them. A list of words and proper names and a table of contents complete the volume.

The *Smaradahana* is a poem in forty cantos, of which, however, several have been left untranslated by the editor, because they are interpolations and often hardly suitable for translation. The subject of the work appears to be purely Indian and mythological, as are nearly all the proper names in it, a list of which is given at the end of the book. A contest between Kāma and Śiva is related in cantos vii and viii. The Javanese text is preceded by an introduction and followed by a translation, notes, variant readings, and a list of the metres used in the poem.

The *Nītiçāstra* (or *Nītisāra*) is a poem in fifteen cantos on the subject of ethics and behaviour; it is probably derived

from an Indian original which the editor has not identified but left for Sanskritists to discover. He has, however, given in the footnotes a large number of references to passages in a Nītiçāstra in Böthlingk's "Indische Sprüche" which agree with it. The text is based on six manuscripts and each strophe is followed by a translation, sometimes accompanied by a brief commentary. A list of metres is appended.

The text of the *Brahmānda-purāṇa*, a work of considerable length, is based on ten manuscripts. In his introduction the editor discusses its relation to its Indian namesake, of which it is not a mere translation, for it often agrees more with the Vāyupurāna The contents of the Javanese prose text, which contains many Sanskrit phrases, are multifarious, including the creation of the world by Brahmā, the genealogy of the ṛṣis, the Vedas, the Manus, the legend of Vena, Pṛthu, and the milking of the earth, followed by an account of geography as known to the ancient Indians, the story of the descent of the Ganges from heaven, and some astronomical particulars. All these matters are related by the sage Romaharṣana to King Adhisīmakṛsna of the Paurava race. A versified text which follows the one in prose begins only with the legend of Vena, etc. A large number of notes on the prose text, with many references to Sanskrit parallel passages, a vocabulary, and a list of proper names complete this part of the work. The translation, preceded by a preface, and followed by a short final note and a list of addenda and corrigenda to the text, is in a separate volume.

The *Bhīsmaparwa*, a version of the sixth book of the Mahābhārata, is divided into a number of sections, the third of which, containing the Bhagavadgītā, was translated into English, with a critical introduction, by Dr. Gonda in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1935, Deel lxxv, Aflevering 1, pp. 36–82. The Javanese text, interspersed with a large number of Sanskrit verses and phrases, is based on six manuscripts mentioned and described in the introduction which precedes it; the variant readings

are given in the footnotes. Two lists of words and one of addenda and corrigenda follow the text. A separate volume contains a collation of the Javanese text from its fourth section onwards with three editions of its Sanskrit counterpart and another of the cosmographical and geographical portion of the second section, preceded by a comparative list of the Sanskrit verses in the Javanese text and two Indian editions.

Though it would need an expert to assess adequately the publications here described, we may safely congratulate the Royal Batavian Society on the issue of these obviously important and scholarly productions, which I note have also received the support of the two leading ruling princes of Java.

B 47, 37, 43, 48, 49, 50, 51, 75. C. O. BLAGDEN.

India

THE CÔLAS, Vol. II, Parts I and II. By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. Madras University Historical Series, No. 9. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. x + 934, maps 2, pls. 6. Madras University, 1937. 15*s*. (both).

This volume completes Professor Nilakanta Sastri's history of the Cōḷas. At the close of Vol. I the Empire of the Tamils seemed about to succumb to their Kanarese rivals (see *JRAS.*, 1936, pp. 690–1). The union of the Tamil and Telugu nations under Kulōttunga I prolonged its life for two centuries (1070–1276), a plucky struggle against the forces of decay, central enfeeblement, treason, and turbulence in the provinces. The Sinhalese revolt and support pretenders against Cōḷa nominees in a protracted fight for the Pāṇḍya throne; the Kanarese, now under Hoysala leadership, intervene as king-makers; while the Telugu dominions break into a multitude of petty chieftaincies. In the end the Pāṇḍyas win, and the stage is set for the Muslim deluge With an apt phrase here and there the author gives life to the dry bones of epigraphic evidence.

Two-fifths of Part I suffice for historical events; the rest of it is devoted to Cōḷa administration and the social, religious and economic life of the Tamil country under Cōḷa rule. The Telugu and Kanarese provinces are wisely excluded from this survey, which covers a wide range of subjects, including coins and literature. Of special interest are the relations between the central government and local institutions, the *ūr*, *sabhā*, *nagaram*, and temple.

Part II contains a précis of the leading Cōḷa inscriptions of the period (mostly unpublished and covering over 240 pages) and an exhaustive index. The inscriptions are arranged in order of the regnal years of each monarch in turn. This grouping shows well the shrinkage and occasional recovery of the imperial domain, evidence of which the author makes good use.

No Hoysala or Pāṇḍya inscriptions find place in the list; of the feudatories, none except those of Kōpperuñjinga, whose career is so deftly handled by the author in his narrative that the reader is tempted to desire fuller details of the Cōḷa vassals. Professor Nilakanta Sastri is, however, perfectly right in refusing to digress and spoil the balance of a well planned book. He has carried through a most complex task with amazing clarity, thoroughness and speed.

A. 930. F. J. RICHARDS.

ARGUMENT AND DISPUTE UPON THE LAW BETWEEN A ROMAN CATHOLIC AND A BRAHMAN. By DOM ANTONIO DA ROZARIO. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 138. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1937.

This book is in Bengali, but the editor includes an account in English of "Bengali Manuscripts at Evora" in Portugal, where the present manuscript was discovered (pp. xlix–liv), from which the English reader can gather that the Bengali manuscript now published for the first time was written at some date before A.D. 1680 by Dom Antonio da Rosario,

son of the King of Busna, a Raja in Eastern Bengal, who is the most prominent figure in the history of Christian missions in Eastern Bengal in the seventeenth century. He was taken captive to Arakan in 1663 and was subsequently ransomed by a Portuguese priest, Mansel da Rosario, who converted him to Christianity. After his conversion he succeeded by his unaided efforts in converting to Christianity some 20,000 to 30,000 of his compatriots. This extraordinary success induced the Jesuits to depute a mission in 1680 to Eastern Bengal, which was followed by a competition between them and the Augustinians which resulted in the withdrawal of the Jesuits in 1685. Dom Antonio, who had, at first, helped the Jesuits, reverted to the Augustinians. Details of these missions will be found in *La Mission du Bengale Occidentale*, by H. Josson (Bruges, 1921, pp. 88–96), and *The Jesuits and the Great Moghul*, by Sir E. D. Maclagan (London, 1932, pp. 127–9).

Fra Manoel da Assumpçaõ, who was head of the Mission of St. Nicholas of Tolentino in Bengal in 1735, wrote and printed in Bengali, in the form of a dialogue, interlined with a transcription in Portuguese, "Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbhed, Xixio Gurur Bichar," *Compendio dos Misterios da Fe*, "A Catechism of the Christian Doctrine," for the instruction of his neophites, and a Grammar and Vocabulary of the Bengali Language in Portuguese. These were printed at Lisbon in 1743. Father Hosten gives an account of these manuscripts in *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. xi, pp. 40–63. These are both well known and have been re-edited, and the Crepar Xaxtrer has been frequently referred to by several Bengali scholars, and copious extracts from it have been given as specimens of early Bengali prose. The editor has also reprinted the Crepar Xaxtrer in the Introduction to the present book.

The earlier work of Dom Antonio is now published for the first time. The editor copied it from the manuscript in the Public Library at Evora, in which the Bengali text is in one column while the Portuguese transcript of Fra

Manoel da Assumpçaõ is written opposite. The transcript is now published interlined with the Bengali.

The Portuguese transcript is phonetic; thus, the three sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s* are all transcribed by *x*, or in some cases by *s*, both of which in Portuguese have the sound of *sh*, which is the colloquial Bengali pronunciation of all three sibilants. No distinction is made between the long and short vowels *i* and *u*. Owing to the vowel sounds in Portuguese being the same as in Bengali, the Portuguese short *o* and *a* being the same as the Bengali *a* and *ā*, the transcription reads phonetically and would be understood by a Bengali, which is not the case in an English transliteration.

The great interest of the book lies in its being the earliest known prose work of a Bengali. The editor notices in footnotes obsolete words or those whose form or meaning has changed, and also adds a list of those words (pp. 77–88). It is beyond the space of the present review to discuss the matter here. The editor observes (p. 54): "The prose of Dom Antonio is simple, but it cannot be claimed that he has always used the colloquial language of his time. Although the vulgar word is not systematically excluded, the author does not hesitate to use the more polished language which the learned alone would appreciate."

As the editor notes, the book should be of great use to more serious students of Bengali language and literature.

A. 939. E. H. C. WALSH.

THE BURUSHASKI LANGUAGE Vol. III. Vocabularies and Index. By D. L. R. LORIMER. Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Oslo, Series B. xxix, 3. 9 × 7½, pp. xvi + 545. London: Kegan Paul, 1938. 20 Norwegian kroner.

This volume brings to a close Colonel Lorimer's great work on Burushaski, the first two volumes of which I have reviewed, *JRAS.*, 1936, pp. 699–704. It contains a Burushaski–English

Vocabulary, a Werchikwar–English Vocabulary, an Index of Proper Names, English–Burushaski and English–Werchikwar cross-indices, lists of Burushaski words classified semantically, a list of words common to Balti and Burushaski and, finally, Corrigenda and Addenda. The vocabularies are excellently planned, and they give illustrative examples and references to the texts printed in Vol. II. In many cases a note is made at the end of the word-article indicating either that the word is certainly a borrowing from some other language (e.g. Tajik) into Burushaski or that the word is found not only in Burushaski but also in one or more other languages; in this connection Colonel Lorimer has paid especial attention to the immediate neighbours of Burushaski, viz. Shina, Khowar, and Wakhi, and he has been in the fortunate position of being able to use his own collections of material in these languages.

B. 126. ALAN S. C. ROSS.

GEOGRAPHICAL ESSAYS. Vol. I. By BIMALA CHURN LAW. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 225. London: Luzac and Co., 1937.

This is a collection of articles published in various journals on the ancient geography of India, Burma, and Ceylon, as disclosed by Sanskrit and Pāli Buddhist literature, and by the Epics and Purāṇas. These texts seem to have been widely explored. Other Sanskrit literature remains to be examined in this way, while useful geographical data are likely to be found in Chinese works, other than the records of the Buddhist pilgrims, not yet studied for this purpose.

Since the days of the pioneer workers in this line, such as H. H. Wilson, V. de Saint-Martin, and Alexander Cunningham, a great mass of material has been made available, especially from Buddhist and Jaina literature. The importance of assembling and comparing the information contained in these texts cannot be overestimated; and Dr. Law must be thanked for the service he has been rendering in this direction for many years past. It is to be hoped that these researches

will lead eventually to the preparation of a much-needed work, namely, an atlas of the geography of India in ancient and medieval times.

In proposing identifications of sites considerable caution is called for; and Dr. Law shows that he is fully alive to this necessity. Some wild suggestions made by J. Beglar might well be left out of consideration. The following points may be noted for amendment in any new edition. The sentence (p. 32) in which it is suggested that Asanga's Aśmaka is the kingdom of the Assakenoi of the Greek writers "which lay to the east of the Sarasvatī at a distance of about 25 miles from the sea on the Swāt valley" requires correction. It was the country, not the city (p. 182), of Kapilavastu that Hsüan-tsang describes as 4000 *li* in circuit. From Śrāvastī that pilgrim travelled south-east not south-west (p. 185) to the Kapilavastu country. The Elephanta caves should not be included in the list of Buddhist cave temples (p. 194), having regard to Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī's views expressed in his *Guide to Elephanta* (Delhi, 1934).

A. 940 C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

QUEEN TIRUMALĀMBĀ'S VARADĀMBIKĀPARIṆAYACAMPŪ. Edited by LAKSHMAN SARUP. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 3 + 34 + 2 + 22 + 182. Lahore: Moti Lal Banarsi Das, n.d. [1937?]. Rs. 2.

This semi-historical romance, first published in the *Lahore Oriental College Magazine*, is a literary curiosity as having been written by a queen of Acyutarāya of the Vijayanagar dynasty, and may be found by students concerned with the sixteenth century to contain a few scraps of historical information, if, for instance, the place-names on p. 83 can be identified. But for lovers of Sanskrit literature it has little importance; the authoress, though rivalling Bāṇa and his later imitators in learning and ingenuity, forgot that these are not the qualities which make the *Harṣacarita* so eminently

readable, and I find it difficult to accept Professor Lakshman Sarup's view that to invent a compound of unequalled length or to find an appropriate simile for a sunset in a hyena's snout covered with blood constitutes a serious claim on our attention.

The text itself is sound, and the labour of reading it is much lightened by the commentary added by the Principals of the Jaipur and Agra Sanskrit Colleges.

A. 914. E. H. JOHNSTON.

ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR THE YEARS 1930–1, 1931–2, 1932–3, and 1933–4. Edited by C. L. FÁBRI. 2 parts. 13 × 10. Part I, pp. xxxiv + 252 Part II, pp. 116, pls. 154. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1936. £3 17*s*. the two parts.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 49 Bijapur inscriptions. By Dr. M. NAZIM. 13 × 10, pp. vi + 110, pls. 10. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1936.

The present issue of the Reports, brought out under the able editorship of Dr. Fábri, is a consolidation of the work of four years. It is unfortunate to learn that all the branches of the Archæological Survey have suffered from a period of severe financial stress, which has curtailed or stopped some of the work, and that since 1932 systematic excavations have ceased at Mohenjo-daro. The reports are too extensive to be mentioned in detail. They include excavations at Harappa, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Nālandā, and Taxila, and an enormous Buddhist monastery at Parharpur in Bengal. The important finds at Pagan include wall paintings that bring further evidence for the Mahāyānism of Burma.

Dr. Nazim's work gives all the Muslim inscriptions at Bijapur so far as they are valuable from an historical or literary point of view. It also includes a history of Bijapur and an account of the architecture.

A. 834, 833. E. J. THOMAS.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MSS. IN THE VANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAT. By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI. 9¾ × 7¼, pp. 8 + xlv + 270. Calcutta: Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, 1935. Rs. 6.4.

About 1600 MSS. are entered, the list being complete up to the year 1931. A few later accessions are mentioned in the introduction, which also gives a brief account of the more important works and quotes their opening and closing lines. MSS. of the *Vivekārṇava*, previously known only by name, and of other ritual digests are noted; and some of interest on grammar and kāvya. The usual facts about each MS. are given: title, author, number of pages, date, script, and mention, if any, in other catalogues. Scholars will be grateful to Professor Chakravarti for his contribution to this important and slowly-advancing work.

A. 601 C. A. RYLANDS.

TRILOGIE ALTINDISCHER MACHTE UND FESTE DER VEGETATION. n.d. epilogue dated 25th April, 1937 (p. 285). 9¼ × 6¼. pp xii + 238 (Kama) + 267 (Bali) + 339 (Indra), in one volume Zurich, Leipzig: Max Niehans, 1937.

To appreciate these ingenious and discursive essays, the reader should begin with the Epilogue (p. 271), wherein the author explains how he reached his own realization of the meaning of old Indian nature-myths and nature worships. He owes much to Mannhardt (whom he knew well), but confesses that he studied Frazer in the one-volume *Golden Bough* till his own book was in proofs.

Consequently much has been written which might have been put otherwise, or omitted. The Indian deities, Bali, Kama, Indra, and Varuna, are studied solely as deities of vegetation and fertility, and in their chthonic aspects, with copious illustrations from early literature and modern ritual and tradition.

The elaborate concordance of proper names and other things such as amulets, ashes, bananas, bees, mentioned in the text, will make the book useful for reference apart from its special scope; and the appendix on the magical use of bells will interest classical and medieval archæologists, as well as oriental.

A. 960 J. L. MYRES.

INDIAN AND WESTERN PHILOSOPHY: A STUDY IN CONTRASTS. By BETTY HEIMANN. 7½ × 5, pp. 156. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937. 5*s*.

As the sub-title indicates, Dr. Heimann is specially concerned to make clear the essential difference between the anthropometric conceptions of Western thought and the cosmic outlook of India. Quite consistently her last chapter recognizes, but only to point out the superficial character of, the modern rapprochement of East and West. She pursues the doctrine through theology, ontology, ethics, logic, æsthetics, history, and applied science. Her views are ingenious and interesting, but the effort to carry out the antithesis systematically inevitably leads to undue emphasis and to imperfect presentation, as markedly in the contrast between Western and Indian drama (pp. 106, 107). Nor is it probable that the characterization of the Indian philosophical outlook as transcendental materialism really expresses well its fundamental character. But in these issues differences of view are inevitable.

More definite dissent is called for on some philological details. It is unwise to abandon the original and to render *eṣa ātmā samaḥ pluṣiṇā* "this Ātman is the same in the ant". The version of *māyā* (pp. 50–2) as capacity for measuring is wholly uninviting, and *māyās* as measurable empirical objects should have been supported by examples, which will be hard to find. *Viṣaya* as "the single object separated, or literally untied, from the group" (p. 85) is as unlikely as the derivation of

that and other terms from observation of geological conditions; *pratyakṣam* as "reference back (*prati*) to or towards the eye" (p. 80) is strange, and to rank *smara* or *smṛti* with *anumāna* as names of inference is misleading, while *bhakti* as "reciprocal participation" (p. 70) is speculative. Even more so is the view (p. 68) that the Buddhist use of *dharma* in logic is to describe phenomena as fixed and definite objects, and that *śūnya* has etymologically the sense of an excessive and therefore unlimited entity (p. 54). That mysticism means literally "combining things which had been separated, so as to restore their primal unity" (p. 95), *mueō* being a technical medical term meaning "to unite" (p. 95), is most unlikely, but in any case should have been put forward as a mere guess. Nor is it at all clear that *saṃtoṣa* is literally "to silence oneself" (p. 76). The name Aryans does not mean inhabitants of Iran (p. 21), and the difference between Plato and Aristotle based on their use of *theoria* and *systema* or *systasis* respectively (pp. 27, 28) cannot be reconciled with their actual use of these terms. Nor is it clear why Sophocles should be credited with an *Oedipus Basileus*, when he himself would have styled it simply *Oedipus* and the later style has *Tyrannus*, and the English name of his later play is *Oedipus at Colonus*. Nor is the ascription of the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* to *circa* 1000 B.C at all plausible.

A. 992. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

PRAKĀŚ. Ed. THAKUR ARJUN SINGH. Central India Number. 6th Year, No. 48, October, 1937. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 102 + 186, illustrations. Rewa: D. B. Tareporevala, 1937.

The editor of the *Prakash* deserves congratulations for the high standard which he has succeeded in maintaining for over five years in his well-known and well-produced magazine. A feature of his enterprise has been the special numbers, the latest of which contains a copiously illustrated

series of articles on the States of Central India, their rulers, customs, and development, written partly in Hindī and partly in English.

Rewa and its neighbouring States have an ancient and varied history, and the whole region has a character and traditions of its own, of which its inhabitants are rightly proud. It is the aim of *Prakash*, while not forgetting the past, to point out the prospects of growth and progress—economic, industrial, and agricultural—which the future promises in a region of which the resources are unusually great.

Prakash is a stimulating publication, and is conducted on lines which will be approved by all well-wishers of India's advancement under new conditions.

B. 7. J. V. S. WILKINSON.

INDIA: A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY. By H. G. RAWLINSON. 10 × 6, pp. xv + 452. London: The Cresset Press, 1937. 30*s*.

The Cresset Historical Series, under the editorship of Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., already included volumes on China, Japan, and Russia, and in 1937 this further volume was added from the pen of Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, who has himself had a distinguished career as an educational officer in India and who bears a name which, to members of our Society, must always be " clarum et venerabile ". His book is styled a " short " cultural History, and whether a volume of some 450 large pages can be classed as " short " is perhaps open to discussion, but no reader who is interested in the subject will be disposed to quarrel with the length of the work.

It evidently aims at being a great deal more than a scholastic treatise or a mere chronicle of events. If an Orientalist, for instance, should be annoyed by some anomalies in the distressing business of accentuation, or if a pedantic historian

should demur at being told that Sir Thomas Roe visited Agra and that the battle of Sabraon was fought in the Second Sikh War, their querulousness might well be deprecated, as being wide of the mark. The object of the book seems to be to supply us with no more scholastic and historical matter than is enough to enable us to appreciate the development of the cultural aspect of the people, and in this it may be said to achieve a marked success. Dynastic and other chronological details are suitably dealt with in summaries at the end of each chapter and the main stream of the narrative is so arranged as to give us, in its appropriate setting, an arresting view of the general culture of the people at each period and in each tract of country. The story is told in smooth and attractive language and we are carried on with something like enthusiasm from point to point. The writer has incorporated the results of most of the recent published information available and he has greatly enhanced the pleasure of his readers by the introduction of admirable quotations from old travellers and chroniclers. He has been able to give to Southern India the attention which it deserves, but which it does not always get in the standard Indian Histories, and he has struck out a very fascinating line in his description of influences such as Buddhism in countries outside India

In a work of this kind there is always the question of the amount of space to be allotted to the " British Period ". Pierre Loti writes of India " sans les Anglais ", and General Gouraud of India " avec les Anglais ". It is a case of " Non tecum possum vivere nec sine te ". In the book under review, which is concerned with culture only and which keeps quite clear of modern politics, a reasonable course seems to have been taken. While little enough is told us of the historical sequences of the last two hundred years, the reaction of British contact on Indian education, religion, and literature is carefully and sympathetically dealt with.

The maps are clear and useful, and so are the numerous

illustrations, but the value of the excellent full-page plates would have been enhanced if the subject of each could have been indicated on the plate itself.

B. 42. E. D. MACLAGAN.

LE TRAITÉ DE L'ACTE DE VASUBANDHU: KARMASIDDHI-PRAKARAṆA · Traduction, Versions Tibétaine et Chinoise, avec une Introduction et, en Appendice, la Traduction du Chapitre XVII de la Madhyamakavṛtti. Par ÉTIENNE LAMOTTE. Extrait des Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques; l'Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, Vol. IV. 10 × 6½, pp. 144, pls. 6. Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, 1936.

The reviewer as exponent has, in view of the ample title, nothing further to add, save perhaps to remark that, in actual order, "Introduction" and the French Translation need to be inverted. As commentator I may just describe the Introduction as being descriptive of late Buddhist scholastic dogmatics, and in no way historical. Had the latter aspect been undertaken, the author might have given us a few words on what he means by calling two of a list of three "premiers documents bouddhiques" the "proto-canon magadhien" and "the Pali canon inaugurated by the communities of Kauśāmbi-Sāñchi-Mālava" respectively. He might also have qualified the Aṅguttara saying (belonging? apparently to the former of the two), which is quoted as basic for the whole treatise. This (*Sixes*, No. 63) says, that "*cetanā* is action, that one acts, in deed, word, thought, having *cetayitvā*". Now to render *cetanā* by will (*volition*), when the word is kin to thought (*citta*), raises the interesting point, how far the depreciation in the much stronger word *kāma*, not to speak of *kratu*, may have led to the substitution of relatively weak, derived terms like *cetanā* and *saṅkappa* for the fundamentally important idea of that self-expression by radiant activity which we really mean by "will". It

does not help matters by saying, with Buddhist scholastics, "the Lord said so." Historical criticism reminds us that we are not warranted in saying that, in the Sixes division of the Aṅguttara, we have a single *ipse dixit* of Gotama Śākyamuni. Centuries of oral teaching came between the one and the other.

The main value of the work lies in its presentation of different views of Buddhist scholastics about the act (*karman*), viz. those of Sarvāstivādins, down to Madhyamakas, whereby comparison becomes possible. Largely, it is true, between words and words. The dreariness of such a subject, where evolution of values plays no part, evokes gratitude to the author of the research devoted to it.

B. 76. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

LIVING WITH LEPCHAS. A Book about the Sikkim Himalayas. By JOHN MORRIS. Who also took the photographs which illustrate it. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. pp. xiii + 312, ills. 77, maps 2. London: William Heinemann, 1938. 15*s*.

The author, Major Morris, who was a member of the Everest Expedition in 1922, and again in 1936, was so taken by the Talung Valley of Sikkim, through which they passed, that he returned there in 1937 under the auspices of the William Wyse studentship of Social Anthropology, of the University of Cambridge, and spent four months living among Lepchas, in the village of Lingtem, and has recorded his observations, and the very full accounts of their lives and customs, which the inmates of the monastery and the villagers gave him. It is not possible in the short space of this review to do more than indicate the contents of this very interesting book.

The Lepchas, who are a simple and illiterate people, and living what is more or less a communal life, are rapidly disappearing before the more educated and virile Nepali and Bhutea immigrants into Sikkim. For this reason the

author selected that portion of the country which has been reserved for Lepchas only, where their life and customs continue unaffected by intercourse and intermarriage with other races; though, even here, they are getting under the control of moneylenders from outside. The author estimates that the total pure Lepcha population of Sikkim is somewhere in the neighbourhood of 13,000 only, and as their birth-rate is low, which is probably due to their almost promiscuous sexual relations and innate addiction to drink, their disappearance as a distinct race would appear to be only a matter of time.

Polyandry of the "adelphic" type which prevails in Tibet exists among them, but is rare. Forty pages are devoted to "Sex", their habits in regard to which are described with an amount of detail which may be required by a student of comparative culture or a psycho-analyst, but are not needed by others.

Buddhism of the unreformed *Nying-ma-pa* sect, in which the Lamas are married, was introduced from Tibet in the seventeenth century, but the religion of the people continues to be mainly a belief in one Good Spirit, and certain lesser ones, and an innumerable number of evil spirits, which cause diseases and all other evils, and require to be continually propitiated.

Some of the author's observations are open to question. The book is illustrated with thirty-three plates of excellent and well selected photographs taken by the author.

B. 162. E. H. C. WALSH.

INDIA IN PORTUGUESE LITERATURE. By DR. ETHEL M. POPE. Published by the authority of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan.

This work, which, as the author states in the Preface, was originally in the form of a thesis, is a survey, of admirable thoroughness, of the literary relationships between Portugal

and her Indian possessions. The author has interpreted the term Literature in its wider sense as comprising any written expression of thought and has included in her review notes on works of Indo-Portuguese interest embracing a wide range of subjects. Profusely documented and annotated, and of extensive scope, Dr. Pope's book as a work of reference is of a high order and of as great value to research workers in Portugal as to those in Goa.

The influence on Portuguese literature exercised by the discovery of India is traced with continuity and clarity from the time of Camões down to the nineteenth century. Dr. Pope stresses the importance of the Archives in Goa, remarking, however, that "the numbers of documents on India in Goa is a mere nothing in comparison with those existing still unpublished in the Archives and Libraries of Portugal".

In the last chapter, Dr. Pope covers ground hitherto unexplored by English authors for she deals with the school of literature founded in Portuguese India during the nineteenth century and which, although still in its initial stage, has a promising future. Already it has been productive in the realms of history, poetry, and science. Among the many interesting themes to which the attention of the reader is drawn is that of the influence of Portuguese on Oriental languages and vice versa Dr. Pope quotes Monsenhor Dalgado, author of *A Influencia do vocabulário Português em linguas Asiáticas* and *Glossário Luso-Asiático*. She enumerates the principal works on Indology published during the present century and, referring to Indo-Portuguese poetry, emphasizes that the verse produced in India is deeply imbued with Indian sentiment as well as being enriched with Indian terms.

The numerous quotations from the original Portuguese, together with English translations, enhance both the interest and value of Dr. Pope's book which embraces scholarly details respecting works on scientific research, born of the revival and extension of cultural interests in Goa.

Dr. Pope's efforts should direct the attention of many English readers towards Indo-Portuguese as well as Portuguese literature, for *India in Portuguese Literature* opens up a wide field for extensive reading and study.

B. 212. E. ROSENTHAL.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS AND EXCAVATIONS AT BAIRAT. By RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI. 9¾ × 7. pp. 40, pls. 11. Jaipur State: Dept. of Archæology and Historical Research, 1937. 8 annas.

This is the first publication of its kind issued by the Jaipur State, and as it will probably be followed by other reports of a like nature, it would have been better, perhaps, if the date of this first number (1936–7) had been printed on the title page The Darbar has only recently formed a Department of Archæology and Historical Research and Mr. Daya Ram Sahni, late of the Archæological Survey of India, is its first Director.

The first eighteen pages of the volume contain descriptions of various monuments in the State, which are generally the opinions or reports of discoveries by previous writers in condensed form, though the author has done some original research work in connection with some of them. The remainder of the Report is a description of the Rai Bahadur's own excavations of an interesting Buddhist shrine and monastery, of probably the Aśoka period, at Bījak-kī-Pahāṛī. The account would have been more easily understood if it had been supported by a key plan of the whole site as it is difficult to follow the relationship of the monastery with the Circular Temple. One would have thought, too, that the temple would be the more important feature of the site, but its description has been relegated almost to the end of the chapter. A plan

of this building has been given, but its usefulness is much diminished owing to the fact that the scale is incorrect as, in its reproduction, the plate has been reduced and the scale of feet given at the top is no longer applicable.

B. 65. J. F. BLAKISTON.

BURMESE DRAMA. A Study, with Translations, of Burmese Plays. By MAUNG HTIN AUNG. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 258. London: Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1937. 11*s*. 6*d*.

Extant Burmese dramatic literature belongs to the century 1785–1885. Dramatists include a few famous writers connected with the court, and, towards the end of the period, a number of competent playwrights who composed their works in British Burma.

Maung Htin Aung does not give a quite complete account of this branch of Burmese literature He has, however, studied a number of the plays and gives translated extracts from them in appendices—which would have been more useful had he stuck closer to the originals.

The book is unfortunately not free from inaccuracies: in particular, any remark in the nature of an *obiter dictum* requires careful verification before acceptance. Subject to this caution, it may be recommended to European readers as containing a considerable body of information on a little known subject.

B. 41. J. A. STEWART.

L'ÉVOLUTION DU STŪPA EN ASIE. LES SYMBOLISMES DU STŪPA. By GISBERT COMBAZ. Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques publiés par l'Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises. Vol. IV. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 125, figs. 49. Bruges: Imprimerie Sainte Catherine, 1937.

In two previous writings [1] Monsieur Combaz has given an excellent account of the architectural development of that

[1] Reviewed *JRAS*. 1937, pp. 322 ff.

most typical of Buddhist monuments, the Stūpa, first in India and then in all countries where Buddhism has penetrated. In the present volume the author deals with the symbolism underlying—or should we say: attached to?—the *stūpa* as a whole, its constituent parts, and the various *motifs* employed in its decoration. The principle by which the author is guided in his investigation is summed up in the following sentence (p. 6): "Il n'en demeure pas moins certain que le symbolisme fut à la base de toute représentation graphique dans l'Asie tout entière, qui ne connut point comme l'Occident le concept de l'art pour l'art, de l'ornement sans signification, rien que pour sa beauté."

While reading this absolute pronouncement, we are reminded of the illumining pages devoted by an eminent French author, Émile Mâle, to the question of symbolism with regard to the Gothic Art of France. While admitting the prevalence of symbolic representation in this art, that distinguished writer warns against an exaggeration which sees symbolism everywhere.

The remarks which he makes on this subject[1] apply, in our opinion, also to Indian art, which in its spirit is so closely akin to the medieval art of the West. It seems to us a fundamental mistake to see in the Eastern artist a being exclusively moved by "spiritual" motives and insensible, as it were, to the beauty of the forms of the *jīvaloka*—the world of the living. In present-day India the visitor is struck by that exuberant love of decoration which is one of the most obvious characteristics of the Indian people. May not we assume that the master-builders and masons of ancient India were largely prompted by that same passion of beautifying?

The assumption of absolute symbolism is bound to lead to strange conclusions. As a signal example let us take the basement of the Barabudur of Java, which was found to encase a square basement of smaller dimensions, the latter

[1] Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, Paris, 1910, p. 65.

being decorated with a series of panels which had been left unfinished. The obvious *raison d'être* of this encasement, as was at once assumed by its discoverer, the Dutch engineer, Dr. IJzerman, was that the gigantic pile, while still in progress, showed signs of subsiding and that, in order to prevent a catastrophe, it was decided to enlarge the lowermost terrace, although this implied the sacrifice of the sculptural decoration of the original basement. This simple explanation, however, has not satisfied some scholars like Monsieur Mus, who, in his exhaustive study of the Barabudur, propounds the view that the extension of the basement was a premeditated affair and that the reliefs were thus concealed from view purposely " parce que faisant partie du microcosme que les initiés se réservent comme *yantra* à l'abri de tous les regards ". Monsieur Combaz, while adopting the thesis advanced by the French savant with so great learning, observes (p. 81) "Le blocage et les bas-reliefs ont pour but de placer sous les pieds des saints qui commencent leur ascension spirituelle, le monde qu'ils viennent de quitter, et le texte illustré par ces bas-reliefs n'est autre que le *Karmavibhanga,* la Classification des actes ; ils représentent les tourments du Monde des Désirs."

In this connection it is of some interest to observe that a similar case was noticed by Mr. Henry Cousens, while excavating a Buddhist *stūpa* at Mīrpur-khās in Sind, but there the basement was decorated with seated Buddha-figures in niches.[1] It seems hard to account for the concealment of these figures from motives of symbolic edification.

It is clear that symbolic interpretations like the one quoted above can neither be proved nor disproved. This Monsieur Combaz is the first to admit. He wisely remarks that we cannot possibly know the secret intention of the man who built the first *stūpa* nor of the artisan who initiated such and such a mode of decoration. Literary explanations based on symbolism are rare, and occur in late texts. In fact, they give

[1] *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1909–1910, p. 82.

the impression of being afterthoughts. It mainly depends on the modern archæologist's mental inclination whether he discerns symbolism and on his ingenuity, whether his symbolical interpretation will be more or less acceptable. Some such explanations advanced nowadays would perhaps have startled the original architect and sculptor.

But although a modern archæologist, too, may have his doubts with regard to some of the examples of *stūpa* symbolism quoted in the treatise of Monsieur Combaz, the author has done a useful work in collecting, arranging, and summarizing all that has been written on the subject. His work is, moreover, profusely illustrated by means of a large number of text-illustrations reproduced from drawings. These reproductions, it is true, do not always render justice to the æsthetic value of the objects represented, but they answer the purpose of the book.

Before concluding this review, we may offer a few notes and queries made in the course of its perusal. We hope that both the author and the readers of this *Journal* will accept them as an appreciative contribution to his work.

The author is of opinion (p. 2) that the occurrence of the *harmikā* on the top of the dome is difficult to explain from an architectural point of view But see Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Sanchi*, 2nd ed., p. 35.

As regards the date of erection of the Great Stūpa of Sanchi in its original form, there is good reason to assume that it was due to Aśoka (p. 17 ; cf. Marshall, op. cit., p. 33).

The author states that from the fourth to the eighth century the most important changes in the form of the *stūpa* took place ; foremost among those changes he mentions the adoption of a rectangular (sometimes polygonal) ground-plan for the base of the dome (p. 22). It will be remembered that the Great Stūpa of Kaniṣka at Peshawar, excavated by Dr. Spooner, was raised on a square substructure ; but it is, of course, uncertain whether this represents the original condition of that famous monument.

In one of the smaller *stūpas* of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Mr. Longhurst found "a few bones" of an ox and a deer (p. 27). These bones, however, were not enshrined in a relic-casket, and their occurrence may well have been merely accidental. The author's observation regarding the incompetence of the "inventeurs" to distinguish human from animal bones seems justified, and should make us wary of drawing far-reaching conclusions from the finding of these "relics".

The author (p. 38) follows Monsieur Mus in assuming a close connection between the dome (*aṇḍa*, lit. "egg") of the *stūpa* and the world conceived as the Brahmāṇḍa. But is it not somewhat dangerous to explain certain features of Buddhist architecture from conceptions met with in the Purānas? Both, no doubt, are products of the Indian mind, but the Indian mind in the course of the ages exhibits a great deal of diversity. Still greater is the danger if the Brāhmanas are adduced as witnesses.

Stūpas erected in honour of a king, as far as we know, have not been discovered (p. 70); but it is noteworthy that the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (ed. Childers, p. 52) mentions the *rājā cakkavatti* among the four categories of persons who are considered worthy of a *thūpa*.

Among the Buddhist sculptures of Mathurā, as far as we remember, no example of Gaja-Lakṣmī is found (p. 96), but a few years ago explorations at Kosam, the ancient Kauśāmbī, have produced a fragmentary *toraṇa*-beam in Mathurā style which in its centre shows the well-known device of Lakṣmī standing between two miniature elephants. It is curious that this group is flanked by an elephant of larger size and by a bull.[1]

The *stūpa* worshipped by elephants (p. 108) is rather legendary than symbolical.

Mr. Longhurst's interpretation of the reliefs on an *uṣṇīṣa*-slab from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is ingenious but conjectural (p. 107).

[1] *Ann Bibl I.A.*, ix, plate iid.

Monsieur Combaz's book is remarkably free from misprints. Only a few occur in Indian names, such as *Kaṇṭaka cetya* (p. 31 ; read *cetiya*), *Kaṇḍinya* (p. 85 ; read *Kauṇḍinya*), and *Sarvasattvapriyadaiśana* (p. 85 ; read ° *darśana*).

B. 61. J. PH. VOGEL.

Cuneiform

GRAMMAIRE ACCADIENNE. By G. RYCKMANS. Bibliothèque du Muséon, 6. 11 × 7¼, pp. xvi + 110 + 27. Louvain : Bureaux du Muséon, 1938. Belgas 18.

ÉLÉMENTS D'ACCADIEN (ASSYRIEN-BABYLONIEN) (NOTIONS DE GRAMMAIRE). By M. RUTTEN. 10 × 6½, pp. 99. Paris : Lib. d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1937.

The chance which has caused these two works to appear almost simultaneously, and thus enabled them to be reviewed together, has not been so unlucky as to produce, as might be feared, two books covering the same ground. Both, indeed, are explicitly addressed "aux débutants", but Father Ryckmans justifiably anticipates a wider usefulness for his grammar, while the purpose of Mlle. Rutten is to provide a manual of practical use to learners beginning the study of Assyrian inscriptions, similar to certain others already in existence, the best of which is still, it may be held, L. W. King's *First Steps in Assyrian*, despite its surprising absence from Father Ryckmans' "Bibliographie à l'usage des débutants". However, it is but fair to add that Mlle. Rutten's work, though complete in itself, really covers only one part of such a book as King's, and is designed to be followed by "un syllabaire et un choix de textes avec glossaire".

Father Ryckmans is so distinguished in a very different branch of Semitic studies that it is almost as much a surprise as a pleasure to find him the author of an Akkadian grammar. The undertaking is not one which has lately attracted specialists in the "cuneiform" languages ; in a recent survey

of Mesopotamian studies, it has been asserted that a historical grammar of the Akkadian language is " a most urgent need at the present time ". Explanation of this possibly lies in the word " historical ", for the specialists (and, of course, Father Ryckmans too) are aware how far this desideratum would lead them. He therefore disclaims any intention of dealing with this development of his subject or with comparative grammar, though neither can in practice be completely avoided, in view of the many centuries through which the Akkadian speech lived and can still be followed, and the necessity of taking into account at least the two principal dialects, Babylonian and Assyrian. Subject to these conscious restrictions, the author has produced an excellently clear and practical account of what is most securely ascertained, though the very directness of his statement is occasionally a danger when he applies it, for example, to such a topic as accentuation, that is, when he forgets for a moment the limitations that he has accepted. Two excellent features are the frequency of tabular summaries and the use of direct ocular (as it were) designations for the forms of the root, such as *iptaras* or *uptanarras* instead of the i, 2 or ii, 3 and the like, so teasing and difficult to embody. The paradigms at the end of the book are particularly comprehensive and most useful.

The few following observations may be added without attempting discussion of subjects not within the scope of the book: § 6, writing from left to right—not actually until the later period; this would have been worth a brief remark. § 7, *AN*, in Sumerian *an*, in Akkadian *šamû* and *ilu*, a rather misleading statement. In the following section, that determinatives " ne s'énoncent pas " is too absolute; is the writing *AN*[iu] for *ilu* found ? § 13, the principal feature of the numeration, the use of the sexagesimal system, might at least have been mentioned. § 18, under " Spirantes " the sub-headings " sourdes " and " sonores " should change places. § 239, this account of the " energic " form is too summary, and the same might be said of §§ 253 ff. on the meaning of the

verbal themes. But this is a rather melancholy subject in all Akkadian grammars, which do not seem willing enough to admit that the usage may often depend upon idiom, not necessarily accountable. § 303, *attadi karâši*, "je levai (?) mon camp." § 367, read *abiktašun* for *abitašun*, but *abiktu* is not the proper rendering of this ideogram. In the following section *amLuli* is, of course, a mistake; this incorrect equivalent of the vertical wedge appears elsewhere in the neighbouring sections.

Mlle. Rutten's *Éléments* is an unpretentious, but in general adequate, aid to the beginner in Assyrian. It is reproduced from typescript, which generally comes out clearly, or, in the passages involving cuneiform, from manuscript, which is sometimes less successful. A short sketch of the essentials of the grammar is interspersed with examples and exercises in which cuneiform is used, accompanied by transcription and translation, but in the longer exercises at the end these latter are separated from the cuneiform text. In this occasional use of cuneiform is revealed the greatest disadvantage of the book, namely, that it provides no means of learning the cuneiform signs, which seems indispensable in any primer, for everybody knows that this is by far the hardest part of the beginner's task; and without this the examples given in cuneiform can hardly be more than a source of puzzlement to the reader. It is true, as already noticed, that the author contemplates following this book with "un syllabaire et un choix de textes", but it must seem that either these parts should have appeared together, or cuneiform should have been excluded from the *Éléments* entirely.

B. 101, 108 C. J. Gadd.

Islam

JAḤJA B. AL-ḤUSAIN B. AL-MU'AYYAD AL-JAMANĪ'S ANBĀ' AL-ZAMAN FI AḪBĀR AL-JAMAN: Anfänge des Zaiditentums in Jemen. Textkritische Teilausgabe u.s.w. von MOHAMED MADI. (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients, IX.) 10 × 7, pp. 32 + 80. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1936.

In Lane Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties* there is a list of the Rassid Imāms, which is, he admits, confused with uncertain dates. Fresh information about the second, third, and fourth in his list is furnished by the text edited by Mr. Madi, extracted from a very late work, whose author died A.H. 1110, but containing materials drawn from earlier sources, some of which are unpublished and others inaccessible. The period covered by the extract is from A.H. 280 to 322; it is filled with petty wars, in which the Imāms al-Hādī and al-Nāṣir distinguish themselves, and adds very considerably to our knowledge of the conquests effected and the ravages wrought by the Qarmatians, who for a time established themselves in Yaman. It is very rich in local names, which the editor has in most cases been able to elucidate from Hamdānī, Yāqūt, and other authorities, but some would seem to be otherwise unknown. He has also given valuable notes on the tribes and personages mentioned in the narrative. His Introduction deals with the historiography of Yaman and the reasons for selecting this text for publication, and is followed by a specimen translation in German with commentary.

In Hamdānī's geography there are letters to and about the 'Abbāsid governors of Yaman in the second century of the Hijrah; it would seem that during the unrest beginning with the murder of Mutawakkil in the third century the central government lost control of this distant province, where independent dynasties arose. Mr. Madi with justice is astonished at the ignorance which even Ṭabarī displays about the region.

A. 866. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

A MONOGRAPH ON MOSLEM CALLIGRAPHY. By M. ZIAUDDIN. Visva-Bharati Studies, No. 7. 9¾ × 6½, pp. 2 + 72, ills. 163. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 1936. Rs. 4.

The author's aim has been to give "the readers of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* a general idea of the characters and history of Moslem calligraphy". Even so the work can scarcely be said to have succeeded in its object. To write on such a subject, which "had not so far been treated with the comprehensiveness . . . required", without the necessary background and before a thorough study of the available material was made, was in our opinion a mistake. Some ugly specimens and styles (mostly borrowed from Huart[1]) reproduced on pp. 51, 60, 63–9, 70, and 71, show a certain insufficiency of insight into the æsthetic side of Islamic calligraphy. Of the errors I have noted, I mention the following: the attribution of the lines in fig. 24 and fig. 26 to the Qur'ān; taking the letters L.A.M. to represent the confession of Islām (p. 11); calling fig. 33 a "3rd century Koran" (p. 17); attributing "the golden inscription on the Prophet's Mosque" to Khālid (p. 18); connecting Khalīl ibn Aḥmad and "Ali bin Kusai" [?] with the development of the Kufic script (p. 19); words such as Al-Jalı, Sijjalat, Salası, Salasın, Shafa, Bayasanghar, etc.; calling "Estrangelo script" one of the Kufic styles; the assumption that "Haram was the style used in letters addressed to ladies" (p. 19); reading 109 miles instead of 209 on fig. 32.

Again, Yāqūt Musta'ṣimī's refusal of "two hundred million *misqals* of gold" (which would amount to several hundred tons) in return for a copy of the Shifā of Avicenna (p. 39), and the extraordinary number of the inhabitants of Baghdād (p. 76) can only be regarded as fables.

The most common and accessible works in English seem

[1] In passing it may be observed that Huart's statements in his work, *Les Calligraphes, etc.*, should not be taken seriously unless they are supported by reliable sources.

to have been utilized largely in the preparation of this book.

The book is nicely produced and the numerous illustrations are, for the most part, well chosen.

B. 144. MOJTABA MINOVI.

ǦĀMI' AL-ḤAQĀ'IQ BI-TAǦRĪD AL-'ALĀ'IQ. Origen y Texto por M. J. CASAS Y MANRIQUE. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 58 + 22. Upsala · Almquist and Wiksell, Impresores, 1937.

This work is an edition of a Sūfī manual existing in a unique MS of the Upsala University Library, attributed in a heading to the famous Ghazālī, but shown by the editor to be later by some centuries, and regarded by him as an abridgment of a treatise *Tuhfat al-Safarah*, translated by Asin Palacios in *El Islam cristianizado* (Madrid, 1931) as a work of Ibn 'Arabī, but to be assigned to one Bistāmī near A.H. 700. It is largely made up of extracts copied verbatim from Suhrawardī's *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, and others which might be a literal translation of a Persian treatise *Mirṣād al-'Ibād* of one Dayah. These are printed in parallel columns with the text as its "sources". In a learned Introduction the editor furnishes evidence for the results at which he has arrived.

The abridgment is at times somewhat drastic. In Rinn's *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 301, a table is given taken from some Khalwatī work, wherein a particular colour is assigned to a particular type of soul. As might be expected, the types or stages are seven . the second is the *Lawwāmah* with colour yellow. In the extract from the *Mirṣād*, p. 37, the colour of the *Lawwāmah* is given as blue, but the stages to which red, green, yellow, and white belong are mentioned. The Arabic mentions the colours blue, green, one like smoke, and white, but only locates the green. If the Spanish translation of the *Tuhfah* is literal, it only mentions blue and green, but locates neither. Hence there is a possibility that that work and the *Ǧāmi' al-Ḥaqā'iq* are independent copies of some other ; and

since the *Lawwāmah* is unlikely to have been assigned a colour without the other souls being provided with the like, the *Mirṣād* is probably an abridgment of some older work.

This edition appears to be a thesis for the D.Phil. degree, well earned by conscientious research and accurate scholarship. In the Arabic text I have only noticed one misprint, p. 31a, 6a f., يطب for يطلب.

B. 158. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

DAS BILD DES FRUHISLAM IN DER ARABISCHEN DICHTUNG VON DER HIGRA BIS ZUM TODE DES KALIFEN ʻUMAR 1–23 D.H. UND 622–644 N.CH. Von OMAR Z. FARRUKH, B.A. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xv + 142. Leipzig: Druck der August Pries GMBH. London: Luzac, 1937. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This work is an attempt at tracing the penetration of Islamic ideas into Arabic versification during the first quarter of the first century of the Hijrah. With great care and industry the author has collected from such sources as are available verses belonging to the period, located them chronologically, and tabulated the occurrences in them of Qur'anic words and ideas. As an example of the pains taken attention may be called to *Tabelle I*, wherein figures are given for the occurrence of the names and attributes of the Deity for each of eleven years, in verses emanating from Medinah or from outside Medinah respectively. Perhaps the inferences drawn are not always quite convincing; thus in proof of the proposition that the Muslims preferred the title *Rasūl* for their Prophet to *Nabī* it is shown that during the years A.H. 1 to 13 the former appears in verses at least 135 times, the latter some 110. Since in the profession of faith he is called by the former, we should have expected the numerical difference to have been much greater.

The pamphlet contains interesting studies of words, such as *dīn* and *birr*, and illustrations of both the introduction

of new sentiments derived from Islam and the occasional survival of pre-Islamic ideas. The author promises fuller treatment of some subjects in subsequent publications.

p. 64. The line فتعطلت منهم كنائس زخرفت بالشام ذات قساقس ورخام is rendered *Da sind manche Kirchen in Šām (Syrien) mit den Priestern und dem Marmorschmuck verlassen worden.*

It is evident that قساقس is a misprint in the Isabah (ii, 57, ed. Cairo) for فسافس "mosaic".

The word مجسر in the line ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, p. 62, شجاع اذا سيم الظلامة مجسر, is wanting in the dictionaries. Mr. Farrukh renders *voller Entrüstung war, wenn man ihm ein Unrecht zumutete.* Etymologically it should mean no more than "venturesome".

A. 928. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Miscellaneous

WOGULISCHE UND OSTJAKISCHE MELODIEN, phonographisch aufgenommen von ARTTURI KANNISTO und K. F. KARJALAINEN. Herausgegeben von A. O. VÄISÄNEN. (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, LXXIII.) 10 × 6½, pp. lxi + 378. Helsingfors :- Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1937.

Readers who were interested in Dr. Benedict Szabolcsi's article in this *Journal* (1935, pp. 83–98) on "The Eastern Relations of Early Hungarian Folk-music", will cordially welcome the volume under review. Dr. Szabolcsi showed how closely Hungarian folk-music resembled that of the Ugro-Finnish peoples of the north, notably that of the Voguls and Ostyaks of Siberia. Although specimens of the music of these people had already been published by Ahlqvist (*Unter Wogulen und Ostjaken*, 1892) and Patkanov (*Die*

Irtysch-Ostjaken, 1897), only twenty-nine examples were given and they were recorded by the pen, which is not always a satisfactory medium. The present volume is based on material recorded phonographically and edited scientifically.

The music, which has been collected in the Tobolsk district from the Voguls and Ostyaks residing on the banks of the Obi and Irtysh, has been transcribed from phonographic recordings made by Professor Artturi Kannisto and the late K. F. Karjalainen respectively, both of the University of Helsingfors, the whole being edited by A. O. Väisänen.

There are 150 Vogul melodies, the majority of which are vocal, although they are not accompanied by the words, only a few instrumental items for a psaltery (miscalled a " leier ") being admitted. There is little variety in the songs, for although the musical structure may be quite diverse, the general character and mood vary but little. This " sameness " is due probably to the fact that they nearly all belong to practically one class. Each example is accompanied by an explanatory note and the precise metronomic tempo.

The Ostyak specimens, which have neither the explanatory note nor the metronome mark, are more interesting musically, possibly because the selection of examples have been made from a wider cultural field. Here we have the love song, the children's song, and the maiden's song, which are denied us in the Vogul group.

This volume appears to be the first attempt to edit and publish phonographic recordings in Finland, and the collection is an extremely valuable one to workers in comparative music. The editor has classified and analysed the material very thoroughly. The volume is illustrated and is well printed.

A 989 H. G. FARMER.

ATLAS HISTORIQUE.—I. L'ANTIQUITÉ. By L. DELAPORTE, E. DRIOTON, A. PIGANIOL, and R. COHEN. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, pp. 22, pls of maps and plans 30. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1937. Frs. 36.

This handy little atlas, issued at a very moderate price, will be found useful by the general reader in following the history of the Greek, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman empires, as well as those of the Euphrates-Tigris basin and the Near East. The area dealt with extends from Spain in the west to the Indus basin in the east. The maps are mostly $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 in., and being folded with only one crease are easily handled. Steps have been taken to illustrate the results of recent archæological and historical research. Old sites which have been definitely identified have been indicated by their old names, while in the case of other sites at which research has been carried on the modern names have been given

The maps appear to have been carefully drawn on the whole. Attention may, however, be drawn to the following details. On Plate I the sites of Periāno-ghundai, Rāna-ghuṇḍai, and Mehī (not Melhi, as printed) have not been accurately marked, and Kabûl should read Kâbul. On Plates XVII, XVIII, and XIX the course of the Anamis River as drawn (resembling that shown on the map of Cellarius) is an impossible one. On the same plates there has been a tendency to place Media rather too far to the south-east and Karmania too far to the north. In the Bibliography we miss reference to the Spruner-Menke *Atlas Antiquus*, or to Dr. Smith's *Atlas of Ancient Geography* (1874), in the preparation of which he was assisted by C. Müller, G. Grove, and H. Yule.

B. 77.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE VOYAGES OF CADAMOSTO and other documents on Western Africa in the second half of the fifteenth century. Translated and edited by G. R. CRONE. 9 × 6, pp. xlv + 159, maps 3. London: Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. LXXX, 1937.

The interest and importance of the details given by the Venetian traveller Alvise da Cà da Mosto in the account of his two voyages made in 1455 and 1456 along the coast of North-West Africa as far as the estuary of the " Rio Grande " (River Jeba) have always been recognized, but opinions have differed as to his reliability. His narrative was first printed in the *Paesi novamente retrovati* published at Vicenza in 1507, of which Latin, German, and French translations were made. Ramusio printed a version in Vol. I of his *Navigazioni* (1550), but neither Hakluyt nor Purchas included Cadamosto's travels in their collections. The first English translation, abridged from Ramusio, appeared in Astley's *Voyages* (1745). R. H. Major gave a summary of Cadamosto's account in his *Life of Prince Henry of Portugal* (1868), but impugned his accuracy No complete and annotated edition has hitherto appeared in English. Mr Crone, with the co-operation of Mr E. W. Bovill, has now supplied this want in a very competent manner. The translation has been made from the *Paesi* text, emended where necessary from an early manuscript recently acquired by the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, and checked with Ramusio's version. In addition to Cadamosto's relation, translations have been appended of (1) a letter written in 1447 from the Tuat oases by Antoine Malfante, (2) the account of the voyages of Diogo Gomes, and (3) relevant chapters from the second and third books, Decada I, of the *Asia* of de Barros.

Mr. Crone's researches, it is pleasing to note, have satisfied him of the general trustworthiness of Cadamosto's narrative, and in particular of the validity of his claim to have discovered the Cape Verde Islands in 1456.

B. 134 C E. A. W. OLDHAM.

Die Palastina-Literatur: eine internationale Bibliographie in systematischer ordnung mit autoren und sachregister. Ed. by Peter Thomsen. Band V: die literatur der Jahre 1925–1934, lief. 2. 9½ × 6½, pp. 225–464. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1937. M. 15.

The general plan of this indispensable book of reference is already well known to all students of any branch of knowledge relating to Palestine Professor Thomsen and his fellow workers have now completed the second part of the fifth volume, bringing the bibliography down to 1934. It would be difficult to over-estimate the value of this vast task, which has provided a veritable "Guide to the Perplexed" for the researcher who wishes to know what has been written on his own field of study in relation to Palestine.

Only the specialist will be in a position to make his plaint that some recondite article in some little known periodical has escaped the encyclopædic net of the editor, but the present reviewer, being also an editor, and concerned with the yearly output of new material relating to the special field of Palestinian archæology, has been hitherto unable to raise a pæan over any discoverable omission.

From the nature of the work this is a task which can never be ended, save with the destruction of the civilization of which it is such a notable product. No doubt provision will be made for the carrying on of the record from generation to generation. Such a work can hardly be reviewed, in the usual sense of the term, and all that the reviewer can do is to express his admiration of the completeness with which the original conception is being carried out, and his gratitude to Professor Thomsen and his associates for such an immense service rendered to the world of scholarship

A. 890. S. H. Hooke.

LEXIQUE DE LA LANGUE PHILOSOPHIQUE D'IBN SĪNĀ (AVICENNE). By A.-M. GOICHON. 10 × 8¾, pp. xiv + 496. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1939. Frs. 160.

LA DISTINCTION DE L'ESSENCE ET DE L'EXISTENCE D'APRÈS IBN SĪNĀ (AVICENNE). By A.-M. GOICHON. 10 × 6½, pp. xiv + 596. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1937. Frs. 120.

Mlle. Goichon, by these two works of extraordinary erudition, has made contributions of permanent value to the study of Muslim philosophy and Christian scholasticism. In the first she has provided a lexicon of the philosophical terms used by Avicenna. She has collected some 2,500 examples of the use of nearly 800 words, and has explained them in their context, at the same time giving a reference to the medieval Latin translations, so that with the aid of the index to these latter the modern student of scholastic philosophy who knows no Arabic will be able to see at a glance exactly what Avicenna wrote. This work provides not only an Arabic-French Dictionary of Avicenna, but also a Latin-Arabic and French-Arabic concordance of Avicenna's philosophical terms, so that it can be used all the world over.

It is only by the enormous labour which such a work as this entails that the formidable task of tracing the course of Arabic philosophy can be carried through successfully, and Mlle. Goichon has earned the gratitude of all students in this difficult field of research by placing the results of her reading at their disposal. A forthcoming supplement which will give the Greek equivalents from the text of Aristotle will still further enhance the value of this great work.

I cannot claim to have read the whole of the dictionary, but it has thrown valuable light on obscure phrases and words wherever I have consulted it. In one passage (cited on p. 81, No. 169, and in part again on p. 393, No. 694) I venture to differ from the learned author, who writes :—

"*Les âmes commencent d'être lorsque commence une matière corporelle propre à être employée par elles . . . ce* corps *mérite* des Principes premiers leur commencement."

And on p. 393 :—

"Dans la substance de l'âme commençant d'être avec un corps quelconque, ce corps qui a mérité des principes premiers son commencement par une disposition, il y a une tendance, une inclination naturelle à s'occuper de ce corps."

I should prefer to render: "Souls (*Najât*, 'the soul') come into being whenever[1] (*Shifā'*, 'just as') corporeal matter proper to their use comes into being . . . and there in the substance of the originated soul along with a certain body (that body having merited their origin from the First Principles) a tendency, a natural inclination to employ that body." The confusion doubtless has arisen from the division of the one passage into two parts. It would have been helpful if references to the *Shifā'* had contained a mention of the line from which the quotation is drawn. The *Shifā'* is a big book with pages of thirty closely written lines, and it is not always easy to pick up the reference required.

In the second book Mlle Goichon discusses the fundamental problem in Avicenna—the nature of essence and existence. Like the book just mentioned this, too, will interest the Arabist and the Scholastic alike, for it deals exhaustively with the nuances of the words used by Avicenna of being, essence, quiddity, etc., and enters profoundly into the thought of the Arabic writer. The chapters on the instrusion of Neo-Platonism into the Aristotelian system will be read with deep interest, and the author's explanation of the reason why Avicenna was able to reconcile two incompatibles in his philosophy, together with her criticism of his synthesis, constitute a contribution of first importance to the study of Scholasticism.

R. 43, 44. ALFRED GUILLAUME.

[1] Avicenna's point is best brought out in the reading given by the *Shifā'*.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the follo
volumes :—

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OBITUARY NOTICES

Lord Chalmers

The Right Honourable Baron Chalmers, of Northiam, who during the three years 1922–5 was President of the Society, expired at his residence in Oxford (14 Crick Road) on 17th November of last year. On 21st November there was a funeral service in the chapel of Oriel College, whereof he had been from 1918 an Honorary Fellow: a memorial service in Westminster Abbey, on 24th November, was attended by numerous public persons (including a representative of the Prime Minister) and old colleagues and associates and private friends A well-informed and judicious obituary notice in *The Times* of 18th November was followed next day by a communication reviewing Lord Chalmers' Governorship of Ceylon, and on 26th November by two others describing his philanthropic work under the late Canon Barnett during a period of residence in St. Jude's, Whitechapel, and his conduct of business in the Treasury. In the *Cambridge Review*, of 2nd December, appeared a fuller memoir, specially informative in regard to the years 1924–1931, when Lord Chalmers was Master of Peterhouse.

Robert Chalmers was born in 1858 (18th August), only son of John Chalmers and his wife Julia, *née* Mackay. At an early age he was admitted, as a scholar, into the City of London School, whence after coming under the direct influence of a famous head master, Edwin Abbott, a rare stimulator of thought among pupils, he proceeded, in 1877, to Oxford as a Classical Scholar of Oriel. Having taken a First in Mods., he turned to science and was placed in the Second Class in the Biology group. After an interval of residence in Edinburgh he entered the Treasury, in 1882, as a First Division Clerk, having headed the list of successful candidates in the then recently instituted competitive examination. His remarkably successful career in the Treasury, where in 1903 he became

Assistant Under-Secretary and in 1911 Permanent Under-Secretary (and so virtual head of the Civil Service), was interrupted by four years, 1907–1911, of Chairmanship in the Board of Inland Revenue, by a period of two years, 1913–15, spent in the post of Governor of Ceylon and, in 1916, by an uncomfortable six months' experience of administration in Ireland, where he had been induced, by Mr. Asquith, to serve as Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. Having returned, in 1916, to the Treasury as Joint Permanent Under-Secretary, he was concerned in the gigantic finance of the War years. Upon his retirement in 1919 he was raised to the peerage, associating in his title the ancient Sussex town of Northiam, wherewith he had connection.

Lord Chalmers' qualities as an official, comprising certainly a great judiciousness and a settled policy in dealing with colleagues, do not greatly concern the Society, which is interested mainly in other sides of his activity. Naturally he rendered loyal service to successive ministers, of whom the most congenial was, it seems, Mr. Stanley (now Lord) Baldwin, with whom he shared a genuine taste for literature, maintained amid engrossing practical affairs. A touch of negativity in his nature, combined with deep reticence and occasional flashes of mordant wit, may have demanded circumspection on the part of mature colleagues and other Departments. But one of the above-mentioned communications to *The Times* attests the encouragement afforded to subordinates by confidence placed in them.

To Pali literature Chalmers was attracted during his early years in London by the enthusiasm of the late Professor Rhys Davids, then occupying rooms in the Temple. He became a member of the Pali Text Society, subsequently a donor both to the Society and to its projected *Pali Dictionary*. From Rhys Davids he took over the task of translating the *Jātaka* book: he joined the company of scholars formed by the late Professor E. B. Cowell, with the object of accomplishing the translation, whereof the first volume, published

in 1895 and dedicated to Rhys Davids, was Chalmers' work. The plan of the publication did not contemplate extensive commentary: Chalmers' rendering, with its attention to literary English, was appreciated by Cowell on account of its spirited vigour. From 1896 to 1902 Chalmers was engaged upon an edition, commenced by Trenckner, of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, an extensive main text of the Pali Canon; after which he set to work upon the translation ultimately published in two volumes, issued in 1926 and 1927. Progress was retarded by the growing demands of official life; and certainly after 1911 the head of the Treasury found it impossible to spare even post-midnight hours. But his literary instincts found some satisfaction in attending occasional meetings of a few friends interested in Indian thought. During the two years passed in Ceylon the Governor delighted to make speeches to Buddhist communities in Pali: and he endowed a Singhalese publication of an important Pali commentary on the *Majjhima-Nikāya*.

With his retirement from the Civil Service Lord Chalmers entered upon a period of different activities, marked by recognitions not less distinguished, in their way, than those of his official life. Only in one of them, namely his membership (1924) of the Universities Commission under Lord Asquith and of the Committee subsequently appointed to carry out its recommendations, do we find a quasi-official character. After the death of Lord Reay in 1921 and a temporary succession of Sir Richard Temple, who was in infirm health, he accepted a nomination to the office of President of our Society, and at the Anniversary Meeting in May, 1922, was in due course elected. From the first he gave serious attention to the Society's affairs—he himself opened the Session 1922–3 with a lecture on "Some Buddhist Nuns and Others"; and it fell to him to direct the arrangements for the celebration, in July, 1923, of its centenary and to preside at the inauguration ceremony and at the banquet. The celebration was a brilliant affair, marked by the attendance of notable

foreign and other delegations presenting addresses and of many other distinguished visitors. Through Lord Chalmers' intervention the inauguration was honoured by the presence of the then Prince of Wales, one of the Society's Patrons, and of the Prime Minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin; and a select number of visitors and of the Society's official personnel had the further honour of a private presentation to His Majesty, while one or two proceeded to Oxford for admission to Honorary Degrees. Towards the expenses of the celebration, borne in part by subscriptions from members of the Council, Lord Chalmers made a liberal contribution, supplemented later by a considerable donation to meet the unexpectedly high cost of the *Centenary Supplement*. During the period of the ceremonies he was in deep anxiety on account of Lady Chalmers, who was in a nursing home, where not long afterwards she expired. No public troubles agitated the Society during the remainder of Lord Chalmers' tenure of office: he regularly presided at the meetings of the Council and at the public lectures, and in 1924–5 he gave close attention to the business of selecting a new Assistant Secretary. In the summer of 1924 he accepted the Mastership of Peterhouse, in Cambridge, and that appointment, together with the rule concerning the tenure of the Presidency, entailed his retirement in May, 1925, on which occasion he was elected an Honorary Vice-President.

For an intimate appreciation of Lord Chalmers' seven years at Peterhouse we may refer to the above noted article in the *Cambridge Review*. His connection with the College had begun, quite characteristically, with his taking up the membership of his son, a prospective barrister, who in 1915, during the same month as his sole brother, was killed in France. A summer's residence in Cambridge during 1920 had made him personally known to the College; and his counsel in connection with matters of property and finance was expected to be, as in fact it proved to be, of great value. His headship seems to have been of a firm character. He

delighted also in the improvement of his Lodge, in the extension of the College by a new court, and in a liberal hospitality, which brought scholars and notable friends from outside: not less in acts of encouragement and generous, mostly indirect and sometimes secret, benevolence to students, who did not find him really formidable. In University affairs generally he took no active part: not infrequently he was seen at the High Tables of other Colleges. He was interested in his fellow Indianists and also anxious to encourage research, particularly in studies relating to the ancient civilizations of Mesopotamia.

In 1924 he became a Trustee of the British Museum, and in 1927 he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy, which during the years 1930–31 he served also as Treasurer. For the Fifteenth International Congress of Orientalists, a record gathering which took place at Oxford in 1928, the local committee was so fortunate as to secure him as President; and before and during the Session he took up residence in Oriel College, presiding over the committee meetings and public functions; he also gave advice in the subsequent prolonged business of winding-up.

Retiring from his Mastership, under the age limit, in 1931, Lord Chalmers rusticated for a time near Melton Mowbray. In 1935 he made a second marriage and with his new wife, widow of Professor R Latta and elder daughter of the late Sir John Biles—a lady whom he had known during thirty years—settled in Oxford. There he could meet old friends, Orientalists and others, and occasionally, as an Honorary Fellow (from 1918) of Oriel, join the company there. He had given up all Oriental reading, but took a serious interest in elections of Orientalist Fellows of the British Academy. Occasionally he attended meetings of the House of Lords or State ceremonies, such as the last Coronation.

As has been mentioned, the translation of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* was resumed, completed and published in 1926 and 1927, during the Cambridge period. To the same period

belongs Lord Chalmers' last work of scholarship, a translation of the *Sutta-Nipāta*, published in 1932 as the 37th volume of the Harvard Oriental Series. This work, which by its unliteral rendering of a canonical text evoked some protests from professional students of Buddhism, may be considered the most characteristic and felicitous of his writings. His literary propensities had been manifested in his *Jātaka* volume: in dealing with the *Majjhima-Nikāya* he had sought out good English equivalents ("almsman", "canker", and so forth) for technical terms of Buddhism, which students are apt, from fear of inaccuracy, to reproduce untranslated; and he had, like others, cut short those remorseless repetitions which are so burdensome to readers of Buddhist texts and often outran the patience even of the scribes. In the *Sutta-Nipāta* he was dealing with a very ancient compilation of verse, largely of ethical content and nowhere failing in human or religious interest. The texts were not composed originally for scholars or dogmatists; and in a highly skilful, terse and reliable verse rendering by a sound scholar, a very shrewd judge of human nature and a lover of good English, they may be taken to heart by serious students of literature and religion who are not specially interested in critical scholarship. The work may therefore come into a wider acceptance, and some of its verses be quoted with pleasure.

In the summer of 1938, and specially in the course of a visit to the south coast, including Northiam, Lord Chalmers, now concluding his 80th year, began to experience a weakness which indisposed him for making engagements. After returning to Oxford he became bedridden and endured discomfort which he studiously concealed, his intellect losing nothing of its keenness. His demise took place on 17th November.

As is evident from the remarkable distinction of his career, Lord Chalmers was a very able man of the world, a personality of great discretion and reserve, whose general judgments and principles, and also his estimates of individuals, required to be inferred. But he could be emphatic in his recommendation,

and solid in his support, of those who had his approval: he would never have given support where he did not find worth. The social work of his early life and his subsequent liberalities to institutions and students were associated with an essential manliness, and his great shrewdness was accompanied by modesty as well as by a strong sense of the becoming. His appreciation of culinary art, of good wine and furniture approvable in style and period, was of the order of a discreet gentlemanly accomplishment.

Among the titles of honour bestowed upon him that which he treasured highest was the G.C.B (1916): the C.B. came in 1900 and the K.C.B. in 1908. His Honorary Degrees were the LL.D. of Glasgow (1913), the D.Lit. of Oxford (1923), the LL.D. of Cambridge (1924), and the LL.D. of St. Andrews (1930). He was also an Irish Privy Councillor (1916).

Beside his widow he has left a daughter, widow of the late Sir Malcolm Stevenson, who served under him in Ceylon and subsequently was Governor of Cyprus. Through that daughter he has grandchildren, but, in consequence of the loss of his two sons in the War he leaves no heir to his Barony. His first wife (1888–1923) was Maud Mary, daughter of the late Mr. John George Pigott.

March, 1939. F. W. THOMAS.

The Maharaja of Baroda

Many of the Society's members will have learned with much regret of the death of the Gaekwar of Baroda, an outstanding figure in Indian public life, who for sixty-three years had ruled with vigour and imagination the destinies of the Baroda State. This Journal is not the place to review the results of his broadminded statesmanship and his solicitude for the welfare and education of his subjects; but it is with a deep sense of obligation that one desires to record how greatly he had earned the gratitude of scholars by his support of works on Indian history, ethnology, philosophy, etc.,

being always ready to provide funds for the issue of vernacular translations of such works. It is to his scholarly interests that we owe the publication of the valuable *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, in which a large number of critical editions of unprinted and original works of Oriental literature have been edited by competent scholars, and it is owing to his generous sponsorship that the *Greater India Research Association*, with which this Society is connected, has already achieved important results. Sayaji Rao Gaekwar had been a member of our Society for nearly fifty years and in him we have lost a wise and sympathetic supporter of the objects for which the Society stands

35. E. D. MACLAGAN.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Attention is drawn to Rule 97, concerning the borrowing of books from the Library for the purposes other than review : " In no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months." Members desiring the use of books for a longer period must return them to the Librarian for examination at the expiration of that time with a suitable request. Should the book not be required it will be returned to the holder.

The quarterly numbers of the *Journal* are forwarded to subscribers about 11th January, April, July, and October respectively. Should a volume not be received within a reasonable time after the prescribed date, notification should be sent to the Secretary as early as possible, but, at any rate, by the end of the quarter concerned. Should such notice not be received by the Secretary within six months of the first day of the quarter for which the volume has been issued, the onus cannot be admitted, and the volume cannot be replaced free of charge.

In accordance with Rule 93, the Library will be closed for cleaning and repairs throughout the month of August.

On account of the summer holidays it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September.

Authors of articles in the *Journal* who desire more than the twenty off-prints which are supplied gratis, are requested to apply to the Secretary before publication. The cost of the extra copies varies in accordance with the length of the article and the number of plates.

The Richard Burton Memorial

The Eckenstein Collection

By the generosity of Mr. Lewis C. Loyd, the donor, and Mr. Norman M. Penzer, the originator of the Royal Asiatic Society's Memorial to the late Sir Richard Burton, who was for years a member of that Society, the Eckenstein Collection of Burton's works has been presented to the Society where it is suitably housed as a bequest unit.

The late Mr. Oscar Eckenstein devoted many years to the formation of this collection of the works of Sir Richard Burton, the famous explorer. So far as can be traced it contains a copy of every edition of all the author's books and also a large number of pamphlets and articles contributed to periodicals ; these latter have, in every case, been extracted from the number of the periodical in which they appeared, and have been bound separately. Although these pamphlets and extracts amount to over a hundred items they cannot claim to be exhaustive. At one time or another, Burton contributed to so many periodicals on so many different subjects, that the formation of a complete collection is probably impossible, but, in the present case, little of importance or interest will be found to be absent.

The collection also contains copies of the books written by Lady Burton, in some of which Burton's hand can be traced, as well as the various biographies of Burton. It may be added that there is a copy of "A Complete System of Bayonet Exercise", probably one of the rarest of all Burton's books, and a pamphlet on Lord Beaconsfield of even greater rarity : of the latter, the only other copies known, to the number of three, are in public libraries.

Notices

Tweedie Exploration Fellowship in Archæology and Anthropology

About £200 per annum, for two years with a possible extension, for archæological, ethnological, sociological, or

linguistic exploration and research in the less-known regions of Asia and Northern Africa. Open in June, 1939.

For further information application to be made to the Secretary to the University of Edinburgh.

Indic Studies in U.S.A.

The great Library of Congress in Washington was in November last extended by the formation of a special "Department of Indic Studies" devoted not only to the sub-continent of India but also to the neighbouring countries which have derived from India a large measure of their culture, such as Central Asia and Tibet, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, and Bali. The books classed under these several headings will cover a very extensive area—literature proper in the widest sense of the term, history and archæology, arts and sciences, anthropology, sociology, languages, and in short everything that is primarily concerned with the past and present life of these lands. For this purpose the materials already existing in the Library of Congress will be brought under survey and as far as may be necessary supplemented, while methodical endeavours will be made to establish and maintain an adequate system of bibliography, and facilities will be given to scholars both individually and collectively to make use of the new Department for research.

Forthcoming Events

Archæological Expeditions

The following Archæological Expeditions are reported to be undertaking work during the current season :—

The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

Egypt.—Epigraphic Expedition, copying inscriptions at Medinet Habu and Karnak. Dr. Harold H. Nelson.

Palestine.—Megiddo. Mr. Gordon Loud.

Iran.—Persepolis and Naksht-i-Rustum.
Collaborators: University of Pennsylvania Museum and Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

University of Pennsylvania, Museum.

Cyprus.—Kourian. Dr. B. H. Hill.
Iran.—Persepolis. Dr. Erich F. Schmidt.
Collaborator: Orental Institute of Chicago.

Princeton University.

Syria—Daphne, Seleucia: Professor W. A. Campbell.
Under the auspices of the Committee for the excavation of Antioch and its vicinity. *Collaborators*: Musées Nationaux de France, Baltimore Museum of Art, Dumbarton Oaks Museum at Washington, Fogg Art Museum, and Worcester Art Museum.

Agency for Society's Publications

As Messrs. Luzac and Co., Ltd., of 46 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1, have been appointed sole agents for the Royal Asiatic Society, requests for the purchase of all R.A.S publications, except the *Journal*, should, from this date, be made direct to them and not to the Office of the Society. All inquiries in connection with the *Journal* should still be made to the Secretary at the Society's premises.

It is hoped to publish obituaries of the late Dr. M. Gaster, Lt.-Col. Waddell, and Mr. Stuart N. Wolfenden in the July number of the *Journal*

A.R P.

Members are notified that, in the event of another crisis in the near future, the Council has decided that certain of the more valuable possessions of the Society, MSS., books, etc., are to be packed up and dispatched to a place of safety. Should this become necessary they will not be available for students for some time.

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Annals of Archæology and Anthropology. Vol xxv, Nos. 3–4, December, 1938.

Garstang, J Explorations in Cilicia. The Neilson Expedition; Third Interim Report Excavations at Mersin, 1937–8 Parts I and II.

Rowe, A. Preliminary Report on Excavations of the Institute of Archæology, Liverpool, at Athribis.

The Antiquaries Journal. Vol xix, No 1, January, 1939

Woolley, L. Excavations at Atchana-Alalakh, 1938.

Smith, Sidney. A Preliminary Account of the Tablets from Atchana.

The Geographical Journal. Vol xciii, No 1, January, 1939.

Stark, F. An Exploration in the Hadhramaut and Journey to the Coast

Caton-Thompson, G, and Gardner, E W Climate, Irrigation, and Early Man in the Hadhramaut.

Vol xciii, No. 2, February, 1939

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Palestine Exploration Quarterly. 71st Year, January, 1939.

Barnett, R D. Phœnician and Syrian Ivory Carving.
Birnbaum, L The Lachish Ostraca I
Kenyon, K. M Excavation Methods in Palestine.

The Illustrated London News. Vol 193.

No. 5200, 17th December, 1938.

Delougaz, P. The Prototype of Assyrian Winged Bulls 2,000 Years later; and other newly-found Sumerian Sculptures from Khafaje.

No 5201, 24th December, 1938.

Wright, P. The Enigma of Græco-Buddhist Art in India.
Fürer-Haimendorf, C. "Sport" among the Konyak Naga Head-Hunters
Spendlove, F. St. G. The Dance of Life.

No 5202, 31st December, 1938.

Kunze, E. Excavations on the Site of the Ancient Olympic Games.

Vol. 194.

No. 5203, 7th January, 1938.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A. A Unique Example of Assyrian Sculpture; A Portrait in Amber.

No. 5204, 14th January, 1939.

Emery, W. B An Ancient Egyptian Meal Preserved for 5,000 Years: The Sakkara Find.

Laubat, Comte F. de Chasseloup Animal Art in the Central Sahara. Mysterious Rock-Drawings in the Hoggar Mountains.

No. 5205, 21st January, 1939.

Thompson, A B The Aden Centenary.

Vogliano, A. A Great Sanctuary Adorned by Pharaohs, Ptolemies, and Cæsars: Further Discoveries at Medinet Madi.

No. 5206, 28th January, 1939.

Schnitger, F. M. The Mysterious Antiquities of Samosir, a Lake-island in Sumatra.

No. 5207, 4th February, 1939.

Pendlebury, J. D. S One of the last Strongholds of the Minoan Stock.

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No. 5208, 11th February, 1939.

Salmony, A. Ancient Art in Siberia.

No. 5209, 18th February, 1939.

Larsen, S. New Revelations in the Great Temple of Asklepios (Æsculapius) at Pergamon, where remarkably "Modern" methods of Treatment were practised.

No 5213, 18th March, 1939.

Inge, C. H. New Results at Lachish: Work in continuation of Mr. Starkey's researches on a Biblical site.

No 5214, 25th March, 1939.

Absolon, K. Prehistoric "Expressionism" Revealed in Old Stone Age Art.

Epigraphia Indica.

Vol. xxiii, Part VII, July, 1936.

Konow, S. Allahabad Museum Inscription of the year 87

Mirashi, V V. Kantalai Stone Inscription of Lakshmanaraja: (Kalachuri) Samvat 593.

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Majumdar, N. G. The Bajaur Casket of the reign of Menander.
—— Inscriptions on two Relic-caskets from Charsadda.
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Vyas, A. K. Jagannatharaya Temple Inscriptions at Udaipur

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Ahmad, S. Three Inscriptions of Bengal.

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Acharya, G V. Two notes, on Western Kshatrapa Coins and on Valabhi Coins.
Whitehead, R. B. Three Coin Collections.

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Průšek, J. The Narrators of Buddhist Scriptures and Religious Tales in the Sung Period. (With 4 plates.)

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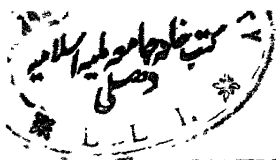
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(9) HASAN (Hādī). Falakī-i-Shirwānī. Dīwān. 1929. 10*s*

(10) JUWAYNĪ. Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-Gushāy of Juwaynī, vol. iii. Being a facsimile of a manuscript dated A.H. 690 belonging to Wahīd-ul-Mulk. With an Introduction by Sir E. Denison Ross. 1931. 7*s*. 6*d*.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

JULY, 1939.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

Far East

Middle East

PAG

LECTURE

OBITUARY NOTICES

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1939

PART III.—JULY

Hand-List of Islamic Manuscripts acquired by the India Office Library, 1936–8[1]

BY A. J. ARBERRY

4558. القرآن *al-Qur'ān* [Ar.].

Foll. 413. 11·1 in. by 7·9 in. (9·4 in. by 5·5 in.); 15 lines eighteenth century.

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es 3–
10–1
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linear

ERRATA

JRAS. 1939.

p. 87, line 32: for *čiq* read *čık.*
p. 296, line 18: *after* VEGETATION. *add* By J. J. MEYER.

There are rather crude ornamenta panels on foll. 1–2, 199–200 (beginning of S. xix), and 412–1. The pages are somewhat damaged by damp, and som have been torn and inexpertly mended. The binding Indian, of about 1830.

[1] Provisions were made in 1935 for cataloguing all Islamic MSS. in th possession of the India Office Library which had up to that date bee acquired since the publication of the printed catalogues: this list, wit one exception (4560), comprises MSS. not included in that sanction. Th usual abbreviations have been adopted in quoting well-known catalogue and other works of references.

[2] C. Stewart, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the la Tippoo Sultan of Mysore*, p. 166. See I O. Ar. MSS.[2] (Storey), p. 1, n. 1.

4559. A volume containing two separate works.

(1) فرهنگ برگزی *Farhang i Briggsī* [Per.].

Foll. 1–15. 16·7 in. by 10·7 in. (13·7 in. by 7·2 in.); 21 lines; clear and scholarly Indian *nasta'līq*; early nineteenth century.

A glossary of obsolete words, occurring in the *Gulshan i Ibrāhīmī* (or *Tārīkh i Firishtah*) of Muḥammad Qāsim "Firishtah", who brought his narrative down to 1015/1606–7 [Ethé, I.O. i, col. 113]. This glossary was compiled for John Briggs, the celebrated editor and translator of Ferishta, by Khairāt 'Alī Khān "Mushtāq" in 1241/1825–6. As Briggs states in the preface of his translation, p. xiii, "Kheirat Ally Khan, commonly called Mooshtak" was his first assistant in India in 1812, and remained in his service until he returned to England in 1827: in the same passage, reference is made to a "glossary of obsolete words" which was to be appended to the Persian text of Ferishta which Briggs had planned. When this edition appeared at Bombay in 1831–2 [Edwards, B M Per. Books, col. 496], the glossary was not included: and the present manuscript, which may be an autograph, appears never to have been published.

Fol. 16 is blank.

(2) تاریخ فرشته *Tārīkh i Firishtah* [Per.].

Foll. 17–32. 17·2 in. by 10·8 in. (13·6 in. by 7·1 in.); 21 lines; clear Indian *nasta'līq*; early nineteenth century.

A fragment of the *Tārīkh i Firishtah*, corresponding with vol. i, pp. 339[8]–387[15] of the Bombay 1832 edition [Arberry, I.O. Per. Books, p. 520]. The margins are filled with notes of collation and interpretation, and it would appear from Briggs's remarks, quoted above, that these addenda are in Briggs's own hand.

The following note, signed by E. K. Elliot, occurs on the fly-leaf of the volume: "To be returned to Col. Jervis, Bombay./Attempts were made to return this book, but

I was unable to discover where Col. Jervis was. Calcutta, Nov. 1854." Another note reads: "Briggs Ferishta from Col. Jervis." The manuscript was accessioned in 1936.

4560. تذكرة الفقها. *Tadhkirat al-fuqahā'* [Ar.].

From a description of this manuscript, see I.O. Ar. MSS.[2] (Levy), No. 1792.

4561. كليات ابن يمين *Kullīyāt i Ibn i Yamīn* [Per.].

Foll. 396. 10·6 in. by 7 in. (7·2 in. by 5·3 in.); 21 lines; good Persian *ta'līq*; rubrications, ruled borders; fine medallion on fol. 1*a*, exquisite *'unwān* on fol. 1*b*; fifteenth century.

A superb copy of the complete poetical writings of Fakhr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yamīn al-Dīn Muhammad Mustaufī "Ibn i Yamīn", who probably died 8 Jumādā ii 769/30 January 1368.[1] This manuscript contains some 14,000 verses, and therefore greatly exceeds the laborious compilation of 8,000 couplets made by Mīrzā Akbar 'Alī Khān "Dihkhudā"[2]; it is doubtless the oldest and most complete copy of Ibn i Yamīn's poems in existence. The poems, which are divided into groups—the *Muqaṭṭa'āt* begin on fol. 103, the *Ghazalīyāt* on fol. 208, the *Rubā'īyāt* on fol. 295—are followed (fol. 373*b*) by a collection of *Munsha'āt* or letters, some dated, likewise by Ibn i Yamīn. If an edition of Ibn i Yamīn's *Kullīyāt* is ever planned, this manuscript would form a reliable basis on which to work.

4562. عهدنامه *'Ahd-nāmah* [Per.].

Foll. 22. 5·7 in. by 3·2 in. (3·6 in. by 2·1 in.); 7 lines; Indian calligraphic *shikastah*; rubrications; margins ruled in gilt; late eighteenth century.

[1] See Sarfaraz, *Descriptive Catalogue . . . Bombay* (1935), pp. 54–60, for a discussion of this subject: the usual date given is 745/1344–5, but this is manifestly incorrect.

[2] Sarfaraz, op. cit., p. 57.

A copy of the Persian text of the Treaty of Commerce negotiated between the East India Company and the Nauwāb Āṣaf al-Daulah of Oudh, and signed by Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General, on behalf of the Company, and by the Nawab-Wazir for himself, on 15th July, 1788.[1] A note on the fly-leaf, in a hand dated 1828, reads: "Written for his Highness's own use." The text of the treaty was printed at Calcutta in 1788, in English, Persian, and Bengali: this pamphlet, one of the incunabula of Persian and Bengali printing, is now exceedingly rare, but a copy is preserved in the India Office Library.[2]

4563. A volume containing two separate works.

Foll. 182. 8·3 in. by 6 in. (6·3 in. by 3·4 in.); 13 lines; coarse Indian *nasta'līq*; over-rulings and carelessly drawn margins in red; copyist (except foll. 178–182, which is a later appendage), Muḥammad 'Ādil; dated 12 Rabī' ii 1242/13 November 1826.

(1) تاریخ سنده *Tārīkh i Sindh* [Per.].

Foll. 1–14. A very brief, anonymous epitome of the history of Sindh down to the accession of the Durrānī Shāh i Zamān (1207/1792–3).

[1] See C. V. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, ii, p. 15.

[2] Arberry, I O Per. Books, p 538. This publication is not mentioned in C. A. Storey's highly interesting "The Beginnings of Persian Printing in India" (in *Oriental Studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry*, pp 457 ff.). The title-page reads: "Treaty of Commerce, / between / Charles Earl Cornwallis, / Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter; / one of His Britannic Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council; Lieutenant General of His Majesty's Forces; / Governor General and Commander in Chief of all the Possessions and Forces of His Britannic Majesty, and of the / Honorable the United Company of Merchants of England in the East-Indies, &c. &c. &c. / on the part of the said / Honorable United Company, / and / His Excellency the Vizier ul Momalik Hindostan, Assuf Jah Nawab, / Assuf ud Dowlah Yeheha Khan Behadur, Huzzubber Jung / Published by Authority. / Calcutta: / printed at the Honorable Company's Press. / M.DCC.LXXXVIII." The Persian text is printed with Wilkins' types.

(2) تاریخ معصومی *Tārīkh i Ma'ṣūmī* [Per.].

Foll. 15-177. The well-known history of Sindh, composed by Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Ḥusainī Zandī, who died shortly after 1015/1607 [Ethé, I.O. i, col. 167].

Foll. 178–182 contain an epitome of the history of the Ṣafawid dynasty of Persia down to the death of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh in 1250/1834.

4564. شرح لامية العجم *Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-'Ajam* [Ar.].

Foll. 316. 11·8 in. by 7·4 in. (8·7 in. by 5 in.); 33 lines; clear *naskh*, rubrications, margins; somewhat worm-eaten, end folios fragmentary, margins repaired; copyist, Ibrāhīm 'Uwaiḍah b. Walī b. 'Abd Allāh; dated 26 Muḥarram 1069/ 24 October 1658.

A good, complete copy of the commentary of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aibak al-Ṣafadī (696/1296–764/1383) on the celebrated poem of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ṭughrā'ī (d. 515/1121). Numerous copies of this commentary are preserved, and it has been printed thrice [Brockelmann, i, p. 247; *Suppl.*, i, p. 440].

4565. القرآن *al-Qur'ān* [Ar.].

Foll. 80. 1·9 in. by 1·7 in. (1·2 in. by 1·1 in.), hexagonal; 14 lines; minute but legible *naskh*; eighteenth century; bound in stamped gilt leather and enclosed in a metal case to be worn round the neck.

Part of the *Qur'ān*, beginning at S. ix, 129, evidently made to be carried as an amulet.

This manuscript was presented by Major V. C. P. Hodson in 1933, who stated that it formerly belonged to his great-uncle Hodson of "Hodson's Horse" [*DNB.*, xxvii, pp. 75–6, with references].

4566. القرآن *al-Qur'ān* [Ar.].

The complete *Qur'ān*, written on a roll 3·1 in. wide in a microscopic but very clear *naskh* and ingeniously arranged to form alternately decorative patterns, and inscriptions such as *Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-rahīm*, etc. Eighteenth century. For similar rolls, see I.O. Arab. MSS.[2] (Storey), 1060, with references.

4567. الضوء شرح المصباح *al-Ḍau' sharḥ al-Miṣbāḥ* [Ar.].

Foll. 146. 7 in. by 5·3 in. (4·7 in. by 3·5 in.); 15 lines; scholarly, vocalized *naskh*, rubrications, copious marginal glosses; fourteenth century; contemporary stamped leather binding, back repaired.

The commentary of Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī (d. 684/1285) on the well-known syntax, *al-Miṣbāḥ fī 'l-naḥw*, of Abū 'l-Fatḥ Nāṣir b. 'Abd al-Saiyid al-Muṭarrizī (538/1143–610/1213). This commentary is fairly commonly met with, and it was published at Lucknow in 1850 [Brockelmann, i, p. 293; *Suppl.*, i, p. 514].

4568. A volume containing two separate works.

Foll. 100. 7·8 in. by 5 in. (5·8 in. by 2·8 in.); 15 lines; fair, small Persian *nasta'līq*, rubrications; a seal on the fly-leaf of Bahjat Aḥmad dated 1204/1789–90; seventeenth century.

(1) رسالهٔ الفاظ مشترکه *Risālah i alfāẓ i mushtarikah* [Per.].

Foll. 1–88b[4]. A dictionary of Persian homonyms, by Yūsuf Harawī. The author is not mentioned elsewhere, and this copy appears to be unique.

Beginning:—

پاکا یگانهٔ که گرد اشتراك ثنویّت را گرد سراپردهٔ احدیتش راه نیست الخ

End :—

یکران پوشیده نماند که یکران اسبی‌را میگویند که رنگ او زرد
و بور باشد ویك ران که یکی از دو ران باشد و ران خود
معروف ومشهور است تمت

(2) [رساله در خط *Risālah dar khaṭṭ*] [Per.].

Foll. 88b[5]–100. A short treatise on the art of writing, by the same Yūsuf Harawī. The work consists of a *muqaddimah*, three *maqālāt*, and a *khātimah*.

Beginning :—

حمد و سپاس بی قیاس مر خداوندی‌را که سر نوشت جمله اشیا
بقلم تقدیر اوست الخ

4569. شرح العقائد الدينية *Sharḥ al-'aqā'id al-dīnīyah* [Ar.].

Foll. 42. 8·1 in. by 5 in. (6·3 in. by 3·6 in.); 21 lines; clear Egyptian *naskh*; rubrications, marginal corrections; seventeenth century (foll. 1–10 supplied, twentieth century).

A good copy of a commentary on the brief creed, generally called *Risālah* (or *Muqaddimah*) *fī uṣūl al-dīn*,[1] of Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321/933). Several commentaries were written on this work [Ḥ.Kh., iv, p. 216]: of the present commentary only one other copy appears to be preserved (Gotha 665), which Brockelmann (i, p. 174; *Suppl.*, i, p. 294) incorrectly identifies with the commentary of Muḥammad b. Muḥmūd al-Qōnawī (d. 770/1368), of which only one copy exists (Escurial[2], 1563[3]). The work here described was written, according to the colophon, presumably copied from the author's archetype, in 746/1345, for Saif al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī (d. 758/1357): the author's name is not given, and it is safest to conclude, with Pertsch, that he is "nicht genannt".

[1] Alternative titles are: *'Aqīdat ahl al-sunnah wa'l-jamā'ah*, and *Bayān al-sunnah wa'l-jamā'ah* [Brock., *Suppl.*, i, p. 294].

4570. A collection of mystical tracts.

Foll. 151. 13·1 in. by 8·5 in. (9·7 in. by 6·3 in.); 17 lines; good Indian *nasta'līq* and *naskh*; fully vocalized in red ink, all Arabic words being glossed in Persian; double ruled margins; late eighteenth century.

(1) شرح التحفة المرسلة الى النبي *Sharḥ al-Tuḥfat al-mursalah ilā 'l-Nabī* [Ar.-Per.].

Foll. 1–15. A Persian commentary, apparently by one 'Abd al-Ghafūr, on the well-known metaphysical treatise in Arabic by Muḥammad b. Faḍl al-Burhānpūrī (d. 1029/1620) [Brock., ii, p. 418; *Suppl.*, ii, p. 617]. This commentary, written it seems during the lifetime of al-Burhānpūrī, is found with a preface [IvASB., 1266] and without [IvASB., 1267]: the present copy lacks the preface. Transcription completed in Ṣafar 1210/August 1795. Fol. 16 is blank.

(2) رسالهٔ عقائد صوفيّه *Risālah i 'aqā'id i Ṣūfīyah* [Per.].

Foll. 17–20. A brief anonymous account of the theosophical doctrines of the Ṣūfīs.

Beginning :—

الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين . . . بدان اى عزيز ارشدك الله تعالى كه صوفيان قائلين بوحدت وجود اند الخ

Transcription completed on 10 Rabī' i 1210/24 September 1795.

(3) رسالة تكميل العرفان *Risālah Takmīl al-'irfān* [Per.].

Foll. 21–6. An exposition, illustrated by diagrams, of the theosophical ontology of the Ṣūfīs, written at the request of Amīr Saiyid Maḥmūd "Arjumand Khān" by Muḥammad Māh Riḍawī.

Beginning :—

بعد از سپاس بیقیاس پروردگار و ستایش رسول مختار . . . این کلمهٔ چندیست ماخوذ از اصطلاحات فرقهٔ علیهٔ صوفیه صافیه در

بیان وجود و تنزلات سته مشتمل بر مقدمه وفصول هشتگانه و خاتمه الخ

Transcription completed on 14 Rabī' i 1210/28 September 1795. Foll. 27–8 are blank.

(4) رسالهٔ قضا و قدر *Risālah i qaḍā u qadar* [Per.].

Foll. 29–33. An anonymous tract on the secret meaning of predestination.

Beginning :—

این رساله ایست در شرح سر قضا و قدر و رمز خیر و شر الخ

Transcription completed on 8 Rabī' i 1210/22 September 1795.

(5) رسالهٔ مباحث روح ونفس *Risālah i mabāḥith i rūh u nafs* [Per.].

Foll. 34–55. A theosophical disquisition in the form of a dialogue between the author's higher and lower self, by 'Abd al-Jalīl Ilāhābādī. A Ṣūfī of this name is mentioned as one of the successors of Muḥammad Ṣādiq b. Fatḥ Allāh Gangō'ī Chishtī, and presumably lived in the second half of the seventeenth century: he is stated to have written a *Risālah dar bayān i adhkār u ashghāl* and an Arabic *qaṣīdah*, and it is possible that the author of the present treatise may be the same person [Ethé, I.O. i, col. 338, 34e].

Beginning :—

الحمد لله المعبود فی کل مکان والصلوة علی نبیه محمد المقصود فی کل زمان و علی اله واصحابه المودود بکل جنان این سخن چند است از مباحثهٔ روح با نفس در اثبات طاعت حق الخ

Transcription completed on 23 Rabī' i 1210/7 October 1795.

(6) غایة الامکان فی درایة المکان *Ghāyat al-imkān fī darāyat al-makān* [Per.].

Foll. 56–77. A theosophical treatise, variously ascribed to Maḥmūd Ushnū'ī "Durr i Yatīm" [Ḥ.Kh., iv, p. 298,

no. 8507; Ethé, I.O. 1869[4]; IvASB., 1392], an obscure Indian Ṣūfī of the seventeenth century, and (as in this copy) to the celebrated 'Ain al-Quḍāt Hamadānī, author of the *Tamhīdāt* and other well-known works, who died in 533/1138 [IvASB., Curzon, 510]: the latter ascription is decidedly false.

Transcription completed on 13 Ṣafar 1210/30 August 1795. Foll. 78–9 are blank.

(7) رسالهٔ لطائف لطیفی *Risālah i Laṭā'if i Laṭīfī* [Per.].

Foll. 80–110*a*. Religious and mystical meditations by Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn Saiyid 'Abd al-Laṭīf, who is otherwise known as the author of an epic entitled *Najīb-nāmah* [Ethé, I.O. 1715] or *Nāmah i ṭurfah* [IvASB., 870] on the career of the Rohilla chief Najīb al-Daulah (d. 1185/1771). Ivanow (loc. cit.) questions whether 'Abd al-Laṭīf was the author's own name, or his father's, concluding that "it is difficult to determine what is true without special research". the present work appears to decide in favour of the former alternative, since its title is an obvious pun on the author's name.[1] The work is made up of sections called *laṭīfah*.

Beginning:—

الحمد لمظهر ظهر به المظاهر والصلوة على من هو مظهر ومظهر . . . اما بعد این لطیفهٔ چند است که فقیر ضعیف غلام محی الدین سید عبد اللطیف از دریای حقیقتش بیرون آورده الخ

Transcription completed on 17 Muḥarram 1210/3 August 1795.

(8) رسالهٔ توفیق *Risālah i taufīq* [Per.].

Foll. 110*b*–111*b*[14]. A very short tract by the same Ghulām Muḥyī al-Dīn in explanation of a saying of Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥammad Makhdūm al-Qādirī, perhaps the same

[1] This is, of course, a very common feature of titles of Persian books, cf. *Akhlāq i Jalālī* (by Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī), *Mujarrabāt i Riḍā'ī* (by Riḍā Ḥasan), etc.

as Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, author of a *Risālah dar bayān i wāḥidīyah* [Ethé, I.O. 1925[1]].

Beginning:—

الحمد لمظهر اظهر من عينه غيره مع انه عينه الخ

The date of transcription is not given.

(9) مفتاح الاسرار *Miftāḥ al-asrār* [Per.].

Foll. 111b[15]–112. A brief discussion of the same theme, by the same author.

Beginning:—

الحمد لله رب العالمين . . . اما بعد میگوید غلام محي الدين . . . که این رساله ایست مسمی المفتاح الاسرار [*sic*] در حل مسئله عینیت حقیق اصطلاحی و غیریت حقیق اصطلاحی الخ

Transcription completed on 20 Muḥarram 1210/6 August 1795.

(10) رسالهٔ قاب قوسين *Risālah i Qāb i qausain* [Per.].

Foll. 113–16. A short treatise in the form of a catechism explaining difficult points of Ṣūfī metaphysics, by Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh 'Abd al-Ḥasan Qādirī.

Beginning:—

محامد متكاثرهٔ و اثنیهٔ متوافرهٔ جميع موجودات راجع بذاتی است . . . اما بعد چنین میگوید . رکن الدين محمد شاه عبد الحسن قادری . . . در اثبات حقیق بودن وجود باریتعالی الخ

The date of transcription is not given. Foll. 117–19 are blank.

(11) شرح لوائح *Sharḥ i Lawā'iḥ* [Per.].

Foll. 120–151. The commentary on the *Lawā'iḥ* of Jāmī attributed to Mullā 'Imād, and completed in 901/1495. This work is the same as the *Ḥāshiyah i Lawā'iḥ* [Ethé, I.O. 1373, IvASB. 636], except that in the present copy the exordium is omitted, and the text begins at a point which

corresponds with fol. 2a[7] in Ethé's copy. Transcription completed on 13 Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 1209/1 July 1795.

4571. الدرّ المختار شرح تنوير الابصار *al-Durr al-mukhtār sharḥ Tanwīr al-abṣār* [Ar.].

Foll. 309. 12 in. by 8 in. (9·3 in. by 5·8 in.); 35 lines; clear Egyptian *naskh*; rubrications, margins, original text in red; index prefixed by a later hand; written in the Azhar mosque, Cairo, by al-Saiyid Ḥasan b. al-Saiyid Ghanīm; seventeenth century.

A careful copy of the commentary of Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥaṣkafī (d. 1088/1677) on the celebrated Ḥanafī law-compendium of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Timırtāshī (d. 1004/1595). Copies of this commentary are fairly common, and it has been lithographed several times in India: the present copy cannot have been written very much after the author's original, which was completed in Muḥarram 1071/September 1660 [Brock., ii, p. 311; *Suppl.*, ii, pp. 427–8].

4572. كشف الاسرار فى شرح المنار *Kashf al-asrār fī sharḥ al-Manār* [Ar.].

Foll. 201. 11·9 in by 7·3 in. (8·4 in. by 4·7 in.); 27 lines; somewhat cursive *naskh*; rubrications, original text in red; copious marginal annotations in cursive *naskh* of sixteenth century; transcribed from a copy in the hand of Fakhr al-Kātī dated 17 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 780/6 March 1379; fifteenth century.

The commentary of Abū 'l-Barakāt 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310) on his own law-book, the *Manār al-anwār*. Apart from Loth 314 there is no other copy of this commentary in Europe, though several copies are preserved at Cairo and Istanbul: the work was printed at Bulaq in 1316/1898 [Brock., ii, p. 196; *Suppl.*, ii, p. 263].

4573. A volume containing two separate works.

Foll. 163. 10·3 in. by 7·5 in. (7·5 in. by 5 in.); 23 lines rather sprawling *naskh*; rubrications; eighteenth century.

(1) حصول المنى بأصول الغنى *Ḥusūl al-munā bi-uṣūl al-ghanā* [Ar.].

Foll. 1–8. A short treatise on the religious duties requisite to the life of piety, by ʻAbd al-Qādir [or ʻAbd al-Qāhir] b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī (d. 982/1574). The author states that the present work really consists of two sections (*fuṣūl*) taken from his own book entitled *al-Wasīlah ilā thawāb al-aʻmāl al-qalīlah*,[1] and that he composed it on the occasion of receiving as a gift from his shaikh, ʻAlī al-Muttaqī [b. Ḥusām al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Malik al-Hindī, d. at Mecca 975/1567 or 977/1569; see Brock., ii, p. 384; *Suppl.*, ii, p. 518], a copy of al-Suyūṭī's *Ḥuṣūl al-rifq bi-uṣūl al-rizq* [Ḥ.Kh., iii, p. 74, no. 4535]. This copy appears to be unique.

Beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى جعل الطب النبوى اشرف دواء . . . اما بعد . . لما اتحفنى سيدى وشيخى فى التصوف العارف بالله على المتقى ايقافى على جزء لطيف للحافظ السيوطى المسمّى حصول الرفق باصول الرزق الخ

(2) مناهج الاخلاق السنية فى مباهج الاخلاق السنّية *Manāhij al-akhlāq al-sanīyah fī mabāhij al-akhlāq al-sunnīyah* [Ar.].

Foll. 9–163. The same author's treatise on religious ethics, of which other copies are preserved only in Berlin and Tunis [Brock., ii, p. 389; *Suppl.*, ii, p. 529].

4574. A volume containing two separate works.

(1) شرح ديوان امرئ القيس *Sharḥ Dīwān Imr' al-Qais* [Ar.]

Foll. 1–117. 11·2 in. by 7·6 in. (9·2 in. by 4·6 in.); 23 lines excellent modern Turkish *naskh*; original text of verses in

[1] Apparently not preserved.

red; transcribed by Ibrāhīm Ḥaqqī b. Ḥusain al-Yānbūī from a copy written in 1139/1726; dated 1302/1884–5.

The commentary of Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭūs on the *Dīwān* of the pre-Islamic poet Imr' al-Qais. Thi commentary is very rare [see Brock., *Suppl.*, i, p. 50], anc the present copy would appear to derive ultimately fror the magnificent Laleli 1820 (see Rescher in *MSOS.*, xv pp. 24–6; *ZDMG.*, lxiv, pp. 517–18). The fly-leaf of thi copy attributes the commentary to Yaḥyā b. 'Alī al-Khaṭīl al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109), and it is interesting to note tha one other copy of such an alleged commentary has beer signalized (Rescher in *ZDMG.*, lxviii, p. 63), in the librar of Ismail Pasha at Makriköy.[1] Now a remark in Laleli 182(pretends that that manuscript is in the handwriting c al-Tibrīzī himself: but as the manuscript is dated 409/1018 and al-Tibrīzī was not born until 421/1030, it is obviou that this attribution is false. It would seem probable, there fore, that Ismail Pasha's manuscript was in a reality a cop of Laleli 1820, like the present manuscript, and that the attribution of a commentary on the *Dīwān* of Imr' al-Qai to al-Tibrīzī [Brock., *Suppl.*, i, p. 50] is a mistake. Ab 'l-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī was a contemporary of Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkar (212/827–275/888) and a *rāwī* of al-Aṣma'ī, whose authorit he quotes throughout the commentary.

Foll. 118–121 are blank.

(2) بهجة العابدين *Bahjat al-'ābidīn* [Ar.].

Foll. 122–186. 11·2 in. by 7·6 in. (7·2 in. by 4·5 in.) 23 lines; excellent modern Turkish *naskh*; rubrications copyist, al-Saiyid al-Ḥājj Ḥasan al-Taḥsīn; dated 1302/ 1884–5.

A biography of the great Egyptian polymath, Jalāl al Dīn al-Suyūṭī (849/1445–911/1505), written by a pupi 'Abd al-Qādir al-Shādhilī.[2] An author of this name (b

[1] This library has now been dispersed, see Rescher, *Abriss*, i, p 55, n. 1

[2] 'Abd al-Qādir al-Shādhilī's biography of al-Suyūṭī is mentioned in *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, viii, p. 53.

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad), described as "the pupil of al-Suyūṭī," (Ḥ.Kh., iv, p. 64), is credited with two surviving books, *Shifā' al-muta'āll*, on how to cure a cough, and *Mawā'id al-afrāḥ*, on the amenities of wedlock [Brock., ii, p. 137]: he died about 920/1514. The present work, of which this seems to be a unique copy, is of particular importance in that it contains copious extracts from an autobiography of al-Suyūṭī entitled *al-Taḥadduth bi-ni'mat Allāh*, which does not appear to have survived.

4575. مرشد السالكين ومنقذ الهالكين *Murshid al-sālikīn wa-munqidh al-hālikīn* [Ar.].

Foll. 94. 8·3 in. by 5·7 in. (6·5 in. by 4 in.); 23 lines; plain Egyptian *naskh*; rubrications; corrected, some marginal notes; eighteenth century.

A book in two chapters on prayers suitable for recitation at different times and on different occasions. This work, of which a copy is preserved at Berlin (3777), is attributed by Ḥ.Kh. (v, p. 492, no. 11787) to one Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khalwatī. In the Berlin copy al-Ghazzālī is stated to be the author, but Ahlwardt has conclusively demonstrated that this is impossible. The author's name is not given in the present manuscript.

This manuscript was bought by me in Syria in 1932, and presented to the Library in 1937.

4576. [دعاء *Du'ā'*] [Ar.].

Foll. 23. 9·5 in. by 6·5 in. (7·2 in. by 4·7 in.); 4 lines; fine, large calligraphic *naskh*; some words in gilt and blue; fully vocalized; fifteenth century.

A prayer attributed to Abū 'l-Ḥasan [i.e. 'Alī[1] b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shādhilī, d. 656/1258, see Brock., i, p. 449; *Suppl.*, i, 804–5].

[1] Aḥmad, according to Brock., *Suppl.*, i, p. 804, but see A. Cour in *EI.*, iv, pp. 246–7.

Beginning (fol. 4*a*):—

من كلام سيدى ابى الحسن رضى الله عنه اللهم انى اصبحت او امسيت وانا اريد الخير واكره الشر الخ

The prayer is preceded (foll. 1–3) by a tradition on the terrors of the Resurrection, and followed (foll. 21–3) by a short biographical note on Zain al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥusain al-Marāghī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 816/1413, see Brock., ii, p. 172; *Suppl.*, ii, p. 221).

This manuscript was bought by me in Cairo in 1934, and presented to the Library in 1937.

4577. ابواب الجنان *Abwāb al-jinān* [Per.].

Foll. 181. 10·1 in. by 6·1 in. (8·3 in. by 4·5 in.); 20 lines; good Indian *nastaʿlīq*; rubrications, margins ruled; pretty *ʿunwān*, foll. 1*b*–2*a* decorated with gilt flower-patterns; water-stained; European paper, water-marked; Indian binding; eighteenth century.

A well-written copy of the first *bāb* of the well-known ethical compendium, planned in eight *abwāb* of which only two have survived, by Muḥammad Rafīʿ Wāʿiẓ Qazwīnī (d. *circa* 1105/1694). This part of the work has been lithographed in Persia and India [Edwards, B.M. Per. Books, coll. 405–6; Arberry, I.O. Per. Books, p. 16], and manuscripts abound [Ethé, I O. 2213; IvASB., 1395, with references]. The following note is pasted on the inside back cover: "Prince Jamh O Deen's compliments to Lady Seymour [1] & he has the pleasure of sending the accompanying Manuscript, which is a curiosity written in the time of Mohammud Shaw Amprah [*sic*] of India, in the city of Delhi nearly two century [*sic*] [2]

[1] Perhaps the beautiful Lady Jane Seymour, wife of the twelfth Duke of Somerset and granddaughter of the dramatist Sheridan (see *DNB.*, li, p. 315).

[2] This statement is, of course, quite inaccurate. The *Abwāb al-jinān* is dedicated to Shāh ʿAbbās II of Persia (d. 1077/1667): Muḥammad Shāh was Emperor at Delhi from 1131/1719 to 1161/1748.

ago &, he hopes she will kindly accept the same. 20 No[vem]-ber/37." The reverse of the front cover has the inscription "Prince Jamh O Deen of Mysore" followed by a signature in atrocious Indian *shikastah*.

4578. كليات جامى *Kullīyāt i Jāmī* [Per.].

Foll. 282. 12·7 in. by 8 in. (8·8 in. by 5·5 in.); 25 lines; elegant Persian *nasta'līq* written in four columns, the outer columns being until fol. 154 written diagonally; fine medallion on fol. 1*a*, splendid *'unwāns* on foll. 1*b*, 30*b*, 39*b*, 105*b*, 155*b*, 167*b*, 180*b*, 200*b*, 218*b*, 258*b*; margins ruled in gilt and blue, headings in gilt, blue, red, and puce; worm-eaten, skilfully repaired and restored; end folios badly damaged by damp; copyist, Maḥmūd al-Kātib; dated Jumādā ii 906/December 1500.

A fine manuscript of selected works of the celebrated Jāmī (d. 898/1492), written only eight years after the poet's death.

(1) Foll. 1–29. The first *dīwān*, preceded by the general preface to the three *dīwāns* [IvASB., 612].

(2) Foll. 30–104. The second *dīwān*.

(3) Foll. 105–154. The third *dīwān*.

(4) Foll. 155–167*a*. The third book of the *Silsilat al-dhahab*.

(5) Foll. 167*b*–180*a*. The *Salāmān u Absāl*.

(6) Foll. 180*b*–199. The *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār*, preceded by the prose-preface to the *Khamsah* [Ethé, I.O. i, col. 746].

(7) Foll. 200–217. The second book of the *Silsilat al-dhahab*.

(8) Foll. 218–258*a*. The *Lailā u Majnūn*.

(9) Foll. 258*b*–282. The *Sikandar-nāmah*.

4579. شرح مجمع البحرين وملتقى النيّرين *Sharḥ Majma' al-baḥrain wa-multaqā al-naiyirain* [Ar.].

Foll. 301. 10·5 in. by 7 in. (8·5 in. by 5·3 in.); 33 lines; inelegant Egyptian *naskh*; rubrications, original text

overlined in red; corrected, occasional marginal notes; old binding; copyist, 'Alī b. Aibak al-Tūqātī; dated 28 Muḥarram 842/21 July 1438.

A good and early copy of the commentary of 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Malikshāh "Firishtah" on the well-known Ḥanafī law-book of Ibn al-Sā'ātī (d. 696/1296, see Brock., i, pp. 382–3; *Suppl.*, i, p. 658). The date of Firishtah's death is uncertain: Brockelmann (ii, p. 213) places him "um 850/1447", but the present manuscript proves that he must have written his commentary at any rate before 842/1438.

4580. مصابيح السنة *Maṣābīḥ al-sunnah* [Ar.].

Foll. 228. 10 in. by 6·8 in. (8·3 in. by 5 in.); 25 lines; scholarly Egyptian *naskh*; first few folios damaged by damp; copyist, Muḥammad b. الدغمش; dated Ramaḍān 715/November 1315.

A fine old copy of the celebrated collection of Traditions, by al-Ḥusain b. Mas'ūd al-Baghawī (d. 510/1117 or 516/1122). The text has been printed thrice in Cairo [Brock., i, pp. 363–4; *Suppl.*, i, p. 620].

4581. موش و گربه *Mūsh u gurbah* [Per.].

Foll. 80. 7·9 in. by 6·2 in. (5·8 in. by 3·7 in.); 15 lines; cursive Persian *nasta'līq*; rubrications; very crude and rather comic miniatures; poor leather binding; autograph, dated 19 Jumādā i 1244/20 November 1828.

A copy, probably unique, and written by the author himself, of a *mathnawī* poem on the fable of the Cat and the Mouse, by Muḥammad Muḥsin b. Muḥammad Ḥusain Iṣfahānī "Shā'iq". The author in a long preface (foll. 1–6) states that he composed the poem in the year 1244/1828, and dedicates it to Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh Qājār (reigned 1211/1797–1250/1834).

Beginning:—

شکر و سپاس بی قیاس واجب الوجودرا . . . اما بعد چنین گوید احقر عباد الله محمد محسن ابن محمد حسین اصفهانی المتخلص بشایق غفر الله ذنوبه که هر کس از مشاهیر مورّخان الخ

The poem commences (fol. 8*a*):—

اگر داری تو عقل و دانش و هوش
بیا بشنو حدیث گربه و موش

4582. A volume containing several separate works.

Foll. 139. 8·4 in. by 5·5 in. (5·8 in. by 3 in.); 15 lines; fair Persian *nasta'līq*; headings in red, green, and blue; written for Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir Ḥakīm by Muḥammad Kāẓim b. Muḥammad "Nāẓim"; dated 8 Shauwāl 1274/ 22 May 1858.

(1) مناجات *Munājāt* [Per.].

Foll. 2–46. An extremely inflated copy of the so-called *Munājāt* of 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī (see H. Ritter in *Der Islam*, xxii, p. 94).

(2) گلشن راز *Gulshan i rāz* [Per.].

Foll. 47–82*a*. The well-known mystical poem of Maḥmūd Shabistarī (d. 720/1320). [IvASB., 533, with references.]

(3) طریق التحقیق *Ṭarīq al-taḥqīq* [Per.].

Foll. 82*b*–112*a*. A Ṣūfī poem by Sanā'ī (d. 545/1150, see H. Ritter in *Der Islam*, xxii, pp. 101, 105).

(4) نان و حلوا *Nān u ḥalwā* [Per.].

Foll. 112*b*–123*a*. An allegorical poem by Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī "Bahā'ī" (d. 1030/1621) [IvASB., 722].

(5) شیر و شکر *Shīr u shakar* [Per.].

Foll. 123*b*–127*b*[3]. Another allegorical poem by the same Bahā'ī. [Ethé, I.O. i, col. 829, with references.]

(6) رباعیات عمر خیّام *Rubā'īyāt i 'Umar i Khaiyām* [Per.].

Foll. 127b⁴–134b¹⁰. A collection of 107 *Rubā'īyāt* ascribed to 'Umar Khaiyām.

(7) رباعيات بابا طاهر *Rubā'īyāt i Bābā Ṭāhir* [Per.].

Foll. 134b¹¹–139a². A collection of the *dū-baitī* of Bābā Ṭāhir.

(8) غزل *Ghazal* [Per.].

Fol. 139a ³⁻¹⁵. A Persian *ghazal* ascribed to Ibn Sīnā, with the *takhalluṣ* Bū 'Alī.

This manuscript was presented by me to the Library in 1937.

4583. زبدة الواعظين *Zubdat al-wā'iẓīn* [Ar.].

Foll. 107. 13 in. by 8·2 in. (10 in. by 3·1 in.); 25 lines; ordinary *ta'līq*; rubrications, overlinings in red; some marginal notes; on fol. 2a a seal dated 1245/1829; European paper, water-marked; copyist, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Shaikh Aḥmad; early nineteenth century.

A classified collection of select traditions, in forty-eight chapters. The "long" title of the work is *Zubdat al-wā'iẓīn fī bayān Rabb al-'ālamīn wa-fī aḥādīth Saiyid al-mursalīn wa-ḥikāyāt al-mutaqaddimīn*, and it is ascribed on the title-page of this copy to Ibn Arabī, but this attribution is highly questionable. Ḥ.Kh., iii, p. 539, no. 6840, mentions the book, but without naming an author: it is quoted in a scrap-book described by Ahlwardt (Berlin, 1646).

Beginning:—

الحمد لله بجميع المحامد جميع [sic] النعم والصلوة والسلام على خير خلقه محمد المبعوث الى خير الامم . . . قال العبد الفقير الى رحمة الله تعالى اردت ان اجمع كتابا من زبدة كتب الموعظة واخذت من كل ما يشوّق القلوب الى الله تعالى و طاعته الخ

This manuscript was bought by me in Cairo in 1933 and presented to the Library in 1937.

4584. تغيير المفتاح *Taghyīr al-Miftāḥ* [Ar.].

Foll. 225. 8·8 in. by 5·3 in. (5·4 in. by 2·2 in.); 15 lines; calligraphic Persian *nasta'līq*; *'unwān* on fol. 1*b*; rubrications, gilt-ruled margins, copious marginal glosses; transcribed by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad from a copy in the hand of Zakarīyā Efendī (d. 1001/1592, see Brock., i, pp. 377, 378, 417; Ahlwardt, 4499, 4551); seventeenth century.

The commentary of Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sulaimān "Ibn Kamāl Pāshā" (d. 950/1543) on the third *qism* of the *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm* of Yūsuf b. Abī Bakr al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229) [Brock., i, p. 295; *Suppl.*, i, p. 516].

4585. مسائل الرهبان *Masā'il al-ruhbān* [Ar.].

Foll. 13. 8·1 in. by 5·9 in. (7·2 in. by 3·8 in.); 9 lines; modern Indian *nasta'līq*; transcribed in 1937 from a manuscript dated 24 Shauwāl 1290/15 December 1873.

A transcript of the Hyderabad manuscript Āṣaf., i, 388[152], described by me in a separate note (*JRAS.*, 1938, pp. 89–91). The attribution to Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī [Brock., *Suppl.*, i, p. 353] is erroneous.

4586. A "Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the Nawab of Rampur": so this volume is described in a note in the hand of the late Sir Thomas Arnold (Assistant Librarian at the India Office 1904–9) on the reverse of the front cover. Accessioned in 1937.

4587. ديوان مخفى *Dīwān i Makhfī* [Per.].

Foll. 979. 12·3 in. by 8 in.; lines varying; typewritten to fol. 904, remainder (index) in manuscript.

A transliteration and translation, with notes and index, of the complete poetical works of the Princess Zīb al-Nisā' "Makhfī" (d. 1114/1703) [IvASB., 824, with references].

This manuscript, which is evidently prepared for the press, has the following title-page: "Divan-i Makhfi / or collected poems of the Princess Zebunnisa / daughter of the Emperor Aurangzeb, / transliterated into the Roman character with notes / and prose translations and a hundred English metrical / versions, a scheme of Persian metres and indices of / notable words and of persons and places mentioned in / the poems / by / P. Whalley M.A. / late Bengal Civil Service."

A selection of translated extracts from the *Dīwān* by P. Whalley was published at London in 1913 [Edwards, B.M. Per. Books, col. 742]. This Manuscript was received into the Library in 1918, and was until 1937 located as a printed book (306.32.E.19).

4588. روضة الطاهرين *Raudat al-ṭāhirīn* [Per.]

Foll. 304. 16 in. by 8·5 in. (13·8 in. by 6·8 in.); 35 lines; poor Indian shikastah-āmīz; rubrications, ruled margins; poor paper, worm-eaten, torn in places and almost fragmentary; eighteenth century.

A poor copy, incomplete at beginning and end, of the universal history of Ṭāhir Muḥammad Sabzawārī, composed in 1011/1602 [IvASB., 42, with references]. This manuscript bears a note dated 26.7.01 on the fly-leaf in the hand of H. Beveridge, who had collated it carefully and found that it contained "not much more than half of the original".

Accessioned in 1937.

4589. A volume containing two separate works.

Foll. 87. 8·4 in. by 5·6 in. (6 in. by 3·7 in.); 15–19 lines; indifferent Indian *naskh*; rubrications, some marginal notes; brown paper, worm-eaten; dated (fol. 45*b*) 24 Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 1131/7 November 1719.

(1) قواعد العقائد *Qawā'id al-'aqā'id* [Ar.].

Foll. 1–45. A poor copy, lacking the first two folios, of the rather rare Shī'ite theological work by Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273) [Brock., i, p. 509; *Suppl.*, i, p. 927].

(2) [رسالة فی التصوّف *Risālah fī 'l-taṣauwuf*] [Ar.].

Foll. 46–87. A fragment, incomplete at beginning and end, of an unidentified work on Ṣūfī ethics. This fragment contains part of the first chapter [title lost, ? *Fī 'l-nīyah*], the second chapter [*Fī 'l-ikhlāṣ*, fol. 61*b*], and part of the third chapter [*Fī 'l-ṣidq*, fol. 78*b*].

This manuscript apparently belonged to the Delhi Collection, but its several location-numbers do not correspond with any item in the hand-list (see below, nos. 4601–6), and it was therefore accessioned in 1937.

4590. حسن و عشق *Ḥusn u 'ishq* [Per.].

Foll. 19. 8·7 in. by 7·2 in. (6·6 in. by 4·7 in.); 11 lines; ordinary Indian *nasta'līq* and *naskh*, ruled margins; marginal glosses; European paper, water-marked; nineteenth century.

The well-known allegory in ornate prose and verse by Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ni'mat Khān "'Ālī" (d. 1121/1709 or 1122/1710) [IvASB., 826[3]]. The work has been several times lithographed in India [Edwards, B.M. Per. Books, col. 592; Arberry, I.O. Per. Books, p. 203].

Presented by me to the Library in 1937.

4591. عدّة الحصن الحصين *'Uddat al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn* [Ar.].

Foll. 33. 8·3 in. by 6 in. (6·2 in. by 3·6 in.); 19 lines; rather cursive Turkish *naskh*; rubrications, marginal corrections and glosses; copyist, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad; dated, at Islām-būl [*sic*], Sha'bān 1099/June 1688.

An epitome of *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn*, the celebrated prayer-book

of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad "Ibn al-Jazarī" al-Shīrāzī (d. 833/1429), in the recension (see *RSO.*, iii, p. 591) of al-'Asqalānī (d. 852/1449). This copy has neither the title nor the name of the epitomizer [Brock., ii, p. 203; *Suppl.*, ii, p. 277].

This manuscript was purchased by me in Syria in 1932, and presented to the Library in 1937.

4592. نزهة الارواح *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* [Per.].

Foll. 132. 10·3 in. by 6 in. (8·5 in. by 4·8 in.); 19 lines; inelegant Indian *naskh*; rubrications; poor paper; eighteenth century.

An indifferent copy of the well-known Ṣūfī miscellany of Mīr Fakhr al-Sādāt Ḥusainī (d. after 720/1320, see Ethé, I.O. 1821; IvASB., 1188). On the fly-leaf this manuscript is described as a commentary (*sharḥ*), but this is not correct.

Apparently from the Delhi Collection: accessioned in 1937.

4593. شرح رباعيات جامى *Sharḥ i Rubā'īyāt i Jāmī* [Per].

Foll. 50. 8·3 in. by 5·5 in. (5·3 in. by 2·7 in.); 17 lines; poor Indian *nasta'līq*; red overlinings; poor paper, worm-eaten; eighteenth century.

An incomplete copy of Jāmī's own commentary on some of his quatrains [Ethé, I.O. 1357[12], IvASB., 612[14], with references].

Apparently from the Delhi Collection: accessioned in 1937.

4594. منهاج النشر فى قراآت العشر *Minhāj al-nashr fī qirā'āt al-'ashr* [Per].

Foll. 74. 9·8 in. by 5·8 in. (7·6 in. by 3·6 in.); 21 lines; Indian *naskh*; rubrications; damaged by ants and rodents, last folio torn; on fol. 2*a* a seal of 'Ālamgīr dated 1097/1686; seventeenth century.

A treatise on the recitation of the *Qur'ān* (*tajwīd*) and the variant readings, by one Ḥusain b. 'Uthmān. This work is not mentioned in Storey, *Per. Lit.* (pp. 39–50), and appears to be unknown.

Beginning :—

الحمد لله الکریم علی انزال القران العظیم . . . وبعد بر رای عالم ارای اصحاب حقیقه و ارباب طریقه پوشیدہ نیست . . پس محرر این حروف و مقرر این کلمات . . . حسین بن عثمان . . . کتابی فارسی بطریق نشر در قراات عشررا نصب العین خود ساخت الخ

Apparently from the Delhi Collection : accessioned in 1937.

4595. [نصیحة الملوك *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*] [Per.].

Foll. 19. 8·7 in. by 5·8 in. (6·3 in. by 3 in.); 9 lines; excellent calligraphic Persian *nasta'līq*; headings in red and gold, margins elaborately ruled in red and gold; fine *'unwān*, foll. 2*b*–3*a* splendidly illuminated; copyist, Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī al-Tafrashī; oriental binding; eighteenth century.

An anonymous treatise of advices to kings.

Beginning :—

الحمد لله رب العالمین والصلوة والسلام علی خیر خلقه محمّد وآله اجمعین اما بعد بدانکه پادشاهانی که مشفق درویشند نگهبان ملك و دولت خویشند الخ

This manuscript was formerly the property of the late John Drinkwater, Esq.

4596. سلیمان نامه *Sulaimān-nāmah* [Turk.].

Foll. 40. 7·6 in. by 4·3 in. (6·2 in. by 3·2 in.); 13 lines; good Turkish *naskh*; margins ruled in gilt and red, headings in red; good *'unwāns* on foll. 1*b*, 5*a*; foll. 1*b*, 2*a*, 4*b*, 5*a*

illuminated; red painted leather covers, illuminated with Turkish verses; eighteenth century.

A *mathnawī* poem in Turkish setting forth the principal tenets of the school of al-Shāfi'ī. The name of the author is not given.

Beginning:—

سحر وقتنده فیض فضل باری کو کلدن لطفله الدی غباری

This manuscript was formerly the property of the late John Drinkwater, Esq.

4597. معالی الهمم *Ma'ālī al-himam* [Ar.].

Foll. 27. 9·7 in. by 7·2 in. (7·6 in. by 5·4 in.); 20–1 lines; modern 'Irāqī *naskh*; rubrications, transcribed at Mosul in 1936.

A transcript, made at my request, of the Mosul manuscript of the Ṣūfī treatise of Abū 'l-Qāsim al-'Ārif (fl. *circa* 400/1010), and by me collated with the edition, based on the Rampur manuscript, of H. K. Ghazanfar (*Allahabad University Studies*, vol. xi (1935), pp. 263–297; vol. xiii (1937), pp. 226–254). The attribution of this book to the celebrated mystic Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Junaid (Ḥ.Kh., v, p. 613; Brock., *Suppl.*, i, p. 355; *AUS.*, vol. xi, pp. 277 ff.) is palpably incorrect, as I have demonstrated in the preface to my translation (*Islamic Culture*, vol. xi (1937), pp. 95–124).

This manuscript was presented by me to the Library in 1938.

4598. النصائح الدينية *al-Naṣā'iḥ al-dīnīyah* [Ar.].

Foll. 58. 10·2 in. by 7·5 in. (7·3 in. by 4·7 in.); 18 lines; modern Egyptian cursive *naskh*; transcribed at Cairo in 1933.

A transcript, made at my request, of one of the Cairo manuscripts (*Taṣ.* 1416) of the religious counsels of al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/837) [Brock., *Suppl.*, i, p. 352].

This copy was collated by me with the other manuscr
of the same work also preserved at Cairo (*Taṣ. Majmūʻah*
This manuscript was presented by me to the Library in 19

4599. A volume containing ten *dīwāns* of Persian poets [Pe
Foll. 287. 9·8 in. by 6·3 in. (7·7 in. by 3·7 in.); 16 line
somewhat cursive Turkish *nastaʻlīq*; rubrications, marg
ruled; green leather painted covers with decorative medallion
nineteenth century.

(1) انتخاب ديوان معزّى *Intikhāb i Dīwān i Muʻizzī.*

Foll. 1–90. Selections from the poetical works of Muḥamm
b. ʻAbd al-Malik Burhānī "Muʻizzī" (d. 542/1147–8) [IvAS
437, with references].

(2) انتخاب ديوان مجد همگر *Intikhāb i Dīwān i Maj*
Hamgar.

Foll. 91–117. Selections from the poetical works of M
al-Dīn Hibat Allāh Shīrāzī "Majd i Hamgar" (d. 686/12
[Ethé, Bodl., 678].

(3) انتخاب ديوان قطران *Intikhāb i Dīwān i Qaṭrān.*

Foll. 118–126*a*. Selections from the poetical works
Qatrān b. Manṣūr Tibrīzī "Qaṭrān" (d. 465/1072) [IvAS
430, with references].

(4) انتخاب ديوان عمعق *Intikhāb i Dīwān i ʻAmʻaq.*

Foll. 126*b*–130. Selections from the poetical works
Shihāb al-Dīn Bukhārī "ʻAmʻaq" (d. 544/1149). The *dīu*
does not appear to have survived, and his poetry is o
known from extracts quoted in *tadhkirah* works [Ethé, I
724; Rieu, B.M. Suppl., 105; IvASB., 927].

(5) ديوان شفروه *Dīwān i Shufurwah.*

Foll. 131–8. A small selection of the poetical works
Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad Faḍl Allāh Iṣfahānī "Shara
Shufurwah (d. *circa* 600/1203–4). The *dīwān* is very r
[IvASB., 465, with references].

(6) دیوان مسعود سعد سلمان *Dīwān i Mas'ūd i Sa'd i Salmān.*

Foll. 139–140*a*. A few extracts from the poetical works of Mas'ūd i Sa'd i Salmān (d. *circa* 520/1126) [Ethé, I.O. 908, with references].

(7) دیوان امین الدین کازرونی *Dīwān i Amīn al-Dīn Kāzarūnī.*

Foll. 140*b*–141*a*. A few extracts from the poetical works of Amīn al-Dīn Kāzarūnī, presumably to be identified with the *wazīr* of the Atabeg Taklah b. Zangī [Ethé, I.O. 724[164]].

(8) رباعیات اوحد الدین کرمانی *Rubā'īyāt i Auḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī.*

Foll. 141*b*–147. The quatrains of Auḥad al-Dīn Ḥāmid Kirmānī, the teacher of Auḥadī (d. 697/1297–8) [Ethé, I.O. 1747, fol. 37*b*; Rieu, B.M. Suppl., 140, fol. 371*b*]. Fol. 148 is blank.

(9) دیوان قائم مقام *Dīwān i Qā'im-maqām.*

Foll. 149–190. A collection of *qaṣīdah* poems by Abū 'l-Qāsim Qā'im-maqām of Farāhān, the prime minister of Muḥammad Shāh Qājār (reigned 1250/1834–1264/1848), see E. G. Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, p. 38. Fol. 191 is blank.

(10) انتخاب دیوان کمال الدین اسمعیل *Intikhāb i Dīwān i Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl.*

Foll. 192–287. Selections from the poetical works of Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad Iṣfahānī (d. 635/1237–8) [IvASB., 488, with references].

4600. مؤنس الاحرار فی دقائق الاشعار *Mu'nis al-aḥrār fī daqā'iq al-ash'ār* [Per.].

Foll. 300. 12·5 in. by 7·7 in. (6·5 in. by 3·7 in.); 13 lines, continued in margins; ordinary Persian *nasta'līq*; blue

paper; copyist, Manṣūr نوى Sarkānī; dated 15 Shauw
1238/25 June 1823.

An extensive anthology of Persian poetry, arranged accoı
ing to subjects in thirty chapters, by Muḥammad b. Ba
al-Jājurmī. The author in his preface, after setting foı
the titles of the chapters, gives a detailed list of the po
from whose works he quotes in this book.

For a full account of this exceedingly rare and very valual
work, originally completed in Ramaḍān 741/February 13
see Mīrzā Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb of Qazwīn
BSOS., vol. v (1928–1930), pp. 97–108 [I owe this referer
to the kindness of Professor Storey]. The present manuscr
was not known to the author of the article.

4601–6. A hand-list of the Persian (4601–3) and Ara
(4604–6) manuscripts of the Delhi Collection.

This hand-list was presumably compiled at Calcutta unc
the supervision of H. Blochmann some time after 186
(see *Proceedings of the Government of India (Home Departme*
ccccxxxiv, 17, pp. 2767–8). It is extremely slight, and ı
particularly accurate. These volumes were accessioned
1938.

4607. تفسير القرآن *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* [Ar.].

Foll. 667. 9·5 in. by 6 in. (6·5 in. by 3·2 in.); 25 lin
very clear and regular Turkish *naskh*; margins ruled a
gilt, text overlined in red, *'unwān* on fol. 1*b*; a note of own
ship on fol 1*a* dated 1232/1817; seventeenth century.

An excellent copy of the rather rare commentary of I
Kamāl Pāshā (d. 950/1543, see no. 4584 above) on the *Qur'*
This copy extends only as far as S. lxxxvi [Brock., ii, p. 4
Suppl., ii, p. 669].

[1] H. Blochmann was at that time an Assistant Professor of the Calcu
Madrissa, in the library of which institution the manuscripts had b
housed since their removal from Delhi in 1859.

4608. كتاب العمليات الجرّاحية *Kitāb al-ʻamalīyāt al-jarrāḥīyah* [Ar].

Foll. 204. 7·8 in. by 4·6 in.; 20–5 lines; cursive Egyptian *naskh*; poor paper; nineteenth century.

An anonymous textbook of practical surgery. The following note is written on the fly-leaf: "Ela Russell. Given to me 19 Nov[ber] by Herbrand Russell found inside a Tent at Tel El Kebir Wed: 13[th] September 1882."

4609. Abstract and Index of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Delhi Collection (see nos. 4601–6 above). Accessioned in 1938.

4610. Hand-list of the Urdu, etc., manuscripts in the Delhi Collection (uniform with nos. 4601–6 above). Accessioned in 1938.

4611. بازنامه *Bāz-nāmah* [Per]

Foll. 198. 10 in. by 6 in. (7 in. by 3·7 in.); 13 lines; ordinary Indian *nastaʻlīq*; gaudy margins in red and yellow; poor paper, water-stained; eighteenth century.

A comprehensive treatise on falconry, including both hunting and the care of the birds, in eighteen chapters, by one Muḥammad Jaʻfar (? this part of the author's name has been deliberately expunged in the manuscript, fol. 3*b*) b. Mīr Suhrāb Khān Tālpar.

Beginning:—

رنگین نوائی که عندلیبان گلزار معانی بلحن دلربا سرایند . . .
حمد بیحد در گاه ایزدی است الخ

4612. A volume containing two separate works.

Foll. 4. 8·2 in. by 5·7 in. (6·8 in. by 3·8 in.); 17 lines; modern Indian *nastaʻlīq*; transcribed in 1937.

(1) ارجوزة *Urjūzah* [Ar.].

Foll. 1–2. A copy of the well-known *rajaz*-poem on the

Philosopher's Stone ascribed to Dhū 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 246/861) [Brock., *Suppl.*, i, p. 353].

(2) مبقلة قريبة *Mabqalah qarībah* [Ar.].

Foll. 3–4. A magical recipe, stated to have been transmitted by one Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Junaid from "Abū Turāb", i.e. presumably the Caliph 'Alī.

The foregoing tracts were transcribed from originals preserved in the Āṣafīyah Library, Hyderabad, and kindly transmitted to me by Dr. H. L. Stapleton.

4613. روضة الافراح ونزهة الارواح *Rauḍat al-afrāḥ wa-nuzhat al-arwāḥ* [Ar.].

Foll. 157. 7·7 in. by 4·9 in. (5·2 in. by 2·7 in.); 17–23 lines; good but unpointed Persian *ta'līq*; rubrications; marginal corrections; on fol. 1*a* the seal of Jahāngīr dated 1018/1609; modern oriental black leather binding; fifteenth century.

A neat copy, unfortunately incomplete at the end, of the history of philosophers by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b Maḥmūd al-Shahrazūrī, who flourished in the seventh/thirteenth century [Brock., i, pp. 468–9; *Suppl.*, i, pp. 850–1]. This copy contains the rare supplement dealing with the Arabian philosophers, beginning on fol. 114*a* (cf. Ahlwardt, 10055). On fol. 1*a* the false title *Ta'rīkh al-ḥukamā'* is inscribed.

4614. ديوان ملك قمى *Dīwān i Malik i Qummī* [Per.].

Foll. 214. 9·4 in. by 4 in. (7 in. by 2·4 in.); 19 lines; minute calligraphic Persian *shikastah-āmīz*; pink, blue, and white paper; copyist, Abū Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm al-Rāzī; oriental red leather binding; dated 1061/1651.

An excellent and finely preserved early copy of the complete poetical works of Malik i Qummī (d. 1024/1615 or 1025/1616) [Ethé, I.O. 1499; IvASB., 715; for a unique *Kullīyāt*, more extensive than the *Dīwān*, see IvASB., Curzon, 264]. This copy contains a prose preface.

4615. شيراز نامه *Shīrāz-nāmah* [Per.].

Foll. 172. 7·4 in. by 3·5 in. (4·8 in. by 2 in.); 12 lines; ordinary Persian *nasta'līq*; water-stained, some folios torn; dated Ramaḍān 1075/March 1665.

A history of Shīrāz, with biographies of the rulers of Fārs and the famous Shaikhs and Imāms of Shīrāz, down to the year 744/1343, by Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī 'l-Khair b. Shaikh Zarkūb al-Shīrāzī "Mu'īn" [Storey, *Per. Lit.*, p. 351]. This copy lacks the first folio, and the text ends on fol. 141*b*.

The remainder of the manuscript contains the following:—

(1) Foll. 142–161*a*. Fragments of Islamic and pre-Islamic history.

(2) Foll. 161*b*–167*b*. A biography of the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Daulah (d. 372/982).

(3) Foll. 168–172. A legendary account of Nebuchadnezzar.

4616. A volume containing three separate works.

(1) اوصاف الاشراف *Auṣāf al-ashrāf* [Per.].

Foll. 1–38*a*. 7·5 in. by 4·3 in. (5·5 in. by 2·1 in.); 14 lines; fine Persian *nasta'līq* and *naskh*; chapter-headings and overlinings in gilt; some folios torn and skilfully restored; seventeenth century.

A well-known Ṣūfī ethical treatise in six chapters, by Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). The work has been lithographed several times in Persia [IvASB., 1182, with references].

(2) [نبذة *Nubdhah*] [Ar.].

Foll. 38*b*–39. 7·5 in. by 4·3 in. (5·6 in. by 2 in.); 14 lines; Persian *shikastah-āmīz*; seventeenth century.

An extract from an unspecified philosophical work by the same Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī.

(3) ينبوع الحيوة *Yanbū' al-ḥayāt* [Per.].

Foll. 40–91. 7·8 in. by 4·3 in. (4·8 in. by 2·4 in.); 12 lines; fine Persian *nasta'līq*; rubrications; good paper, gold-sprinkled; seventeenth century.

The treatise of "Hermes Trismegistus" on the human soul, translated [Ethé, I.O. 1921[14]] into Persian by Afḍal al-Dīn Muḥammad Kāshī (d. 707/1307–8).

The volume is bound in gilt-tooled red oriental leather.

4617. ميرشكارنامه *Mīr-shikār-nāmah* [Per.].

Foll. 87. 8·4 in. by 5 in. (6·4 in. by 3·2 in.); 15 lines; Indian *nasta'līq*; rubrications, margins ruled; severely damaged by damp, margins repaired; Indian red leather binding; seventeenth century.

An incomplete copy, lacking probably one folio at the beginning and several folios at the end, of a comprehensive treatise in twelve chapters on falconry. The name of the author is unfortunately lost.

4618. الوافى فى العروض والقوافى *al-Wāfī fī 'l-'arūḍ wa'l-qawāfī* [Ar.].

Foll. 54. 7 in. by 5 in. trimmed (4·8 in. by 3·4 in.); 11 lines; old *naskh*; rubrications, diagrams; copyist, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alīshāh b. Aḥmad; fourteenth century.

A treatise on the art of prosody. In the text itself neither title nor author's name occurs, but the title-page, written by the same hand as the manuscript, supplies these deficiencies as follows:—

كتاب الوافي في العروض والقوافي ألّفه الشيخ الامام ذو البيانين ابو حفص عمر بن عثمان بن الحسين بن شعيب الحرى [*sic*] احسن الله توفيقه الخ

If this attribution is correct, the author would appear to be Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Uthmān al-Janzī, a celebrated scholar

and poet, who died at Merv in 505/1111–12, and had as a pupil for some time al-Sam'ānī (see al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, fol. 137*b*). The author bases his theories on the well-known grammarian al-Khalīl, and illustrates his discourse with the usual diagrams. No other copy of this work appears to be preserved: in neither Ḥ.Kh. nor Brockelmann is it mentioned.

Beginning :—

اعلم لقاك الله السرور ووقاك الشرور ان العروض ميزان الشعر بها يعرف صحيحه من منكسره وهي تشتمل علي ستة اشياء السبب والوتد والجزء والبيت والبحر والدايرة الخ

The text is followed by a single folded sheet (fol. 55), containing a brief tract in Persian on prosody ascribed to Rashīd al-Dīn Watwāṭ (d. 578/1182), which is identical with the tract described in Rieu, B M. Suppl., 191², except that the beginning is somewhat different .—

این جزویست که درو اقسام عروض اشعار پارسی است تصنیف شیخ امام رشید الدین سعد الاسلام محمد بن محمد بن محمد المعروف بوطواط رحمة الله علیه باب هزج سالم الخ

4619. زبدة النسب *Zubdat al-nasab* [Per.].

Foll. 49. 7 in. by 4·7 in. (4·8 in. by 3 in.); 14 lines; Persian *ta'līq*; rubrications; corrected; black leather binding; sixteenth century.

A short work, consisting of a *muqaddimah*, five *fuṣūl*, and a *khātimah*, setting forth the names of the descendants of 'Alī and the twelve Imāms, followed by the genealogy of Shāh Ismā'īl of Persia (reigned 907/1502-930/1524), by Muḥammad Qāsim b. Ḥusain al-Nassābah, al-Ḥasanī al-Mukhtār al-'Abīdilī al-Ḥusainī al-Mūsawī al-Riḍawī, and composed at the invitation of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (reigned 930/1524–984/1576). This copy may be unique.

Beginning:—

انسب کلامی که از شمام روایح آن دماغ جان عالی نسبان صوامع قدس معطّر گردد . . . اما بعد چون معرفت انساب بموجب حدیث و کتاب امری مهم است الخ

4620. یخچالیه *Yakhchālīyah* [Per.].

Foll. 49. 8·2 in. by 5·8 in. (6 in. by 3·8 in.); 14 lines; good modern Persian *naskh*; rubrications; nineteenth century.

Satirical biographies and facetious tales in prose and verse, by Muḥammad 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib "Bahār", written in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (d. 1264/1848). This work was lithographed in Persia in 1290/1873 with a preface by Muḥammad Ḥusain "Adīb", and without a preface in 1290/1881 [Edwards, B.M. Per. Books, coll. 448–9]. The present manuscript ends rather differently from the published text.

4621. مجمع الطیور *Majma' al-ṭuyūr* [Per.]

Foll. 116. 8·8 in. by 5 in. (6·8 in. by 3·2 in.); 15 lines; elegant Indian *nasta'līq*; rubrications; pink, cream, and blue paper, gold-sprinkled; some folios badly damaged and skilfully repaired; copyist, Ghulām-zād [ ][1] ibn Ṭālib; written in the library of Prince 'Abbās 'Alī Khān; dated 1054/1644.

An ethical miscellany in prose and verse after the style of the *Gulistān*, by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ḥusainī. The book is divided into five chapters called *āshyānah*, each of which is further subdivided into sections called *parwāz*. This work, of which the present may be a unique copy, was composed during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II (1052/1642–1077/1667) (see fol. 116*a*), and therefore this manuscript, of which unfortunately the first folio is missing, must have been written during the author's lifetime.

[1] Lacuna in MS.

4622. انیس العاقلین *Anīs al-'āqilīn* [Per.].

Foll. 82. 9·2 in. by 4·7 in. (7·2 in. by 2·8 in.); 21 lines; Indian *nasta'līq*; rubrications; indifferent paper; seventeenth century.

A collection of ethical and religious sayings and stories, by Mullā Mīr Qārī Gīlānī, completed on 23 Muḥarram 1005/16 September 1596. This copy may be unique.

Beginning:—

سبحان من تحیر فی ذاته سواه
فهم و خرد بکنه کالش نزده راه

4623. A volume containing two separate works.

(1) کنز اللطائف *Kanz al-laṭā'if* [Per.].

Foll. 1–63. 8 in. by 5 in. (5·5 in. by 3·8 in.); 10 lines; good Indian *nasta'līq* and *naskh*; rubrications, interlineary and marginal notes; water-stained, last folio torn; copyist, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Pīr Muḥammad; seventeenth century.

A collection of model letters—probably fifty: this copy has a heading of the 49th on fol. 62*a*, and there is a lacuna after that folio—by Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad. The present copy lacks the first folio and title, but it is identical with Flügel, Vienna, 991[4]; Blochet, Paris, 1057 (where it is stated that the last letter is dated 898/1493): Ḥ.Kh. gives the title (v, p. 248, no. 10891) as *Kanz al-balāghah.*

(2) انتخاب تحفة الصلوات *Intikhāb Tuḥfat al-ṣalawāt* [Per.].

Foll. 64–88. 8 in. by 5 in. (7 in. by 3·3 in.); 19 lines; Indian *shikastah-āmīz*; rubrications; eighteenth century.

An epitome, apparently made by the author himself, of a treatise on the cult of the Prophet, and prayer, by Ḥusain Wā'iẓ Kāshifī. The original text (Blochet, Paris, 63[2]) was divided into a *muqaddimah*, eight *fuṣūl*, and a *khātimah*, and was completed in Ramaḍān 899/June 1495 [Ḥ.Kh., ii,

p. 230, no. 2608]: this division appears to be followed in this epitome, though the chapters are not numbered. It is stated in the preface that the epitome was made at the request of Sultān Abū 'l-Ghāzī [Mīrzā Baiqarā of Herat], who reigned 873/1468–911/1505. An extract of this epitome is preserved in Flügel, Vienna, 1963[3].

Beginning:—

سپاس و ستایش مر پادشاهی را . . . اما بعد نموده می شود که چون حضرت سلطان دین پناه . . . شاه ابو الغازی . . . سلطان حسین الخ

4624. تحفة العالم *Tuḥfat al-ʻālam* [Per.].

Foll. 215. 8·5 in. by 5·8 in. (5·9 in. by 3·3 in.); 19 lines; good modern Persian *naskh*; rubrications; copyist, Muḥammad al-Mūsawī; dated 1258/1842.

A good copy of the well-known travels of ʻAbd al-Laṭīf b. Abī Ṭālib Shushtarī (d. 1220/1805 or 1221/1806). The text was lithographed at Bombay in 1847 [IvASB., Curzon, 98].

4625. A volume containing two separate works.

Foll. 318. 8·5 in. by 4·6 in. (5·8 in. by 2·7 in.); 12 lines; Indian *shikastah*; gilt margins, rubrications, blue oriental paper; water-stained, some folios damaged and torn; copyist, Muḥammad ʻAlī; dated, at Hyderabad, 1054/1644.

(1) مجموعهٔ قطبشاهی *Majmūʻah i Quṭbshāhī* [Per.].

Foll. 1–195. An ethical miscellany. Some folios are lost at the beginning, so that the name of the author is not preserved, but the title given above is as stated in the colophon, and presumably refers to the Qutbshāh dynasty of the Deccan founded by ʻAbd Allāh Qutbshah (1035/1626–1083/1672), during whose reign the book was evidently written.

(2) اخلاق سیر پادشاهان *Akhlāq i siyar i pādshāhān* [Per.].

Foll. 196–318. A treatise on the art of kingship, illustrated with anecdotes and poetical extracts, by an anonymous

author. The title given above is that which occurs in IvASB., 1391: the present copy has none. According to Ivanow (loc. cit.), chronograms prove that the book was commenced in 1054/1644 and finished in 1055/1645, but it is difficult to reconcile these conclusions with the date (1054/1644) of the present manuscript. In the preface, the author refers to a previous work on a similar theme by himself, and perhaps the *Majmū'ah i Quṭbs͟hāhī* is intended.

4626. زينة المجالس *Zīnat al-majālis* [Per]

Foll. 240. 14·1 in. by 9·3 in. (10·5 in. by 4·7 in.); 29 lines; clear Indian *nasta'līq*; rubrications; many seals on foll. 1 and 240; black oriental leather binding; copyist, Muḥammad-Qulī b. Ḥusain-Qulī; dated 20 Rabī' i 1086/14 June 1675.

An excellent copy of the collection of anecdotes by Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥusainī "Majdī", completed in 1004/1595, and lithographed at Teheran in 1262/1846 [IvASB., 284, with references].

4627. A commonplace book.

Foll. 226. 9·2 in. by 6·3 in. (chiefly 6·3 in. by 3·7 in.); 17 lines generally, but many folios written diagonally in columns; the first hand, a scholarly Persian *ta'līq*, dated 986/1578; the second hand, a modern Persian *nasta'līq*, dated (fol. 212*b*) 1233/1818, other hands elsewhere; oriental red leather binding.

A valuable collection of miscellanea, of which the chief items are as follows:—

(1) (i) Selections from the poetical works of K͟hwājū Kirmānī (d. 753/1352), foll. 3–16b^3 [with margins foll. 3–9, followed by (i) the *Munājāt* of Qāḍī Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣan'ānī, foll. 10–14; (ii) selections from Amīr K͟husrau's *Qirān al-sa'dain*, foll. 15–27], and K͟hāqānī (d. 595/1199), foll. 16b^4–18b^{11}. (ii) Selections

from Amīr Khusrau's (d. 725/1325) *Mir'āt al-ṣafāt*, foll. 18b[12]–27b[11], and his *Daryā i abrār*, foll. 27b[12]–31a[4] [margins, selections from the poems of Ẓāhir Faryābī (d. 598/1201), foll. 28–32]. (iii) Selections from the poems of Jāmī, foll. 31a[5]–33b [with margins, fol. 33a–b]. (iv) The "ornate *qaṣīdah*" of Salmān Sāwajī (d. 779/1377), with marginal glosses, foll. 34–44a [margins, the *Sāqī-nāmah* of Nargisī (d. 921/1515), foll. 34b–35a]. (v) The "ornate *qaṣīdah*" of Sharaf al-Dīn Qazwīnī, foll. 44b–47b [margins, selections from Amīr Khusrau].

(2) Selections from the poetical works of Anwarī (fol. 48a), Sa'dī (fol. 49b), Niẓām (fol. 51a), Ḥaidar (fol. 51b), Kamāl Ghiyāth (fol. 54a), Muḥtasham Kāshī (fol. 55b), Niẓām (fol. 56b), Anwarī (fol 57b), Salmān Sāwajī (fol. 58b), Kātibī (fol. 59b), Ummīdī (fol. 60a), Sa'dī (fol. 61b), 'Ubaid Zākānī (fol. 61b), Rūḥānī (fol. 62b), Ḥasan Kāshī (fol. 63b), Salmān (fol. 64a), Anwarī (fol. 66a), Ātashī (fol. 67b), and Amīr Khusrau (fol. 68a).

(3) (i) A letter from Zhindah-Pīl (i.e. Aḥmad Jāmī, d. 536/1141) to Sulṭān Sanjar (d. 551/1156 or 552/1157); a story about Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; a letter of 'Imād al-Dīn Fadl Allāh: fol. 73b. (ii) An extract from the *Nigāristān* of Juwainī (d. 735/1335), fol. 74. (iii) An extract from the *Bahāristān* of Jāmī, and from the *Rauḍat al-shuhadā'* of Ḥusain Wā'iẓ Kāshifī, fol. 75a. (iv) The *Waṣāyā* of 'Abd al-Khāliq Ghijduwānī (d. 575/1179), and an account of his death, fol. 75b. (v) An extract from an unspecified ethical work, foll. 75b–76.

(4) (i) Sayings of 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī, fol. 77, and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, foll. 78–79a. (ii) Extracts from the *Tadhkirat al-mubtadī* of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qōnawī (d. 672/1273), foll. 79b–80a, and an account of Jāmī's pilgrimage, foll. 80b–81b. (iii) Poems of Ibn i Yamīn, foll. 82–5. (iv) Poems of Amīr Khusrau (fol. 87a), Salmān (foll. 87b–89b). (v) The spiritual pedigree of Yaḥyā b. Abī 'l-Faḍl al-Jāmī, written in Arabic by himself in 705/1305, fol. 90b; various anecdotes and verses, foll. 91–92a. (vi) Extracts from the *Mihr u mushtarī* of Muḥammad 'Assār

Tibrīzī (d. 784/1383), foll. 92*b*–95*b*; the *Makhzan al-asrār* of Niẓāmī, foll. 95*b*–96*a*; the *Lailā u Majnūn* of Amīr Khusrau, foll. 96*b*–97*a*; and poems of Ahlī and Kātibī, foll. 97*b*–98*a*.

(5) A series of mystical meditations and anecdotes, each called *bāriqah*, which may therefore be identical with the anonymous *Bawāriq* [IvASB., 1327[1]], foll. 98–104. [Margins: (i) An account of the Qarmaṭī heresy, entitled *Mansha' i madhhab i mulḥidān*, by "Zain al-Dīn", presumably an extract from one of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī's anti-Qarmaṭī works, foll. 98–101. (ii) Najm al-Dīn Nasafī's (d. 537/1142–3) Persian *Risālah* on erring Ṣūfī sects [Ethé, I.O., col. 1424], foll. 102–3.]

(6) Extracts from the *Laṭā'if al-ṭawā'if* of Ḥusain Wā'iẓ Kāshifī [IvASB., 297, with references], foll. 105*b*–142*a*. [Margins: (i) A *Tarjī'-band* of Jāmī, foll. 105*b*–109*a*. (ii) A *Tarjī'-band* of 'Irāqī (d. 688/1289), foll. 109*b*–112*a*. (iii) Poems of Kamāl Ismā'īl Iṣfahānī, foll. 112*b*–132*a*. (iv) Various poems in a later hand dated 1191/1777, foll. 132*b*–135*b*.]

(7) Foll. 142*b*–173*b*. An anonymous and untitled epitome of geography, in which a succinct account is given of the various towns occurring in each clime. The last section (fol. 172*b*) is entitled *ma'rifat i khārij i aqālīm*. The *Suwar i aqālīm* (compiled in 748/1348, see IvASB., 280, with references) is quoted on fol. 173*a*. The work has no preface, and begins:—

معرفت ما بین خط استوا و اقلیم اول وهی هذه جانب جنوب این قطعه الخ

[Margins: (i) Poems of Ibn i Yamīn, foll. 157*a*–159*a*. (ii) The *Muqaṭṭa'āt* of Ibn i Yamīn, foll. 159*b*–173*b*.]

(8) (i) Extracts from a work entitled *Basātīn al-uns* (hardly the same as Rieu, B M., p. 752*b*), foll. 173*b*–174*b*. (ii) Scraps of poetry, fol. 176*a*. (iii) A letter of Jāmī, fol. 176*b*. (iv) A *nishān* of Shāh Ismā'īl II (reigned 984/1576–985/1578), dated 27 Shauwāl 984/17 January 1577, foll. 177–8. (v) Scraps of poetry, foll. 179–180. (vi) Unimportant scraps and extracts, foll. 181–226.

4628. A guard-book for miscellaneous Arabic documents, at present blank.

4629. A roll, made up of eleven strips each measuring 14·3 in. by 9·8 in., containing a nineteenth century transcript, in fine calligraphic *naskh*, of a treaty which purports to have been written by Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān at the dictation of the Prophet, for the Christian tribe of al-Ḥārith (Balḥārith) b. Ka'b (for which see *EI*., ii, pp. 268–9), in which the Prophet undertakes to protect all Chirstian peoples in consideration of their paying the *jizya*. The original document seems to have been signed by the Prophet and witnessed by thirty-five of his Companions, and dated 5 Rabī' ii 4/15 September 625.

Beginning:—
هذا المحرّر موافق للكتاب الاهلى والامر النبوى والالفاظ الطاهرة لتحقيق الحقايق المصطوي هذا الكتاب الاصلى كاتبه معاوية ابن ابي سفيان باملآء المصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلّم وعلى آله اجمعين بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه العون هذا الكتاب العزيز امر بكتبته خير حلق الله محمد رسول الله الى الناس كافة بشيراً ونذيراً على وديعة الله فى خلقه ليكون حجة الله على الناس . . . كتبه الى الحارث بن كعب عهداً وميثاقاً من لدن رسول الله لأهل ملة المسيحية فى مشرق الارض ومغربها الخ

This manuscript was formerly the property of Hormuzd Rassam, Esq. (1826–1910, see *DNB*., 2nd Suppl., iii, pp. 158–161), and was presented to the Library in 1938 by his daughter.

4630. الوفآء بشرح الاصطفآء *al-Wafā' bi-sharḥ al-Iṣṭifā'* [Ar.].

Foll. 138. 7·2 in. by 5·3 in. (4·6 in. by 3·6 in.); 15 lines; scholarly *naskh*; rubrications; somewhat worm-eaten in

places; copious marginal corrections; old half-leather binding; autograph, dated Muḥarram 899/October 1493.

A unique and autograph copy of a commentary, by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʻUmar b. Raslān b. Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʻAbd al-K͟hāliq al-Bulqīnī al-S͟hāfiʻī, on his own original *qaṣīdah* entitled *al-Iṣṭifā' min asmā' al-Muṣṭafā* in which he enumerates more than 400 names—many of them, as he explains, merely describing qualities—of the Prophet Muḥammad. The author, who is not mentioned by Brockelmann, was born in D͟hū 'l-Qaʻdah 870/June 1466, and wrote commentaries on a number of well-known works (see al-Sak͟hāwī, *al-Ḍau' al-lāmiʻ*, iv, pp. 28–9, where this poem is mentioned): he was descended from a family of famous lawyers and scholars, including ʻUmar b. Raslān al-Bulqīnī (d 805/1403, Brock., ii, p. 93; *Suppl.*, ii, p. 110) and ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʻUmar al-Bulqīnī (d. 824–1421, Brock., ii, p. 112; *Suppl.*, ii, p. 139). The margins contain frequent corrections by the author of his own original draft.

Beginning:—

الحمد لله الذى اطلع فى سماء الاسمآء شموس اسمايه الحسنى وزينها بمصابيح سمات نبيه الاسنى . . . وقد يسر الله تعالى لي تحصيل جملة منها تزيد على اربعماية اسم غالبها من القول البديع لشيخنا الحافظ شمس الدين ابي عبد الله محمد السخاوى ونظمتها فى قصيدة ماية بيت سميتها بالاصطفاء من اسماء المصطفى . . ثم سنح لى ان اجعل عليها شرحا . . . وسميتها بالوفاء بشرح الاصطفاء الخ

Beginning of *qaṣīdah* (fol. 2*b*):—

أبرق لامع سحراً تبسّمْ ام الشمس المضيئة لم تغيّم

4631. كتاب الحماسة *Kitāb al-Ḥamāsah* [Ar.].

Foll. 114. 8 in. ~~by 4·5~~ in. (6·5 in. by 3 in.); 20 lines; extremely fine old *naskh*, brilliant black and red inks, fully

vocalized; somewhat water-stained, some folios damaged and torn; copyist, Mas'ūd b. al-Mufarrij b. 'Alī; transcription begun 507/1113–14, completed Shauwāl 537/May 1143.

A magnificent copy of the *Ḥamāsah* of Abū Tammām (d. 231/846, see Brock., i, p. 20; *Suppl.*, i, p. 40). The copyist completed the transcription of the first chapter on 5 Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 507/14 May 1114 (fol. 39*b*), and then, as he explains, was prevented by a variety of circumstances from completing the whole manuscript until thirty years later. Moreover, he added in the margin copious explanations of the first chapter, and of a few poems at the beginning of the second chapter, adding this footnote (fol. 39*b*):—

قوبل باب الحماسة بحسب الطاقة وعلقت حواشيه من نسخة بخط
الشيخ ابى زكريا يحيى بن على الخطيب التبريزى رحمه الله تعالى

Abū Zakarīyā al-Tibrīzī, whose commentary on the *Ḥamāsah* was edited by G. Freytag (Bonn, 1828–1847), died in 502/1109, and the fact that the present manuscript was actually collated with a copy in his hand, so soon after his death, increases its value and importance. The manuscript is also significant for the history of Arabic calligraphy, since it is written in an exceptionally beautiful and characteristic style.

4632. كتاب الهداية *Kitāb al-Hidāyah* [Ar.].

Foll. 77. 8·1 in. by 5·8 in. (5 in. by 2·7 in.); 12 lines; ordinary Persian *naskh*; rubrications; water-stained; European paper, water-marked; stamped oriental red leather binding; dated 23 Rajab 1074/20 January 1664.

A short *exposé* of the Muslim faith from the Shī'ite standpoint, by the celebrated theologian Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qummī "Ibn Bābūyah al-Ṣadūq" (d. 381/991 or 391/1001). This work is very rare, and only one other copy, at Berlin, is reported [Brock., *Suppl.*, p. 952], but it

has been lithographed at Teheran in 1276/1859 [ibid., p. 322, no. 14].

This text is followed (foll. 78–84) by a short anonymous untitled tract, in Persian, on the correct pronunciation of the *Qur'ān*. The pamphlet is divided into four short chapters.

Beginning:—

الحمد لله رب العالمين وصلى الله على محمد وآله اجمعين اما بعد بدانكه جميع قرا برانند كه در وقت ابتدا كردن قرآن اعوذ بالله مى بايد گفت الخ

The remainder of the volume (foll. 85–7) contains rules, in Persian, for the recitation of certain prayers.

4633. ديوان بهاء الدين زهير *Dīwān Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhair* [Ar.]

Foll. 102. 8 in. by 5·6 in. (5·8 in. by 4 in.); 17 lines; fine, bold Egyptian *naskh*; fully vocalized; title-page in decorative Kufic; on fol. 102*b* a note of ownership dated 825/1422; fourteenth century.

An old and excellent copy of the poetical works of Abū 'l-Faḍl Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhair b. Muḥammad al-Muhallabī, the well-known Egyptian panegyrist (d. 656/1258) [Brock., i, p. 264; *Suppl.*, i, pp. 465–6].

427.

Three Mandaean Phylacteries

TRANSLITERATED AND TRANSLATED BY E. S. DROWER
(author of "The Mandæans of Iraq and Iran", Clarendon Press, Oxford;
"Folk Tales of Iraq," Oxford University Press)

NOTE.

Three Mandæan Phylacteries (*D.C.* 33)

THE following three *qmahia* are all inscribed on a long, narrow slip of yellowed Persian paper originally kept in a metal tube and worn by the owner. It is number 33 of my collection. The list of copiers together with their genealogies which usually ends such documents is missing and the writing is poor. The scribe makes mistakes, for instance, being unfamiliar with the word *lilipiatha* he writes at first "*liliatha piamana*" (nonsense), then several times "*liliatha*", but becoming convinced at last that he is mistaken, he transcribes thereafter *lilipiatha* as written in the roll from which he copied. He occasionally omits a word though it is obvious that he intended to write it. In such cases I have inserted what is missing in brackets. Another peculiarity is that the *laqab* or worldly name of the person for whom the phylactery was written is given as well as the religious or magical name. In most magic documents the latter alone is given. From the *laqab*, Shabur br Dahba, it may be deduced that the owner was of the Iranian group of Mandæans who dwell on the banks of the Karun River.

Hence the document presents several unusual features and contributes to our knowledge of the Mandaic language. It is undated.

Transliteration

I prefer Roman characters to Hebrew, as Mandaic knows no difference between the hard and the soft "h" except as a third person terminal (possessive and objective).

ࡀ = A.
ࡁ = B.
ࡂ = G.
ࡃ = D.
ࡄ = H (hard and soft).
ࡅ = W, U, and V.
ࡆ = Z.
ࡇ = final possessive or objective terminal, 3rd person singular.
ࡈ = Ṭ.
ࡉ = Y or I.
ࡊ = K or kh.
ࡋ = L.
ࡌ = M.
ࡍ = N.
ࡎ = S.
ࡏ = ʻ (*ʻain*).
ࡐ = P.
ࡑ = Ṣ.
ࡒ = Q.
ࡓ = R.
ࡔ = Sh.
ࡕ = T.
ࡖ = d.
ࡀ = A.
ࡗ = kth (i.e. "like" or "as").

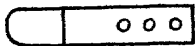
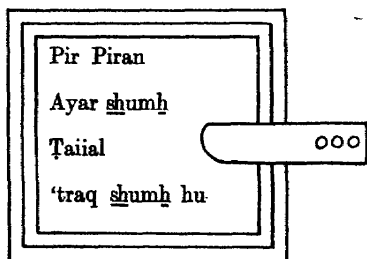
Marai mshaba	Dakia bpuma	D tushbihtha blishanh

A, B, G, D . . . . (etc)..

Bshumaihun d hiia rbia 'sirna hthimna ana Bayan br Mahnush Shabur br Dahba shuba lbushia d ziwa lbishna shuba himiania d ziwa bhalṣai 'sirlia shuba sandlia d ziwa blighrai mathnalia shuba kasuia d ziwa mkasina shuba qurahia d ziwa brishia mathnalia gimra ana dakia 'uṣṭuna rba d asawatha d qaiminabh bmiṣat almia udaria shuba lbushia d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia lbishna ana Bayan br Mahnush Shabur br Dahba shuba himiania d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia bhalṣai 'sirlai shuba ksuia d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia mkasina shuba qurahia d hirbia usifia u'uṣṭamumia brishai mathnalia shuba sandlia d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia blighrai mathnalia shuba lbushia d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia d 'lawia rishai nasgia shuba lbushia d hirbia usifia u'uṣṭamumia 'nisbia mn atutia lighrai nithia balbushia d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia 'nisbia mn yaminai nithia balbushai d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia 'nisbh mn smalai d qariblia 'mihih u'gababh u'kihth u'rimh ubanh qaribnalh u'kawh u'pilh u'rimh wasutha tihuilia ldilia Bayan br Mahnush Shabur br Dahba hiia zakin S . . . . a.

Bshumaihun d hiia rbia 'sirna hthimna ana Bayan br Mahnush Shabur br Dahba bYawar Ziwa ubYawar Ziwa nishimtai mn gilia mia uruha mn 'dana baraia hua gabra d layar qaiim zhir usmir Yusmir Ziwa Rba Qadmaia shumh akla d ziwa b'dh lgit ulsahria uldaiwia qaiim umahih asutha tihuilia da (ldilia ?) Bayan br Mahnush Shabur br Dahba hiia zak'in S . . . . a.

Bshumaihun d hiia rbia asutha tihuilia ldilia Bayan br Mahnush 'lawai 'da la 'da 'lawai hilfa lahlif 'lawai rishai ṣipar gadfa gadfh lashqal uladahlit mshabinalakh mlakha rba d asawatha d yahiblia asutha lh Bayan br Mahnush Shabur br Dahba aminṭul d shuba lbushia d nura lbishna ana Bayan br Mahnush Shabur br Dahba shuba himiania d nura bhalṣai 'sirlia shuba ksuiia d nura mkasina shuba qurahia d nura

brishia mathnalia shuba (sandlia ?) d nura blighrai mathnalia shuba lbushia d nura aqamai azlin shuba lbushia d nura abathra (abathrai ?) athin shuba lbushia d nura lyaminai mathnalia shuba lbushia d nura 'l smalai shuba lbushia d parzla lbishna ana Bayan br Mahnush Shabur br Dahba shuba himiania d parzla bhalṣai 'sirlia shuba ksuiia parzla mkasina shuba qrahia d parzla brishai mathnalia shuba sandlia d parzla blighrai mathnalia shuba lbushia d parzla aqamai azlin shuba lbushia d parzla abathrai athin shuba (lbushia ?) d parzla lyaminai shuba lbushia d parzla lsmalai mathnalia shuba lbushia lbushia d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia usikinia ulilliatha piaman ugarṭufiatha lbishna ana Bayan br Mahnush Shabur br Dahba shuba himiania d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia usikinia uliliatha ugartifiatha bhalṣai 'sirlia shuba ksuiia d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia usikinia uliliatha ugarṭufiatha mkasina shuba (qurahia ?) d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia usikinia ulilipiatha ugarṭufiatha brishia mathnalia shuba lbushia d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia usikinia ulilipiatha ugartufiatha aqamai azlia shuba lbushia d hirbia usikinia ulilipiatha ugarṭufiatha abathrai athin shuba lbushia hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia usikinia ulilipiatha ugarṭufiatha lyaminai mathnalia shuba lbushia d hirbia usifia u'uṣtamumia usikia [*sic*] ulilatha (*sic*) ugartufiatha lsmalai mathnalia

Bhamara d parzla 'l (?) rkabna huṭrai d parzla 'l kadfai mathnalia gimra hiwara d hua b'da d Yawar 'lia hu alahia d

hizian ghun ubkun mn karsawathun 'l anpaihun nfal kı shuma d hzan qamat balbushia d shuma lbishna amin d razia wathit larqa (arqa ?) d hzatan mn sadanh shı amintul d raza d arqa mkasina rukbaihun d shuba 'star ularahshia kul daiwa d tribh bdilia Bayan br Mahnı Shabur br Dahba kulhun d 'lawai kul daiwa d nadalia unisi lbish tribia 'mihh bhaila d mn bit ab 'lwanan 'kafafinun Bayan br Mahnush Shabur br Dahba gimra ana dakia 'ustu rba d asawatha kul daiwa d tribh lh 'hinqia 'niqfia amin brushuma d hiia rshimna ushuma d hiia ushuma d manda hiia madkar 'lai kul daiwa uhumarta udinish upatikhı ushibiahia d mn marba nithia umn madna nithia d mn tiı nithia umn 'lawia rishia nithia hın mn atutia lighrai unit 'iasbh braza kulhun d 'lawia nithia wasutha uzakutha unatar rabtia d shrara nihuılıa ldilia Bayan br Mahnush Shab br Dahba hiia zakin S ....

A, B, G, D, etc. ......

Hazin thlatha qmahia hda shuba lbishna hda 'sirna hthimı hda byawar ziwa ubyawar ziwa nishimtai u'lawia 'd [*sic*] la 'da hazın thlatha qmahia natrılakh u'nshia d afk tum d mrabıan tum lman hazin dmawatha bhilmia udnı d 'kuria tum kdub 'l mistarwatha bshinta tum lziqa d afk lbar qaiim tum lbmutha d shakhba lwath gabra lwath 'nsh kdub lman d baiit btasa ubmia bgufta d parzla.

Translation

My lord be praised. Pure of mouth. One on whose tongı is praise.

(The alphabet follows.)

In the name of the Great Life! I am bound and sealed, Bayan son of Mahnush, Sapor son of "Gold". I put on sev garments of radiance, seven girdles [1] of radiance I bind

[1] The *himıana* is the sacred girdle, the *ksuıia* is the sacred shirt. The are worn on all religious occasions.

my loins, seven sandals of radiance I put on my feet, with seven vestures[1] of radiance I cover myself, seven helmets[2] of radiance I place on my head. I am perfected and pure, the great body[3] of healings in which I stand is (set) in the midst of the worlds and ages. I clothe myself with seven garments of swords and blades and poisoned darts,[4] I, Bayan son of Mahnush, Sapor son of Gold; I bind seven girdles of swords and blades and poisoned darts about my loins, I cover myself with seven coverings (vestments) of swords and blades and poisoned darts, I place on my head seven helmets of swords and blades and poisoned darts, I put on my feet seven sandals of swords and blades and poisoned darts. (With the ?) Seven garments of swords and blades and poisoned darts that go above my head, (with ?) seven garments of swords and blades and poisoned darts I take him who comes from my right hand, with my garments of swords and blades and poisoned darts I take him who approaches me from my left, I smite him and bend him and trouble[5] him and throw him down and I approach his building[6] and burn it and cast it down and hurl it down. And healing shall be mine, Bayan son of Mahnush, Sapor son of Gold. Life is victorious.

In the name of the Great Life I am bound and sealed, I,

[1] The *himiana* is the sacred girdle, the *ksuia* is the sacred shirt. These are worn on all religious occasions.

[2] *Qurahia.* The word occurs frequently in exorcisms in lists of protective pieces of armour.

[3] *'Ustuna,* literally "column" or "support" is used in Mandaic as synonymous with "body", particularly the lower part of the body.

[4] *'Ustamumia.* Occurs in lists of weapons, and appears to be synonymous with *giria shmimia* (poisoned arrows). The thickening of the "t" of the ethpael after ṣ and s is a common occurrence, according to Noldeke. The root is of course סמם "to poison", the s thickening to ṣ and the t to ṭ. *Hustamumia* and *'ustimimia,* however, which occur in the Sfar Malwasha, come from צמם (to be pressed together, restrained), e.g. *dahil mn hizda umn 'usṭamumia d asqh* "he fears shame and bonds of restraint imposed upon him."

[5] The root is *kht,* not found elsewhere. The E. Syr. word for a stony place, *chihta* (meaning "difficult to walk on" ?) occurs to one, so my translation is tentative.

[6] *Banh.* One would expect *lbanh,* or *lbinianh.* I suspect miscopying.

Bayan son of Mahnush, Sapor son of Gold, by Yawar Ziwa [1] and by (through) Yawar Ziwa my soul (is taken ?) from the waves of water [2] and my spirit from outer Time. He, the Man who stands upon the ether, the righteous, the guarded—Yusmir, Great First Radiance is his name—took a hammer [3] of radiance in his hand, stands on the demons and devils and strikes him (them ?). And health be mine, Bayan son of Mahnush, Sapor son of Gold. Life is victorious. S ....
.... a.

In the name of the Great Life! Healing be mine, Bayan son of Mahnush. Upon me is his hand. The hand upon me is not the hand of one who redeems not.[4] Above my head a winged bird removed not its wing. And I feared not. I praise thee great Angel [5] of Healings, who giveth healing to Bayan son of Mahnush Sapor son of Gold, because I put on seven garments of fire, I, Bayan son of Mahnush, Sapor son of Gold, seven girdles of fire I girt round my loins, with seven vestures of fire I cover myself, seven helmets of fire I place on my head, seven (sandals) of fire I place on my feet. Seven garments of fire go before me, seven garments of fire come behind me, seven garments of fire I set at my right, and seven garments of fire at my left. Seven garments of iron I put on, I, Bayan son of Mahnush, Sapor son of Gold, seven girdles of iron I gird on my loins, with seven (*here is a magic figure*) vestures of iron I cover myself; seven helmets of iron I place on my head, seven sandals of iron I put on my feet, seven garments of iron go before me, seven garments of iron come behind me, seven (garments) of iron are at my right and seven garments of iron are at my left. I put on seven garments of swords and blades and poisoned darts and knives and

[1] Yawar Ziwa is one of the great redeeming spirits.

[2] The soul of man is sometimes represented as coming from the water of the heavenly river Frat Ziwa.

[3] *akla* means both "hammer" and "consuming ray of light".

[4] I suspect that this curious negative phrase was originally *'da ḏ 'lawai 'da ḏ hilfa hlif* "the hand upon me is of one who makes great redemption."

[5] An angel is usually an evil being, but here plainly good.

(fasces ?)[1] and cutters,[2] I, Bayan son of Mahnush, Sapor son of Gold. Seven girdles of swords and blades and poisoned darts and knives and (fasces ?) and cutters I bind about my loins, with seven coverings of swords and blades and poisoned darts and knives and (fasces ?) I cover myself, seven (helmets) of swords and blades and poisoned darts and (fasces ?) and cutters I place on my head. Seven garments of swords and blades and poisoned darts and knives and (fasces ?) and cutters go before me and seven garments of swords and blades and poisoned darts and knives and (fasces ?) and cutters come behind me. Seven garments of swords and blades and poisoned darts and knives and (fasces ?) and cutters I place at my right, and seven garments of swords and blades and poisoned darts and knives and (fasces ?) and cutters I place at my left.

(In the magic figure[3] the words are: "His name is Pir[4] Piran Ayar (Ether). His name is Ṭaiial[5] 'traq.")

On a she-ass of iron[6] I ride, my flail of iron I place on my shoulder. The white perfection[7] which is in the hand of Yawar is upon me. The gods that beheld sobbed and wept and fell from their thrones upon their faces. Each Name that

[1] As indicated in the prefatory note, this should be lilipiatha. I have not met the word elsewhere. The root must be LAF "to bind together" (the doubling of the first syllable is not uncommon in Mandaic), hence the meaning might be "fasces", or "bundles of twigs woven together to form a weapon"?

[2] *gartufiatha*. *Parel* of *gtf* "to cut". "Knives"? "Scissors"?

[3] It will be noticed that the first magic figure (p 400) is here represented as entering a triple square in the second figure. It is probably a phallic symbol.

[4] *Pir Piran*. Pira is a fruit, and root PRA is "to produce, bear fruit". Pirun Malka is the name of a fertility spirit which has become confused in Mandæan legend with Pharaoh, hence, probably, the adoption of Pharaoh legends into the Mandæan group.

[5] I cannot suggest a meaning for Ṭaiial (= Tai'il ?—the suffix *'il* indicates a good genius or spirit) The root TRQ (= DRQ ?) seems to mean "to thrust".

[6] The *'l* is superfluous.

[7] *Gimra*. See Lidzbarski's note on this word, *Mandäische Liturgien* (Berlin, 1920), p. 23, note 3. I translate "perfection" but this is usually *gmura*, or *gumra*.

beheld me arose. I am clothed in the garments of the Nathe because of the mysteries. And I came to the earth : she (the earth) [1] that saw me was removed from her axis, because I am covered by the mystery of the earth. The chariots [2] of the Seven were cast down, each demon that struck at him, at Bayan son of Mahnush, Sapor son of Gold, was confounded and stirred not. All those who (were) upon him, each demon that incites him to and instils [3] into him evil, striking at him, I smite him with the strength that (comes) from the house of my Father upon us. I force them to bow down (and depart) from Bayan son of Mahnush, Sapor son of Gold.

I am pure perfection,[4] a great corporation of healings. Each demon who strikes at him (at Bayan, etc.), I choke him, I knock him down, because I am signed with the Sign of Life, and the name of Life and the name of Dwelling [5] of Life are pronounced over me. Each demon and amulet spirit and *dinish*,[6] and idol-spirits and planets, those which come from the west, those that come from the east, and those which come from the south, and those which come from above my head.[7] (Yea) if he come up from beneath my feet, I will tread him down by (virtue of) the mystery (yea) all who come upon him. And healing and purity and the great safeguard of soundness be his, Bayan, son of Mahnush, Sapor son of Gold. Life is victorious. S . . . . a.

A, B, G, etc. (the letters of the alphabet).

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[1] Cf *arqa shnat mn sadanh ushumia shnat mn gargilia*, "the earth was removed from its axis and the skies removed from the spheres" (Bit Mishqal Ainia) *A Mandæan Phylactery, Iraq*, vol v, pt. 1, 1938, British School of Archæology in Iraq).

[2] Usually *markabatha d shuba 'star*. *Rukbaihun* is "their knees", but the meaning is clear.

[3] *nsk* to pour, pour into.

[4] See above, p. 404, note 7.

[5] See my *The Mandæans of Iraq and Iran*, pp. 10–13.

[6] *dinish*. The *dinish* or *danish* is often found in lists of demons. Rt. DUSH "to trample" ?).

[7] It will be noticed that the north is not mentioned, for the north is the abode of good spirits, not evil.

These three phylacteries, one, "I put on seven"; one, "I am bound and sealed"; one, "By Yawar Ziwa and by Yawar Ziwa my soul" and "The hand upon me is not the hand", these three phylacteries guard thee and women in travail,[1] further those who are nursing (children), further, for those who see apparitions in dreams and the *dnish*[2] of high places (*pagan shrines*). Further, write (them) for children who are terrified[3] in sleep, further, for those twisted by wind (*flatulence*), standing without (?), further, upon him lying in death with a man, with women. Write it for whoso shall ask it of thee on a bowl, and with water,[4] in a cylinder of iron.

[1] *afkin* "twist". Here, "in travail." Cf. the Arabic use of the root حَلَ for "to be in labour", "to be pregnant".

[2] See above, p. 405, note 6.

[3] The word is misspelt by the scribe, who has written in a d beneath the word. *Sarwadta* "night-terror," often occurs in exorcisms.

[4] Phylacteries are usually read aloud by the exorcist over a bowl of water in which freshly placed greenery has been placed The cylinder of iron probably refers to the amulet-case into which the phylactery is to be placed so that it can be worn on the person.

423.

Fragmenta graeca in litteris arabicis
1. Palladios and Aristotle[1]

BY R. WALZER

H. RITTER has referred again to the Arabian manuscript Tübingen Weisweiler, nr. 81, in *Islam*, 21 (1933), p. 91. It contains the only copy hitherto known of the oldest mystic book on the subject of love, the *k. ʿatf al-alif al-maʾlūf ʿalā' l-lām al maʿṭūf* of Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Dailamī.[2] The year of al-Dailamī's death has hitherto not been established; he was a pupil and the *rāwī* of the well-known author on mysticism, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muhammad b. Khafīf (died 371 H. = A.D. 981), therefore probably one of the older contemporaries of Ibn Sīnā (died 428 H. = A.D. 1037). A year ago, Dr. Arberry kindly drew my attention to the fact that this manuscript contained some quotations of ancient authors which could not be traced and which might be worth considering. The opinions of the astronomers, scientists, and متكلمون on love are discussed in the first part of the book; the passage on the scientists (32*b* 7–33*b* 9) is specially interesting, as it offers two hitherto absolutely unknown fragments, one of the last century of the Alexandrian-Greek literature, the other very probably of a lost dialogue of Aristotle.

* * *

فهذا قول اصحاب النجوم فى العشق والمحبة وسنذكر رأى الطبيعيين فى ذلك الفصل الثالث فى قول الاطباء فيهما.

ذكر فى بعض كتب الاوائل ان تلامذة ارسطاليس اجتمعوا اليه ذات يوم، فقال ارسطاليس لهم: بينا انا

[1] Cf. R. Walzer, Un frammento nuovo di Aristotele ("Eudemos" in a risāla of al-Kindī) in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 14 (1937), pp. 127–137.

[2] Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Erster Supplementband (Leiden, 1937), p. 359 (7*b*).

واقف على اكمة اذا بصرت بشاب واقف على سطح ويقول
شعرا معناه من مات عشقا فليمت هكذى لا خير فى b
عشق بلا موت، فقال ايسوس تلميذه: ايها الحكيم اخبرنا
عن ماهية العشق وعن الذى يتولد منه، وقال ارسطاطاليس:
العشق طمع يتولد فى القلوب فاذا تولد تحرك و نمى ثم
10 تربّى فاذا تربّى اجتمع اليه موادّ الحرص وكلما قوى
فى قرار القلب ازداد صاحبه فى الاهتياج واللجاج c
والطمع والفكر والامانى وذاك الذى يؤدّيه الى الحرص
ويبعثه على الطلب حتى يؤديه ذلك الى الغمّ المقلق
والسهر الدائم والهيمان والاحزان وفسا‹د› العقل،

15 قال صاحب الكتاب هذا الجواب يدل على ان السائل كان
طبيعيا فخرج جوابه على مقدار السائل لان ارسطاطاليس كان d
الاهيا، ويجوز ايضا انه كان يرى ان المحبة التى بين المتحابّين
والعشق يتولدان جميعا من الطبايع وليس لهما فى عالم العقل
والنفس شىء.

20 وسُئل فلاديوس الطبيب عن العشق فقال العشق
دآء يتولد فى الدماغ من جوَلان الفكر وكثرة ذكر e
الحبيب وادامة النظر اليه،

11 فمن [فى 11 MS. 22 ادامت MS.

وحكى عن جالينوس انه دخل على مريض فجس عرقه فوجده يضطرب اضطرابا عريضا، فبينا هو كذلك اذ دخلت امرأة الى المريض فكلمته، فلما خرجت قال جالينوس للمريض: اتحب هذه المراة؟ فامسك المريض عن جوابه، فقيل له: كيف علمت؟ فقال: لان عرقه اضطرب اضطرابا عريضا عند ما كلمته فعلمت ان لها من قلبه موقعا،

قال صاحب الكتاب وجدنا كلام اصحاب الطبيعة وان اختلفت اقاويلهم فهو اختلاف اللفظ والمعنى واحد وهو الذى ذكرنا وحكينا عنهم لا يجاوزون هذا الحد فلا فائدة فى تكثير حكاياتهم وذكر اقاويلهم ونذكر الان مقالات المتكلمين فى ذلك الفصل . .

23 جالنوس [جالينوس 25 خرجة [خرجت MS.

It is said in a certain book of the ancients that the pupils of *Aristotle* assembled before him one day. And *Aristotle* said to them: "While I was standing on a hill, I saw a youth, who stood on a terrace roof and recited a poem, the meaning of which was: Whoever dies of passionate love, let him die in this manner; there is no good in love without death." Then said his pupil *Issos*: "O philosopher, inform us concerning the essence of love and what is generated from it." And *Aristotle* replied: "Love is an impulse which is generated in the heart; when it is once generated, it moves and grows, afterwards it becomes mature. When it has become mature it is joined by affections of appetite whenever the lover in the depth of his heart increases in his excitement and in his perseverance and in his desire and in his concentrations and in his wishes. And that brings him to cupidity and urges

him to demands, until it brings him to disquieting grief and continuous sleeplessness and hopeless passion and sadness and destruction of mind."

The author of the book says: This answer indicates that the *d* inquirer was a scientist, but the answer which was given to him is according to the capacity of the inquirer, because Aristotle was a metaphysician. And it may also be that he supposed that love and ἔρως between the two loving persons are generated by the natures (i.e humours) and have nothing to do with the world of the mind and the soul

And *Palladios* the physician was asked about love and *e* said: "Love is a disease which is generated in the brain, when the thoughts are allowed to dwell on one subject and the loved person is constantly brought to mind and the gaze is continually fixed on him."

And it was told of *Galen* that he entered into the presence of a sick man and felt his pulse and found that it was beating violently. And while the sick man was in this condition, a woman came and talked to him. And after she had *f* left, *Galen* said to the sick man: Do you love this woman? And the sick man refused to answer him. Then *Galen* was asked: How did you know? And he replied: Because his pulse was beating violently during the time she talked to him, thus I learned that she had some place in his heart.

* * *

The passage about Galen shows at once that the authority quoted by al-Dailamī makes use of a reliable tradition and seems well informed upon ancient Greek authors; since it is taken from Galen's commentary on Hippocrates' *Prognostikon*, i, 8, 40–41, cf. *Corp. Med. Graec.*, v, 9, 2 (p. 218, 14): *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι προτροπῆς ἕνεκα τῶν νέων καὶ μᾶλλον ὅσοι μὴ τεθέανται προλεγόμενα τὰ τοιαῦτα πάνθ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον δι' ἀγρυπνίαν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ λύπην ἐπὶ τῷδέ τινι γεγενημένην. οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἐρασίστρατος ἰδὼν κόρακας ἢ κορώνας πετομένας ἐφώρασε τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ νεανίσκου, οὐ μὴν οὐδ', ὥς τινες ἔγραψαν, ἐρωτικὸν σφυζουσῶν ᾔσθετο τῶν ἀρτηριῶν τοῦ*

νεανίσκου (οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστι σφυγμὸς ἴδιος ἔρωτος ἐξαίρετος), ἀλλ' ὥσπερ κἀμοί ποτε ἐφάνη τῷ καρπῷ μὲν ἐπιβεβληκότι τοῦ νοσοῦντος τὴν χεῖρα, γυναικὸς δέ τινος ὀφθείσης τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, αὐτίκα μὲν ἀνώμαλός τε καὶ ἄτακτος γενόμενος, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον εἰς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐπανελθὼν ἅμα τῷ ἀναχωρῆσαι τὴν ὀφθεῖσαν. ὁ γὰρ οὕτω τρεπόμενος σφυγμὸς κοινὸν ἐνδείκνυται ταραχῶδές τι πάθος ἐν τῇ τοῦ κάμνοντος γεγονέναι ψυχῇ. τὸ δὲ ταραχῶδες τοῦτο διακρίνειν προσήκει διὰ τῶν ἅμα αὐτῷ λεγομένων ἢ ὁρωμένων. καὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ λεγομένων τινῶν εἰς ἀνωμαλίαν οἱ σφυγμοὶ τρέπονται, τῶν ἀρρώστων ταραττομένων ἐφ' οἷς ἤκουσαν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἰδίᾳ μοι γέγραπται κατὰ μίαν πραγματείαν, ᾗ Περὶ τοῦ προγινώσκειν ἐπιγέγραπται.[1]

This commentary of Galen existed both in the Syriac versions of Sergios and Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq and in the Arabian translation of 'Īsā ibn Yaḥyā—Ḥunain only translated the *lemmata* of Hippocrates; Klamroth has published this

[1] Cod. Oxoniensis Laud A. 140, fol. 27*a* 9–*b* 14 :—

انما قصدت به حثّ الاحداث على هذا العلم وخاصّة مَن لم يرانى منهم
اتقدم فانذر باشباه هذه الاشياء. وذلك انه ليس انما يمكنك ان تخبر بانه عرض
للمريض شهر فقط بل قد تقدر ان تقول ان الشهر عرض له بسبب غمٍ. فان
ايرسسطراطس لم يعلم بان ابن الملك عاشق لانه راى غِرْبان وعقاعق يطرن
ولانه وجد ايضا النبض من ذلك الفتى يدلّ على عشق كما قال قوم (27*b*) لكنه
انما يستدلّ على ذلك كما استدللت انا عليه مرة وذلك انى ساعة القيت يدى
على الزند من المريض عرض له ان ابصر امراةً ممن فى منزله فاختلف نبضه
على المكان وفسد نظامه فلما كان بعد قليل وانصرفت تلك المراة التى راها
رجع نبضه الى ما كان عليه بالطبع. وما اختلف من النبض على هذه الصفة
فيما يدل عليه شيء واحد عامى وهو علّة تضطرب منها النفس من المريض.
وتمييز هذه العلة التى تضطرب منها النفس وتتعرفها ومعرفتها يبغى ان تكون
من الاشياء التى يستعملها المريض ويراها. وذلك انما تنطق به قدام المريض
فيحدث فى نبضه اختلاف وانما يكون ذلك الاختلاف لاضطرابه مما يسمع. الا
انى كتبت فى ذلك كتابا خاصياً عنوانه فى تقدمة المعرفة.

This excellent Arabic translation, based on a Greek manuscript about 400 years older than the best preserved one (Vaticanus gr 1063, s. xiii), has been completely neglected in the new edition of Galen's Commentary by Heeg.

version of Hippocrates in *ZDMG.*, 40 (1886), pp. 204–233.[1] One manuscript of this Galen translation has so far been discovered.[2] But it can hardly be expected that al-Dailamī owes his knowledge of this passage of Galen directly to this commentary on Hippocrates. Possibly he may have used an anthology such as that of Stobaios or some medical text of a doxographical character. It was noticed long since that Galen had made a mistake in this passage of his commentary on the *Prognostikon*; as he tells us in the passage from the *Περὶ τοῦ προγινώσκειν πρὸς Ἐπιγένην* (xiv, 631, Kühn)[3] that he diagnosed the love of a Roman noblewoman for the dancer Pylades from her pulse. He had been inspired to use this method by the famous tradition of Erasistratos' and Antiochos' love for their stepmother[4]; this event was probably the origin of the legend of Hippocrates[5] and Perdikkas.[6]

* * *

[1] Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq, *Über die syrischen und arabischen Galenübersetzungen*, ed G. Bergsträsser (Leipzig, 1925), nr 91.

[2] Cf. p 411, n 1 and nr. 530 Uri, H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte I* (Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, 1905), p. 108 M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893), § 419.

[3] To be found also in Ibn abī Uṣaibi'a, ii, p. 128, 15, Muller.

[4] Cf. J Ilberg, *Aus Galens Praxis* in "Neue Jahrbücher fur das klassische Altertum, etc.", 15 (1905), p 289.

[5] "Soranus," *Vita Hippocratis*, p. 176, 4 Ilberg (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum iv).

[6] The interesting history of this subject in the Greek as well as in the Oriental tradition has been explained by Erwin Rohde in his book on the Greek novel (*Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, p. 55 ss), and has been rediscussed by M. Wellmann (*Hermes* 35, 1900, p. 380 s.) and J. Mesk (*Rhein Mus.* 68, 1913, 366 ss.). Erasistratos' method has often been copied in the history of medicine. The great Arabian physician and philosopher Ibn-Sīnā developed the theory and practice of the diagnosis of love from the pulse after the example of Galen and his imitators—such as Stephanos (i, p. 74, Dietz) and, perhaps, Palladios—in the latest period of Greek Alexandria. I do not think that these links between Greek and Arabian medicine have been sufficiently emphasized in the lectures of E. G. Browne on *Arabian Medicine* (Cambridge, 1921), to which I owe my knowledge of the passage of Avicenna (ibid., p. 84 ss.). [See now also M. Meyerhof–D. Joannides, *La gynécologie et l'obstétrique chez Avicenne et leurs rapports avec celles des Grecs* (Le Caire, Schindler, 1938).]

The *terminus post quem* for the compilation, used by al-Dailamī through several connecting links—which probably therefore did not entirely preserve its proper meaning—, can be fixed by the apophthegma of Palladios. W. Bräutigam [1] has proved that Palladios very probably lived in the second half of the sixth century A.D., i.e. the last period of the school of Alexandria, particularly because of the literary form of his Greek commentaries on Hippocrates and Galen. Ibn Buṭlān (died after 455 H. = A.D. 1063), quite a good authority,[2] calls him one of the authors of the so-called synopses of the Alexandrians, which I am inclined to consider as a translation of lost Greek-synopses of Galen and not as a work originally composed in Arabic, as long as the contrary has not been proved.[3] Anyhow the extant books of Palladios—a newly-discovered passage must be added to the commentaries edited about a hundred years ago by Dietz [4]—indicate the reliability of a tradition signed by his name. M. Meyerhof, of Cairo, believes that Palladios' work might be greatly

[1] *De Hippocratis Epidemiarum libri sexti commentatoribus* (Dissert., Koenigsberg, 1908), p. 34 ss.

[2] Cf. J. Schacht, *Über den Hellenismus in Baghdad und Cairo im 11. Jahrhundert* in *ZDMG.*, 90, 1936, p. 526 ss. M. Meyerhof, *Une controverse médico-philosphique au Caire en 441 de l'Hégire, 1050 ap. F.-C.* in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, 19, 1937, p 29 ss M. Meyerhof–J. Schacht, *The Medico-Philosophical Controversy between ibn Buṭlān and ibn Riḍwān. A contribution to the History of Greek Learning among the Arabs.* (The Egyptian University, The Faculty of Arts, Publication No. 13, Cairo, 1937.)

[3] Cf. M. Meyerhof, *Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad* in *Sitzungsberichte d. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissensch. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1930, xxiii, p. 394 ss. H. Ritter–R. Walzer, *Arabische Ubersetzungen griechischer Arzte in Stambuler Bibliotheken* in *Sitzungsberichte d. Preuss. Akademie der Wissensch. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1934, xxvi, p. 820 ss. O. Temkin, *Geschichte des Hippokratismus im ausgehenden Altertum* in *Kyklos*, iv (Leipzig, 1932), p. 75 ss. "*Studies on late Alexandrian medicine I:* Alexandrian Commentaries on Galen's De sectis ad introducendos" in *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine*, iii (Baltimore, 1935), p. 414, n. 42, and elsewhere. Schacht, l.l., p. 541, n. 2.

[4] H. Diels, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte II* (*Abhandlungen d. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, 1906), p. 76. H. Rabe, *Aus Rhetorenhandschriften* in *Rhein. Mus. f. Philologie*, 64 (1909), p. 561 s. O. Temkin, *Studies on late Alexandrian medicine*, i (cf. n. 3), p. 406 ss.

enriched by a search into the unpublished early Arabian medical literature. Some fragments from Rāzī's *Continens* have long been known.[1] The new fragment of al-Dailamī is to be added to them, which may be taken from a medical encyclopædia similar to that of Oribasios or Paulos of Aigina, which incidentally were translated by Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq.[2] Since Euripides' *Hippolytos* it has become a commonplace both in medical and non-medical literature to define ἔρως as a disease.[3] Palladios' theory that the brain is the origin of this illness shows clearly that he at least does not follow Plato's psychological doctrine.

* * *

We are now sufficiently prepared to analyse the passage which contains the theory of Aristotle. At the first it is not clear whence the author of the later Greek anthology, postulated by us, has taken the passage. Evidently he had no access then to the original text of Aristotle, since he speaks of a certain book of the ancients as his source.[4] We shall therefore rather expect a reference than a literal quotation, as in the story of the diagnosis of love by Galen. Further, as the text is unknown and evidently taken from a dialogue, we are obviously entitled to suppose that it comes either from a lost dialogue of Aristotle himself or from a dialogue of an early Peripatetic, in which Aristotle may have been introduced as interlocutor,[5] or from a spurious

[1] Lucien Leclerc, *Histoire de la Medicine Arabe* (Paris, 1876), i, 260 ss, 264. M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen* (Leipzig, 1897), p 121 (iii, § 5) *Die hebraischen Übersetzungen, etc.*, p. 782 and n 138.

[2] L Leclerc, loc. laud., i, 253–6. M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, iii, §§ 25, 29. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplementband i, p. 419 (ar-Rāzī).

[3] Cf. e.g. Stobaios, Floril., iv, 20 H.: Ψόγος Ἀφροδίτης καὶ ὅτι φαῦλον ὁ ἔρως καὶ πόσων εἴη κακῶν γεγονὼς αἴτιος. Avicenna, *Qānūn* (Rome, 1593), p. 316.

[4] For *kutub al-awā'il* cf. F. Goldziher, *Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften* (Abhandlungen Preuss. Ak. der Wiss., 1915, Phil.-hist. Klasse nr 8), p. 3 and *passim*.

[5] R. Hirzel, i, 309.3, 334, 345.5. See now W. Jaeger, *Aristotle : Funda-*

dialogue of the later centuries.[1] The pinacographical tradition provides us with sufficient opportunity. Not only did Aristotle himself write an Ἐρωτικός,[2] of the existence of which Arabian tradition is still aware,[3] but also contemporaries and pupils, such as Herakleides Pontikos,[4] Theophrastos,[5] Klearchos,[6] dealt with the same subject in monographs. The fragment cannot be attributed to the *Protreptikos*, the most famous exoteric Aristotelian text in antiquity, because of its form as a dialogue, for the *Protreptikos* consisted of a full-length oration.[7] That Aristotle takes part himself in his dialogues, we know both from two famous quotations of the Περὶ φιλοσοφίας [8] and also in particular from the passage of Cicero in *Epist. ad. Att.*, xiii, 19, 4: "quae autem his temporibus scripsi, Ἀριστοτέλειον morem habent, in quo sermo ita inducitur ceterorum, ut penes ipsum sit principatus."[9] No other fragment hitherto discovered acquainted us of a real dialogue of Aristotle with some other interlocutor.[10] This fact alone would be enough to indicate the importance

mentals of the History of his Development (Oxford, 1934), p. 116. *Greek and Jews* in *The Journal of Religion*, 18, 1938, p 131 ss H. Lewy, *Aristotle and the Jewish sage according to Clearchus of Soli* in *The Harvard Theological Review*, 31, 1938, p 213.

[1] Such as the so-called *Liber De Pomo*, in which Aristotle himself is speaking. Cf. D. S. Margoliouth, *The Book of the Apple ascribed to Aristotle*, edited in Persian and English, *JRAS.*, 1892, pp 187–192, 202 ss. M. Steinschneider, *Die hebraischen Übersetzungen, etc.*, § 144. F. Schirrmacher, *Die letzten Hohenstaufen* (Gottingen, 1871), p. 622 ss.

[2] Cf. *infra*, p. 420 sq.

[3] Cf. e g. al-Qifṭī, p. 43, 12, Lippert.

[4] Diog. Laert., v, 87. O. Voss, *De Heraclidis Pontici vita et scriptis* (Dissert., Rostock, 1896), pp. 51–4.

[5] Diog. Laert, v, 43. H. Usener, *Analecta Theophrastea* (Diss., Bonn, 1858), p. 3 = *Kleine Schriften*, i (Leipzig-Berlin, 1912), p 53.

[6] *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ii (Paris, 1848), pp. 313–316, Muller. Cf. E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, p. 57 ss.

[7] W. Jaeger, *Aristoteles, Grundlegung einer Geschichte seiner Entwicklung* (Berlin, 1923), p. 54 s. (= Engl. transl. [above, p 414, n. 5], p. 55 s.).

[8] fr. 8–9, Rose (p. 72 s., Walzer) . . . ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις σαφέστατα κεκραγώς.

[9] Cf. fr. 78, Rose (= Cicero, Epist. ad Quintum, fr. 3, 5): Aristotelem denique, quae de republica et praestante viro scribat, ipsum loqui.

[10] Quite different is Eudemos, fr. 44, Rose (p. 13, 2, Walzer): τί τοῦτ'; ἔφη. Κἀκεῖνος ὑπολαβών . . . ἔφη . . .

of the newly found fragment. In view of the examples of the late Platonic dialogues such as *Sophistes*, *Politikos*, *Philebos*, it does not seem surprising that the dialogue takes place in the school.[1] The pupil asks: *τί ἐστιν ὁ ἔρως καὶ τὶ γεννᾶται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*, and the master replies,[2] in exactly the same way as Pythagoras and Anaxagoras answer questions about the nature of *εὐδαιμονία* in the *Protreptikos*.[3] There is no reason to suppose that the name of the pupil (إيسوس) is corrupt; for the name of Palladios, in spite of the fact that he is not a very well known author, has been correctly reproduced by al-Dailamī and by the writer of our manuscript.[4] Now, the name *Ἴσος* or *Ἴσσος* is extraordinarily uncommon in Greek literature.[5] Apart from Iliad *Λ* 101 [6] and Josephus (*Antiquit.*, 10, 8, 6), where the original may be a Hebrew name, it is only to be found in a list of *πρόξενοι* of Epidauros, from an inscription on the Asclepieion, probably dealing with seventeen successive years of the first half of the third century B.C.[7] Here we find the following names (25): *Ἐξακέ(σ)τας Ἴσου [Κ]νώσιος* and *Ξεναγόρας Ἴσου [Κ]νώσιος* (prius *Κνώσιος* ex *Ἀγώσιος* corr.). So *Ἴσος* is likely to be a Cretan, Knossos being his native town. There is not more than a slight probability that *Ἴσος*, father of *Ἐξακέστας* and *Ξεναγόρας*, is the same as *Ἴσος*, mentioned by al-Dailamī, and that he may have come not only to Epidauros but also to Athens. But we may infer from the fact that a man of that name

[1] Jaeger, l l., p. 24 ss. (= Engl. transl., p. 25 ss).

[2] Cf. Jaeger, l.l., p. 29, n. 1 (= Engl. transl., p. 29, n. 1).

[3] *Eth. Eud.*, A 4, 1215*b*, 6 : *Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν ὁ Κλαζομένιος ἐρωτηθεὶς τίς ὁ εὐδαιμονέστατος "οὐθείς" ἔφη "ὧν σὺ νομίζεις* . . . ibid., A 5, 1216*a*, 11 *τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀναξαγόραν φασὶν ἀποκρίνασθαι πρός τινα διαποροῦντα τοιαῦτ' ἄττα καὶ διερωτῶντα.* *Protrept.*, 11, p. 49, Walzer (= Iambl., *Protr. . . . Pist.*). Pythagoras, Anaxagoras.

[4] Cf. p. 414, n. 1.

[5] F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* (Halle, 1917), p. 228.

[6] Athen., ix, 399a, is an epic fragment of the *Ἀτρειδῶν Κάθοδος*, omitted by Kinkel.

[7] *Inscriptiones Graecae*, iv, 2 (Argolis, secunda editio, ed. F. Hiller von Gärtringen, 1929), nr. 96.

is introduced into a dialogue with Aristotle that in reality an Ἴσος was a member of the late Platonic academy, a period to which most of the Aristotelian dialogues are to be ascribed. Thus we would have to admit the presence of a Cretan within the Academy, a fact transmitted neither by Diogenes Laertios[1] nor by the author of the *Index Academicorum Herculanensis*[2] (though we know, e.g., of the presence of a Chaldaean[3]). Further, we may conclude from Plato's *Laws* that there must have been relations between the mother-country and Crete, and particularly between the Academy and Crete.[4] The rare name of Ἴσος, in a fragment of Aristotle, adds to this a more concrete argument, and the two probabilities mutually support each other. Incidentally, it is known that Aristotle, Ephoros, Theophrastos are better informed upon Crete than all the earlier authors; it remains uncertain from whence they have derived their knowledge.[5]

It is not sure that the unknown verse quoted by Aristotle has really the meaning he suggests. It is possible at least that the poet meant to say that it were best to die in the height of love, because nothing better could be expected afterwards; and that Aristotle has changed the original meaning of the verse in favour of his own opinion, as he often reads his own philosophy into the δόξαι τῶν πολλῶν and into quotations of poets and proverbs.[6] Nothing good at all comes to us from ἔρως; therefore he who is ruined by love and dies from it, is to be called happy. If the verse is

[1] *Diog Laert.*, iii, 31.

[2] *Academicorum philosophorum index Herculanensis*, ed. S. Mekler (Berlin, 1902).

[3] *Ind acad. Hercul.*, col. iii, p. 13.

[4] Cf. U. v. Wilamowitz-Mollendorf, *Aristoteles und Athen* (Berlin, 1893), vol. ii, p. 25 s. *Plato* i[2] (Berlin, 1920), p. 661 s.

[5] Cf. Wilamowitz, loc. laud. E. Kirsten, *Die Insel Kreta in vier Jahrtausenden* (Die Antike 14, 1938, p. 295 ss.). The *Geschichte Kretas vom Ausgang der minoischen Zeit bis auf die Alexanderzeit*, by the same author (cf. Gnomon, 13, 1937, 514), has not yet been published.

[6] Cf. e.g. Jaeger, 1.1., p. 46 (= Engl. transl., p. 47 s.). H. Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy* (Baltimore, 1935), p. 339 ss.

understood in this way, it corresponds well with the doctrine developed subsequently by Aristotle, in which nothing of Plato's sublimation of ἔρως is to be found. The ἔρως is an ὄρεξις which has its seat in the heart, which is the place of the θυμός in the Platonic theory,[1] the locus of the πάθη also in the Aristotelian doctrine.[2] If it increases and becomes strong, it combines with ἐπιθυμία, and from this derive grief, sleeplessness, and folly (λύπη, ἀγρυπνία, ἄνοια).[3] This devaluation of ἔρως corresponds exactly with the doctrine enunciated by Aristotle in his earliest course on Ethics, the so-called *Eudemian Ethics* (delivered shortly after Plato's death),[4] and also we can infer the same for the *Protreptikos*, his first dialogue.[5] In the later course on Ethics, the *Nicomachean Ethics*, he only rather superficially touched on the problem of ἔρως.[6] In the *Eudemian Ethics* the ἔρως is nothing but a πάθος ἀλόγιστον (III 1, 1229*a* 21). Its σκοπός is only τὸ ἡδύ or τὸ χρήσιμον, never τὸ ἀγαθόν (VII 1, 1235*b* 19; 3, 1238*b* 33; 10, 1243*b* 15 s; 12, 1245*a* 24 s.) · τοῦ γὰρ συζῆν ὀρέγεται ὁ ἐρῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ᾗ μάλιστα δεῖ, ἀλλὰ κατ' αἴσθησιν ("for the lover aims at the society of his beloved, but not as ideally as he ought, but in a merely sensuous way"). Ἐρώμενον and ἐπιθυμητόν may be used as synonyms (VII 1, 1235*a* 13 s.), ἐρώμενον and ἀγαθόν *sive* βουλητόν never. It may be that this more extended discussion

[1] Cf. Tim., 70*a–c*.

[2] Cf. e.g. Bonitz, *Index Aristotelicus*, s.v. καρδία, p 365 I.

[3] Cf Plutarch, Ὅτι οὐ κρίσις ὁ ἔρως ap. Stob, Flor. IV, 20, 67 H. (= VII, 132, 15 ss Bernard) οἱ μὲν γὰρ νόσον τὸν ἔρωτα (cf. *supra*, p. 414, n. 3), οἱ δὲ ἐπιθυμίαν, οἱ δὲ μανίαν, οἱ δὲ θεῖόν τι κίνημα ψυχῆς καὶ δαιμόνιον, οἱ δὲ ἄντικρυς θεὸν ἀναγορεύουσιν ὅθεν ὀρθῶς ἐνίοις ἔδοξε τὸ μὲν ἀρχόμενον ἐπιθυμίαν εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὑπερβάλλον μανίαν κτλ.

[4] Jaeger, l.l, p 237 ss (= Engl transl, p 228 ss).

[5] Philodem., *Voll. Rhet* II, p. 57, col. 41, 12 ss, Sudhaus E. Bignone, *L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro* (Firenze, 1936), vol II, p 90 ss

[6] R. Walzer, *Magna Moralia und aristotelische Ethik* = *Neue philologische Untersuchungen, herausg. von W. Jaeger*, VII (Berlin, 1929), p. 241 s.

of ἔρως in the *Eudemian Ethics*—as also various other passages in it to be explained by its closer relationship with the dialogues of Aristotle [1]—shows the influence of the same dialogue, from which the fragment of al-Dailamī is taken, possibly the *Ἐρωτικός*. Parallels to the theme that ἔρως makes life no longer worth living are also to be found again in a passage of the *Eudemian Ethics*, which has convincingly been ascribed to a dialogue, to the *Protreptikos*.[2] I quote (i 5, 1215*b* 18): *πολλὰ γάρ ἐστι τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, ‹δι' ἃ› προίενται τὸ ζῆν, οἷον νόσους, περιωδυνίας, χειμῶνας . . . πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁ βίος, ὃν ζῶσιν ἔτι παῖδες ὄντες· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνακάμψαι πάλιν οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπομείνειεν εὖ φρονῶν. ἔτι δὲ πολλὰ τῶν τε μηδεμίαν ἐχόντων [μὲν] ἡδονὴν ἢ λύπην, καὶ τῶν ἐχόντων μὲν ἡδονὴν μὴ καλὴν δέ, τοιαῦτ' ἐστιν ὥστε τὸ μὴ εἶναι κρεῖττον εἶναι τοῦ ζῆν . . . ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς μόνον ἡδονὴν ἢ τὴν τῶν ἀφροδισίων, ἀφαιρεθεισῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν, ἃς τὸ γινώσκειν ἢ βλέπειν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τις αἰσθήσεων πορίζει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐδ' ἂν εἷς προτιμήσειε τὸ ζῆν, μὴ παντελῶς ὢν ἀνδράποδον.* "For there are many consequences of life that make men fling away life, as disease, excessive pain, madness (?) . . . Further, the life we lead as children is not desirable, for no one in his senses would consent to return again to this. Further, many incidents involving neither pleasure nor pain or involving pleasure but not of a noble kind are such that, as far as they are concerned, non-existence is preferable to life . . . But further, neither for the pleasure of eating alone or that of sex, if all the other pleasures were removed that knowing or seeing or any other sense provides men with, would a single man value existence, unless he were utterly servile, for it is clear that to the man making this choice there would be no difference between being born a brute and a man" (J Solomon). It is true that the object of the

[1] Jaeger, l.l., p. 241 ss. (= Engl. transl., p. 246 ss.).
[2] Jaeger, cf. n. 1 *Aristotelis Dialogorum Fragmenta*, p. 41 W.

argumentation in the *Protreptikos* and in the *Eudemian Ethics* is different from the newly-found fragment, but the underlying opinion of the value of ἔρως is quite the same.

Thus we may ascribe the fragment of an Aristotelian dialogue, only preserved by an Arabian author of the tenth century A.D., to the very few remnants of his dialogue *Ἐρωτικός*, which consisted of one book, according to Diogenes Laertios (nr. 9) and Hesychios (nr. 12), or of three books, following the catalogue of Ptolemaios (nr. 13), transmitted by the Arabs (the remark of Athen., xv, 674*b* [= Aristot. fr. 95 Rose] might correspond to this).[1] But our present information is not sufficient to decide this matter. The fragments of the *Ἐρωτικός* hitherto known are taken from Plutarch's *Ἐρωτικός* (cf. 17, 761*d* = fr. 97 ; ibd. 761*a* = fr. 98 Rose) and from Athenaios (fr. 95, 96) (to which I should like unhesitatingly to add Aristot., Rhet. i 9, 1368*a* 17 Plutarch, Erot. 21, 767*f*), on Hippolochos, a note Wilamowitz referred to about forty years ago, without being interested in its source · "author *Περὶ ἔρωτος*" he says.[2] All this is historical material, as well as the passages which A. Mayer wants to add to them from Plutarch.[3] Besides the passage from Athenaios, ascribed to the *Ἐρωτικός* by Rose (fr. 96 = Athen. xiii, 564 b) : *καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἔφη τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἐρωμένων ἀποβλέπειν ἢ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἐν οἷς τὴν αἰδῶ κατοικεῖν* ("Aristotle also said that lovers look to no other part of their favourite's body than the eyes which he said were the dwelling-place of the feeling of shame.") The newly found fragment represents the only theoretical passage from the *Ἐρωτικός* of Aristotle hitherto discovered.

We are better informed about Theophrastos' dialogue on ἔρως, although we must be satisfied with the incomplete

[1] V. Rose, *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus* (Leipzig, 1863), p 105. J. Bernays, *Die Dialoge des Aristoteles* (Berlin, 1863), p. 132.

[2] *Hermes* 35, 1900, p. 533.

[3] *Aristonstudien*, Philologus, Supplementband 11 (1910), pp. 483–610.

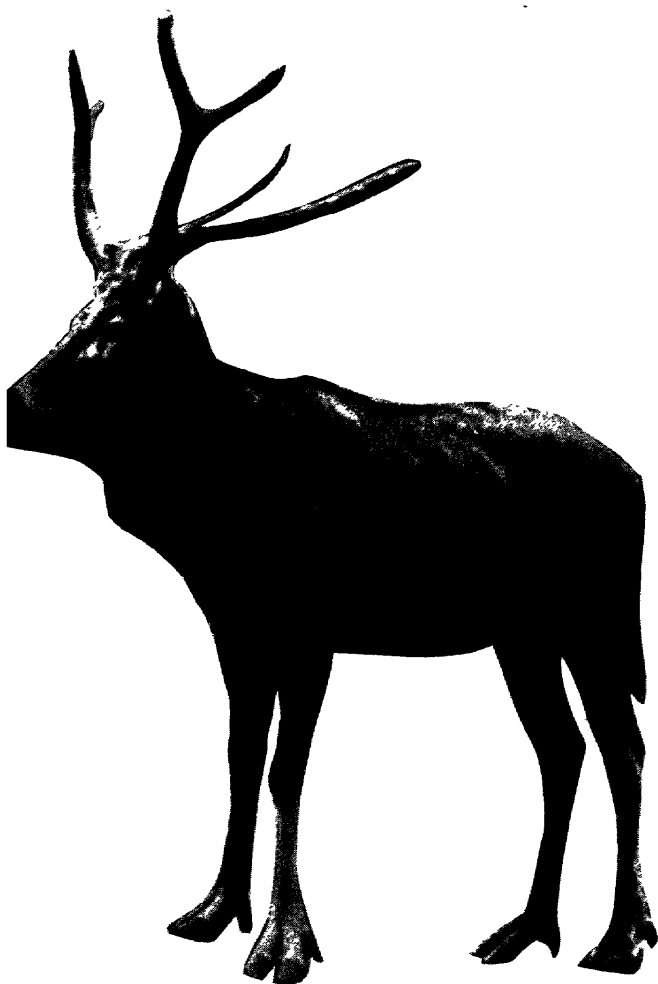
collection of Wimmer. From Theophrastos we know, not only the historical and mythical facts, but also the doctrine of ἔρως, stated by him in his dialogue. A fragment from Athenaios, combining poetical quotation and his own doctrine developed from it, reminds us of the fragment of al-Dailamī (Athen., xiii, 562*e* = fr. 107, Wimmer): *Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Ἐρωτικῷ Χαιρήμονά φησι τὸν τραγικὸν λέγειν, ὡς τὸν οἶνον τῶν χρωμένων* ‹*τοῖς τρόποις* Grotius› *κεράννυσθαι, οὕτως καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα. ὃς μετριάζων μέν ἐστιν εὔχαρις, ἐπιτεινόμενος δὲ καὶ διαταράττων χαλεπώτατος.* ("Theophrastus, in his essay 'On Love', quotes the tragic poet Chaeremon as saying that just as wine is mixed to suit the character of the drinkers, so also is Eros; when he comes in moderation, he is gracious, but when he comes too intensely and puts men to utter confusion, he is most hard to bear," Gulich.) Certainly this passage might well have been written by Aristotle himself in his dialogues. Stobaios, in whose abundant collection of quotations we do not find anything about Aristotle's *Ἐρωτικός*—we have suggested above that the three quotations of al-Dailamī are derived from a similar anthology—provides us with two sentences by Theophrastos on ἔρως, which Wimmer is probably right in placing among the fragments of his dialogue on this subject, although there is no explicit evidence. Frg. 115 (= Flor. iv, 20, 64 H.) says just the same as Aristotle's doctrine explained before: *ἔρως δέ ἐστιν ἀλογίστου τινὸς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπερβολὴ ταχεῖαν μὲν ἔχουσα τὴν πρόσοδον, βραδεῖαν δε τὴν ἀπόλυσιν* ("Love is the excess of some irrational desire, which is quickly acquired and slowly got rid of"). Frg. 114 (= Flor. iv, 20, 66 H.) may be derived from a dialogue with a similar *mise en scène* to the newly found fragment of Aristotle, if it does not represent merely the later standard type of the apophthegma of philosophers: *Θεόφραστος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπό τινος τί ἐστιν ἔρως, 'πάθος' ἔφη 'ψυχῆς σχολαζούσης'* ("When Theophrastus the philosopher was asked by someone for a definition of love, he said it was the passion of an idle

mind"); a statement well harmonizing with the character of a man who believes matrimony to be a disturbance of the peaceful meditation of a philosopher.[1]

To speculate how many new passages of the Aristotelian dialogue a new analysis of Plutarch's *'Ερωτικός* and a rather urgently needed new discussion of the *τόπος περὶ ἔρωτος* may give, lies beyond the limits of this present paper.

No complete dialogue of Aristotle was translated into Syriac or Arabic, as far as we know. But all the quotations from the dialogues which existed in later texts of a philosophical or a doxographical character and in anthologies might theoretically also be traced in Arabic literature. We are convinced, therefore, that a systematic examination of published and unpublished Arabic authors may bring to light still other traces of Aristotelian dialogues.

[1] Hieronymus, *Ad Jovin*, i, 47 E Bickel, *Diatribe in Senecae philosophi fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1915), 388, 11 ss

424.

PORTRAIT OF A DAVID'S DEER, *Elaphurus davidianus*.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

RECORDS OF DAVID'S DEER AS HUNTED BY SHANG-YIN SOVEREIGNS

(PLATE I)

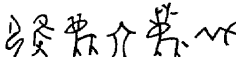
This strange and interesting member of the Deer family has now been, in a feral condition, extinct for some unknown number of centuries. But immured in a vast—park it was not—but waste of alkaline and marshy land, computed by O. von Moellendorff to be "an irregular square of about 50 miles circumference", herds of *Elaphurus* lived on and flourished in the Nan Hai tzŭ, or Imperial Hunting Ground some 2 miles south of the Southern Wall of Peking. In this virtual sanctuary, undisturbed by the Imperial Hunters of the last Manchu Dynasty, they remained until the year 1894 "when the park wall was breached by floods, and the deer escaped, to be devoured by the famished people".[1] But before this final disaster, there were obtained from this quasi-feral stock a small number of individuals from which the present herd at Woburn is descended—beneficiaries of the munificence of the Duke of Bedford. Had it not been for this rescue, the *Elaphurus* would have been at the beginning of this century as extinct as the Great Auk or the Dodo. But while yet in its penultimate sanctuary, it was that the Lazarist Father David saw it and recognized it as new to science. Here too, some ten years later, came another keen naturalist, though then a Student Interpreter in the German Legation, riding at large and chasing the wary herds of Deer. Otto von Moellendorff relates how in one of those escapades, for that is what it really was in those far-off days, he and his companions found the Deer. "The latter live in herds of more than

[1] *Bushell: Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, vol. 4, p 29, cited by Couling, *Encyclopedia Sinica*, p. 157.

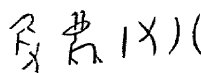
a hundred head, and seem to prefer the damp ground. When I visited the place, we came across only one herd of about 150 head grazing near the water. They let us approach within fifty yards, then started off and galloped away with their tails in the air like cattle. Their gallop seemed to be heavy, but although we chased them at the utmost speed of our ponies, we were not able to keep up with them." [1]

Encouraged probably by what he had seen during this adventure, and stimulated by what he had failed then to achieve, Moellendorff resolved to go further. And when to the stubbornness of a Prussian junker, was added the ardour of a keen naturalist, what followed in due course was no matter of wonder. Unofficially and irregularly a pair of these striking cervines appeared in the less public spaces of the German Legation, where I saw them in the year 1875. The pair were to be dispatched to Berlin, but I never heard whether they reached their destination alive.

Plate I gives a good portrait of the *Elaphurus*, and I am the more pleased to have been able to publish it in this journal, as there can be comparatively few persons who have seen either a living Deer of this species or a photographic figure of one.[2]

It had always been known to the Chinese literary world that the Sovereigns of the dim Shang-Yin line were devoted followers of the chase, but until the beginning of the present century, none knew or had any reason to suspect that records of such hunting expeditions were still in existence. But they were. And when Lo Chên-yü published his *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, in 1915, he was able to print modern transcriptions of 123 such hunting passages (on pages 92 to 96), occurring on the Bone fragments of the Honan Find.

Among those beasts of the field successfully chased were Deer of more than one sort, the most often recorded being

[1] "The Vertebrata of the Province of Chihli," p. 31, in *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1877.

[2] I am indebted to Mr. W. P. Pycraft, F.Z.S., for the original photograph, on which that in Plate I is based, given to me a good many years ago.

鹿 *lu*, Deer, *Cervus elaphus*, the archaic Bone character of which is [character] (Fig. 1) (Lo Chên-yü *ubi sup*, iii, 32), with very numerous small variants. But another and distinct kind, not so commonly recorded and for some years not recognized for what it is by the Chinese scholars working on these inscriptions, is the 麋 *mi*, *Elaphurus davidianus*, and the subject of the present Paper. It is portrayed on the Bones thus, [character] (Fig. 2), or in more linear fashion, thus, [character] (Fig. 3).[1]

Such a seemingly pictographic figure in no way accords with the Lesser Seal version of the character, [character] (Fig. 4), nor with the actual conformation of the antlers of *Elaphurus* as shown in Plate I. This staring discrepancy from the natural zoological facts accounts for the true equation of this apparent pictogram being withheld for some years from, for instance, Lo Chên-yü, Wang Kuo-wei, Wang Hsiang of Tientsin, Jung Kêng, and Shang Ch'êng-tsu, some of whom treated the figure as a variant of 鹿 *lu*, the ordinary Deer. That this could not be so, I saw by the entry in Lo's volume, *Hou Pien*, 上 p. 15 (which I copy below horizontally, for the saving of space, instead of vertically as in the original).

[characters] (Fig. 5), in modern Chinese, 記 獲 麋 六 鹿 九 *chi huo mi liu lu chiu*, " (now) recorded capture of David's Deer 6, Red Deer 9." The first modern character here is conjectural on my part, and is by others left as unknown, but it suits the rest of the passage, and would seem to answer to a modern form 十己, which is not found.

In another short inscription from Lo, *Ch'ien Pien*, chüan ii, p. 32, we find a larger capture of 麋 *mi* recorded

[1] Fig. 2 Kuo Mo-jo, 殷契粹編 *Yin Ch'i Sui Pien*, Bone No 959. Fig. 3 Lo Chên-yü, Hou Pien, 上, p. 15. Note that Kuo transcribes Fig. 2 on Bone 959 as 麋 *mi*.

(Fig. 6), 獲麋十有八 *huo mi shih yu pa*, "captured David's Deer eighteen" (*lit.* ten plus eight).

Before leaving Fig. 2, it is interesting to notice both the actual entry of which it is part, and the fact that similar entries, differing only in the initial cycle-dates of each, are strangely crowded together on the large Bone, eight fragments of which Kuo Mo-jo has ingeniously reassembled. One such sentence I transcribe in modern Chinese with the exception of the last character, which I must deal with separately. This sentence runs, 癸巳卜逐麋 (Fig 7), *Kuei ssŭ pu chu mi pi*, "on the day *Kuei ssŭ* inquired as to hunting the David's Deer and shooting it." This last character (Fig. 7) is the archaic representative of the later form 畢 *pi*, defined by the *Shuo Wen* as a 田网也 *t'ien wang yeh*, a hunting-net If hunting-net is the only meaning open to us here, I do not see how any sense can be made of the entry, however much compression we allow for. But I suggest, and I do not know that the suggestion has been put forward by any of the scholars of the *Academia Sinica* or others, that a key to the difficulty is to be found in the character 彃 *pi*, defined in the *Shuo Wen* as 射也 *Shê yeh*, to shoot, shoot at, for which in certain old works, 畢 *pi*, was written. This use of the syllable justifies the translation of the bone entry above written

Referring now to the non-recognition of this obvious cervine type by the majority of the modern Chinese students in this *genre*, it was perhaps mostly due to the peculiar aspect of the two, sometimes three, short prongs or horns. But to one of the most acute and judicious of these scholars, Mr. 唐蘭 T'ang Lan, we are indebted for a solution of the enigma, which is also accepted by Mr. Kuo Mo-jo.

Mr. T'ang points out that the character (Fig. 8), occurring on the Honan Bones, for a long time defied decipherment. Now there are also two other forms found, which, like the last, are placed by Shang Ch'êng-tsu among the 待問編 *tai wên*

pien, characters awaiting investigation, viz. [illegible] (Fig. 9) and [illegible] (Fig. 10), and these Mr. T'ang considers are early forms of 眉 *mei* and 㞐 (Fig. 11) respectively, eyebrow, and presumably a variant of the same not to be found in the dictionaries. And (if I understand his words correctly, 蓋惟古文麋眉形相近, *kai wei ku wên mi mei hsiang chin*), seeing that the ancient shapes of the characters for David's Deer and Eyebrow were much alike, the expression 眉 壽 *mei shou*, "bushy eyebrows and old age," was often written 麋 壽 *mi shou*, "David's Deer and old age."

From all which it appears clear that these Bone versions of the 麋 *mi* deer, are not true and integral pictograms of the beast at all, but examples of the class of Phonetic compounds in which the body and legs indicate the cervine type, but the seeming head with its prong-like horns is in fact added for the sake of its value as a homophone, *mei*, eyebrow. This word now 眉, is on the Honan Bones [illegible] (Fig. 12), as T'ang writes it, but [illegible] (Fig. 13) when standing alone (as in *Y.H.S.K.*, Hou Pien 下, p. 31), and, in composition as in [illegible] (Fig. 14) and [illegible] (Fig 15), in 湄 *mei*, side of a stream, where the curving line at the left stands for the Determinative 水 *shui* water.[1]

Now what is both unusual and arresting in this particular complex of ideographic and phonetic elements is that the function of the latter has been, whether by chance or artifice, so disguised that the spectator is misled into regarding the picture as one of some species of Stag or Antelope, unknown to science. What really began by being an Eye surmounted by the Eyebrow, as shown by the figure [illegible] (Fig. 16), has ended by showing the profile of a head including the eye, from which spring two or sometimes three prong-like horns.[2]

[1] *Y.H.S.K.*, ch' viii, p 7. And, ibid. Hou Pien, 上, p. 14.

[2] See Plates 1 and 2 in an article on a Bronze *tui* by Mr. Hsü Chung-shu in *Academia Sinica*, vol. 3, part 2, pp. 278–9.

And another consequence of Mr. T'ang Lan's resolution of the ancient form of 麋 *mi* is that both the ancient and the modern characters are seen to be in essence much closer approximations than appears at first sight. Each is based on the shape of a Stag, and each has a phonetic addition once probably identical to the ear. In one case the sound element *mei* surmounts the cervine base, in the other, *mi*, it lies underfoot.

To conclude, I may assert on the best authority that the sole surviving members of this Deer in the world are the herd of 200 head now in the Park at Woburn, derived from five individuals procured forty years ago through the late Mr. Jamrack for the Duke of Bedford. I think then that Hunted by Shang-Yin Kings, discovered by a French Priest, and rescued by an English Duke, would be an accurate précis of the history of *Elaphurus davidianus*.

441 L. C. HOPKINS.

THE AYYŪBID FEUDALISM

From the standpoint of European history the feudal system of the Ayyūbids is doubtless more interesting than any other Eastern form of feudalism (except the Ottoman), because it was peculiar to that Saracenic kingdom which put an end to the expansion of the Franks and remained their neighbour during the whole of its existence. In this article we wish to survey only its most characteristic features.

The Fāṭimid feudalism was still a direct continuation of the ancient Islamic usage of leasing out the collection of *Kharāj* to rich and influential persons. The opposition of Abū Yūsuf (d. 798) to this usage [1] had no practical consequences; on the contrary, the increasing political and fiscal

[1] *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ed. A.H. 1376, pp. 125–6. Al-Māwardī's arguments in *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* are but an abridgement of Abū Yūsuf's.

disorder afterwards obliged the Abbasid Caliphs more and more not only to consider tax-farming as the only means of deriving any revenue from the Kharājī lands, but also to replace temporary leasing out to the highest bidder by hereditary farming, the farmer paying henceforth only fixed and constant yearly rents.[1] According to al-Maqrīzī, the Fāṭimid feudal-farmers held their estates for a specified period only, four or thirty years; but the surviving feudal charters speak of hereditary farming.[2] It is possible that the hereditary farmers had periodically to reinforce their rights by the payment of a fee fixed by the authorities (not unlike the *hulwān* which the heritors of Egyptian *multazims* had to pay under the Ottomans for the confirmation of their rights).

We know now that the replacing of the Fāṭimid regime by the Ayyūbid was not an easy operation. A part of the population openly remained Ismā'īlī,[3] and many Sunnis were devoted to the Fāṭimids owing to their social and economic policy, inspired by Qarmaṭian ideas: al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī describe them on this ground as better rulers than their successors,[4] who were in the eyes of the people only rebels.[5] If, nevertheless, Saladin succeeded in overcoming the opposition of their adherents, it was probably because some of these adherents believed him to be a secret apostle of a dissident (Nizārī ?) branch of the Fāṭimids, living under the *taqiyya* as a Sunnī. His yellow banner, inherited by his descendants and the Mamlūk Sultans, was the religious symbol of the Ismā'īlīs, marking their dissension

[1] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubh*, xiii, pp. 123–131, 139–143, copies two charters conferring the hereditary right of farming upon Iraqian families. The former was issued by Caliph al-Muṭī', the latter by Caliph al-Ṭā'i' and the Buwayhid Sultan, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla.

[2] Cf. *Khiṭat*, i, p. 82, l. 5; p. 83, l. 13; and *Ṣubh*, xiii, p. 133, ll. 15–19; p. 135, l. 20.

[3] In the fourteenth century there were still in the town of Uṣfūn in Egypt Ismā'īlī, Shī'ite, and Druse communities: al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, p. 233, l. 12.

[4] *Khiṭat*, i, pp. 85–6; *Ṣubh*, iii, p. 524.

[5] *Sulūk* of al-Maqrīzī, Quatremère, i, p. 40 ff. (still in 1253 !).

from the 'Abbāsid Sunnism (the emblem of which was the black flag) and their devotion to the Fāṭimid house.[1]

If, as we suppose, a considerable part of the Egyptian population under the Ayyūbids still consisted of secret Ismā'īlīs, performing Sunnī rites because the rulers (supposed by them to be of their number) did so, and thus gradually becoming genuine Sunnis, then the policy of these rulers could not be at first too openly opposed to Fāṭimid customs. Indeed under Saladin the State still protects the peasants against the feudal lords and still fixes the rents paid by the former to the latter.[2] Consequently, although the country was then richer than under the Mamlūks, the financial condition of the lords was worse. Saladin had to cease the war against the Crusaders owing to the heavy debts of his emirs and knights.[3] The replacing of farming by military feudalism was also not a complete breach of the Fāṭimid tradition: military fiefs existed already under the Fāṭimids,[4] though they were not then numerous. The expansion of this institution from the kingdom of Maḥmūd-i Ghaznawī westwards was facilitated by the fact that the increasing power of feudal-farmers compelled the kings more and more to grant to them as premium (*taswīgh*) a part of the rents due from them, and that

[1] Al-'Umarī, *al-Ta'rīf*, p 15, l. 18, *Ṣubh*, xiii, pp. 247–8; 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Fath al-Qussī*, p. 38, l 5, Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawdatayn*, ii, p 90, l 6, etc. It appears from *Subh*, xiii, p. 245, ll 8–21, that the Mamlūk Sultans were chiefs of the Syrian Ismā'īlīs not as apostles of the Nizārī branch but as lieutenants of the Musta'lī, which seems to mean that the Light of Imamat was supposed to pass from one ruler of Egypt to another (it may be mentioned that during the reign of Shajar al-Durr her son, Khalīl, was denoted as *amīr al-mu'minīn*: *Sulūk*, ed Ziyāda, i, ii, p 362, l. 6), but possibly also that the Mamlūk Sultans were considered as representatives of those Fāṭimid Imams who were believed by al-Qalqashandī and al-Zāhirī to survive somewhere in the Maghrib (cf. Abū Shāma, ii, p. 178).

[2] Cf. our notes in *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1936, p. 261.

[3] Abū Shāma, ii, p. 200, l. 1. Anyway, the Ayyūbids did not resort to such inflation of paper currency (*qarāṭīs*) as the Zangid State.

[4] Cf. *Ṣubh*, xiii, p. 138, l 2 ('*idda* = the contingent of horsemen maintained by a military fief-holder: cf. vi, p. 202, l. 4).

this premium frequently amounted to the whole of rents. We may therefore assume that the military fief would have become the principal form of agrarian relations in Egypt even if the process had not been accelerated by the conquest of this country by easterners.

There were not many traits common to the military feudal systems of the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks. While a Mamlūk emir had to devote two-thirds of the revenue of his fief to the maintenance of the knights in his service, and only one third (*khāṣṣa*) was set apart for his personal expenses, an Ayyūbid lord received two different fiefs: *khāṣṣa* for his private needs and *iqṭā'* or *khubz* for the maintenance of his troops. These two fiefs could be located in different regions.[2] Whilst the Mamlūk emirs and their fiefs were divided into fixed grades according to the number of knights whom they had to maintain, this was not the case with the Ayyūbid: their feudal charters exhorted each of them to maintain as many knights as possible.[3] The holders of small fiefs formed the so called *al-halqa al-Khāṣṣa*, which fought at the time of battle in the middle, while the emirian troops constituted the two wings.[4] Whereas the Mamlūk fiefs after the downfall of the Latin states were as a rule not hereditary, the Ayyūbid imitated the hereditary feudal system of the Zangid State.[5]

Although the Ayyūbid fiefs were on the whole more concentrated territories than the Mamlūk, even the Ayyūbid feudalism did not adopt entirely the Occidental notion of feudal hierarchy, based upon the redivision of great fiefs into small and the fealty stipulated by land tenure and due only to the direct superior of the vassal in question. Such a system was

[1] *Ṣubh*, xiii, p. 128, l. 1, p. 132, l. 4; p. 133, l. 15, p. 142, l. 18, p. 14[?] l. 5.

[2] Abū Shāma, ii, p. 197, ll. 22–23, 35.

[3] *Ṣubh*, xiii, p. 150, ll. 1–7, p. 152, ll. 5–15.

[4] Abū Shāma, ii, p. 179, l. 18. This usage disappeared when the Sultanian Mamlūk corps was created

[5] Abū Shāma's notes on the heredity of fiefs are copied in *Khiṭaṭ*, i, p. 216, ll. 24–26, where the source is not indicated.

considered as peculiar to the Franks, and it was respected in those rare cases when a Frank received a fief from the Sultan.[1] Otherwise the Islamic conception of the *iqṭā'* prevailed: a source of revenue granted directly by the sovereign and not as a condition of fealty to him, such fealty being considered as a natural and unconditioned duty of every subject. The Syrian principalities (Damascus, al-Karak, Ṣahyūn, etc.), were not given by the Egyptian suzerain to their princes as *iqṭā'*; quite different matter was the transfer of the administrative authority by "God's Shade upon His Earth" to his local representatives. These representatives were, of course, entitled to *iqṭā'*, but this *iqṭā'* was not necessarily identical with the area administered by them: it could be only a part of it, it could lie partly outside it. It was not necessarily a continuous stretch of land, but could consist of scattered cultivated lands and other fiscal sources of revenue. Therefore under neither the Ayyūbids nor the Mamlūks do we find the characteristic Occidental phenomenon of borderland feudatories who privately wage war against their neighbours on the other side of the frontier in order to enlarge their own fiefs; the case of a Bedouin chieftain who received under Muḥammad b. Qalāūn the lands captured by him in the Sudan[2] and Abyssinia as fief is an isolated exception. The right of war belonged to the Sultan, or to his local representative, not to the *muqṭa'*.

[1] Abū Shāma, ii, pp. 202, 208.

[2] The question how long the northern Nubian kingdom existed and why the riverain strip from Aswān to Dongola has retained its Nubian speech, posed by S. Hillelson in this JOURNAL, 1937, p. 659, is largely solved by the information contained in *Ṣubh*, viii, pp. 5–8. We learn from there that in the fifteenth century (and probably up till the Funj invasion) this strip remained independent, though already thoroughly Muslim, whilst Bedouin tribes settled to the south of it.

405. A. N. POLIAK.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

LA VIE RURALE EN SYRIE ET AU LIBAN. By ANDRÉ LATRON. Beyrouth, 1936.

This book, published by the Institut Français de Damas, is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the economic life of the Syrian countryside. The author begins by unravelling the complicated systems of measures and money, which continue to exist in spite of the fact that the metric system was introduced into the Ottoman Empire by the law of 14th and 26th September, 1869. Indeed, some years after the French occupation the notes issued by the Banque de Syrie et du Grand Liban were little used outside Beyrouth. Turkish gold pounds and Egyptian silver were current elsewhere, while Tripoli and Aleppo each had its own " megīdiyé ".

In the third chapter, under the heading "Les contrats ruraux " the reader is introduced to various forms of land tenure, such as " métayage (*muzāra'a* et *musāqāt*) " and " complant (*mug͟hārasa*) ". This is further explained in the chapter following, which also deals with the marketing of crops and the relations between town and country.

The author remarks, " Il faut mettre à part l'ancien Mt. Liban qui présente dans son ensemble une organization sociale plus urbaine que rurale, causée par l'émigration avec retour, et par le grand développement des industries soyeuse et hôtelière. Les cités vivent en parasites sur la campagne et la maintiennent dans une dépendance étroite." And he gives Damascus and the Hauran as an instance of this.

There are also chapters dealing with irrigation and water rights, " propriété immobilière," and finally one on the village community, which contains the following glimpse of rural society : " Pour comprendre tout l'attrait que le groupement offre à ces paysans, il faut voir ces assemblées

nombreuses d'hommes assis sur des banquettes, des coussins ou des nattes, autour de la pièce de réception, ou par terre a l'extérieur. Quelques uns parlent en chefs; d'autres risquent un avis de temps à autre, beaucoup écoutent, restent muets et ne manifestent leur présence que par des soupirs." The author comes to the conclusion that this rural society has evolved slowly by a process of trial and error from ancient times and that it has maintained its essential characteristics unchanged in spite of the influence of Christianity and Islam. Its development has been retarded by the absence of stable government for a long period.

The book contains maps, drawings, and statistical tables, together with an index of Arabic terms quoted in the text with their meanings and an index of proper names, which the author writes in the official French way. Otherwise, he follows the international system of transliteration except as regards some of the vowel sounds and the consonant "sh" or "š", which he writes "ch" in the French way.

B. 25 E. H. PAXTON.

Far East

TAO TÊ CHING. A new translation by CH'U TA-KAO. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 94. London: The Buddhist Lodge, 1937. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is the first published translation of the Sayings of Lao Tzŭ by one of his own countrymen, and on that account alone must excite curiosity. There is nothing very sensational in it, however. Professor Ch'u follows the traditional interpretations for the most part, and does not strive after novelty of expression. His English is plain and straightforward, sometimes perhaps a little too pedestrian:—"While the royal palaces are very well kept, the fields are left weedy and the granaries empty." Here the connection between the two clauses should be brought out more strongly: "Where the palaces are very splendid, there the fields will be very waste and the granaries very empty." Each new translator

of Lao Tzŭ naturally has his own view as to the meaning of obscure passages, and it is hard to put one's finger on this or that and say that it must necessarily be wrong. But there is a point beyond which words cannot be twisted out of their obvious meaning. Let us take one of the most remarkable sayings from the end of chapter 27: "The good man is the bad man's teacher; the bad man is the material upon which the good man works. If the one does not value his teacher, if the other does not love his material, then despite their sagacity they must go far astray. This is a mystery of great import" Professor Ch'u renders this: "Therefore good men are bad men's instructors, and bad men are good men's materials. Those who do not esteem their instructors, and those who do not love their materials, though expedient, are in fact greatly confused. This is essential subtlety." The word "expedient", I think, spoils the sentence even more than Mr. Waley's "much learning though he may possess", and as a translation of 智 it must be placed definitely out of court.

A contemporary scholar, Mr. Ch'ên Chu, has recently attempted to restore our present text, which is admittedly corrupt, to its original form, and in this volume most of his suggestions are adopted. This entails a good number of transpositions and at least one considerable omission (at the end of chapter 31), which is justified on the ground that the words are "too superficial to conform to the dignified style of the writing of Lao Tzŭ". Many will dispute this assertion, and in any case it is dangerous to begin rejecting passages as spurious unless there is ample evidence to go upon. In chapter 57, the two lines taken from chapter 48 seem redundant. On the other hand, chapters 63 and 64, which are entirely re-arranged, certainly show a logical connection which is conspicuously absent from the received text. The same may perhaps be said of chapter 70, to which three lines from chapter 72 have been added. But here again I must question the translation: "(The Sage) loves himself but does

not hold himself in high esteem." Waley has: "Knows his own value, but does not put himself on high." I believe that 愛 in this context means not to love but to be sparing of, and that Julien gives the right explanation: "Il ménage ses esprits vitaux, et, pour ne point les user, il renonce aux passions."

A. 959. LIONEL GILES.

THE INVASION OF CHINA BY THE WESTERN WORLD. By E. R. HUGHES, M.A. The Pioneer Histories. 9 × 6, pp. xvi + 324. London: A. and C. Black, 1937. 15*s.*

This book, tolerant, timely, and to the point, concerns itself with our present new understanding of Western relationships with China. Mr. Hughes shows how justifiable is the title "Invasion" when applied not only to the physical, but also the social and moral disturbance which has resulted from our entry into the East. Inevitably, his preliminary historical reviews are short; so that the results of actions are chronicled, while the causes are omitted or compressed.

The long section on the Missionary Influence is specially valuable, though Mr. Hughes, himself a missionary, is firm in his determination not to favour his own way of thinking. On p. 173, for instance, while he writes appreciatively of the Shansi University, founded after the execution of over forty missionaries at T'ai-yüan Fu, he does not mention that the large sum of money which was offered by the Chinese for these lives was refused by the missions. And when Dr. Richard suggested that this money be spent in the creation of the university, the missionaries heartily assented. The teaching in the University was not done by interpreters, but in Chinese, by the English staff, a condition practically unique in those days. Indeed, it may also be relevant to add that the realization of what it, and similar pioneer educational institutions, meant for China, prompted, in 1914,

the promise by Mr. Lloyd George that the Boxer Indemnity Funds should be used for China's modern education.

Equally thoughtful are the chapters on the Influence of Western Political Thought. It was good to find Liang Ch'i-ch'ao returning to his place in the sun, after some years of twilight. Perhaps the happiest chapter of all is that on the New Literature, on which Mr. Hughes writes *con amore* and with wide knowledge · a delightful chapter. As he says in his summing-up, the mind of China, which, after 1900, too eagerly grasped at all things Western, has, in these days, come to something of a critical discernment between the good and evil in our Western cultures, and an appreciation of her own.

A. 977. DOROTHEA HOSIE.

STUDIES IN CHINESE ART AND SOME INDIAN INFLUENCES. By J. HACKIN, O. SIRÉN, L. WARNER, and P. PELLIOT. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$. pp. viii + 64, pls. 44. London: The India Society, 1938. 21*s*.

Under this title are grouped four lectures given for the India Society in connection with the Chinese Exhibition in London. Firstly, M. Hackin describes concisely the mixture of Hellenistic, Indian, and Iranian art flowing across Central Asia to China's borders and emphasizes the importance of Bamiyan as a focal centre of these elements. He traces step by step its influence along the oasis towns on both sides of the Taklamakan Desert till it is assimilated and absorbed by the "masterful enterprise" of Chinese Art. The lecture throughout maintains the high quality of accurate scholarship one expects from the Director of the Musée Guimet.

Dr. Sirén's lecture is in two distinct parts, the first of which deals with the winged lion sculptures, which, from Han times to the middle of the sixth century A.D., were placed as guardians of tomb areas. He has brought together an

interesting collection of good illustrations on this subject of which so little is known, and made some tentative suggestions about their affinities with the art of Western Asia. The second part deals with the more familiar subject of early Chinese Buddhist sculpture up to the Northern Ch'i dynasty. He holds that this was inspired by the ideas that came across Central Asia, and seems to suggest that it was not possible for these ideas to be influenced by others arriving from Central and South India by the sea route. Yet we know that monks with Buddha figures from Ceylon arrived at the Wei capital about A.D 455, and Dr. Sirén finds considerable evidence of the Gupta spirit which at that time would naturally travel to the east by sea.

Mr. Langdon Warner takes us to another and rarer atmosphere in "An Approach to Chinese Sculpture". He urges the need to appreciate the technique which the Chinese applied to the various materials with which they worked and then to attempt to learn the purpose in the mind of the artist when he produced his work. He gives us timely warning to recall the spirit of our own medieval art if we are to be able to form a just estimate of old Chinese sculpture.

Professor Pelliot wafts us back to the second millennium B C. in describing the recent excavations by the Academia Sinica on "The Royal Tombs of An-yang". At the time of the lecture, Professor Yetts' articles in this journal were the sole source of information in English about these most important discoveries, which show the high level of culture attained by the Chinese of the Shang-Yin dynasty. In present circumstances there is no knowing when the Academia Sinica will be able to present to the world the complete account of its work. Thus we may be grateful that Professor Pelliot has enabled us to have at least a fascinating glimpse of this ancient culture.

B. 102 J. H. LINDSAY.

Middle East

SUKHANVARĀN-I-IRĀN DAR 'ASR-I-ḤĀẒIR. Vol. II. By M. ISHAQUE. 9½ × 6½. pp. xxiii + 482, portraits 51. Calcutta: The Author, 1937.

It is unnecessary to repeat what has been said in the *Journal* for 1935, p. 395, concerning the importance of this work to students of modern Persian literature and literary history. The present instalment—completing the poetical section and leaving specimens of prose for a third volume—introduces us to fifty-one contemporary Iranian poets (including two women) whose portraits, together with short critical biographies in Persian and English, add greatly to its interest. So far as I can judge from the extracts given here, the younger generation of poets must be ranked below their predecessors: they are very much in earnest, but rarely succeed in giving distinctive and memorable expression to the "Sturm und Drang" of adolescent nationalism, a theme which otherwise is apt to become fatiguing. Mr. Ishaque believes that "the tendency to compose poetry in pure Persian freed from any admixture of Arabic words, though still feeble, is bound to be ere long the main characteristic of the modern literature of Iran". Apparently he regards such a development, to whatever extremes it may be carried, with complacency, if not with approval. Iran, however, will think more than twice before committing literary suicide for the sake of a "Renaissance" founded on impoverishment and mutilation of the Persian language.

A. 849. R. A. NICHOLSON.

CATALOGUE OF PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. Vol. II. By the late H. ETHÉ. Revised and completed by E. EDWARDS. 1,374 columns. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937.

When in 1903 Vol. I of this Catalogue (containing 1,632 columns and 3,003 items) was published, Vol. II was said to be "in a forward state of preparation". In 1917 two-thirds

of Vol. II were printed and the rest of the material lay ready when Dr. Ethé's death stopped the further progress of the work until Mr. E. Edwards's expert collaboration was secured for bringing it to completion, thirty-four years after Vol. I.

Only now can we appreciate the true amount of painstaking work done by Dr. Ethé. Besides the additional seventy-four items, the remainder of Vol. II consists of four amazingly detailed indexes. Index I (cols. 93–403) gives the original titles of the books and also contains indications of technical terms. Index II (cols. 403–606) is a complete general list of subjects, with all kinds of minute explanations. In Index III (cols. 605–844) the principal dates mentioned in, or referring to, the whole collection are presented in chronological order according to various eras. Index IV (cols. 845–1374) contains thousands of personal names, each accompanied by genealogies, dates, etc.

The importance of the indexes is far beyond their immediate object, that of enabling the students to find their way about the rich Persian collection of the India Office Library. In fact, all scholars will most certainly consult Dr. Ethé's work for various kinds of references with regard to Persian literature. The posthumous volume worthily concludes Dr. H. Ethé's long career (1844–1917), full of scientific achievements. We owe our thanks to Mr. E. Edwards for having put a final touch to this great Catalogue, and our congratulations go to the authorities of the India Office responsible for the production of this wonderful "instrument de travail".

A. 951. V. MINORSKY.

THE HEART OF A CONTINENT. By SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. xvi + 243, ills. 5, map 1. London: John Murray, 1937. 9*s*.

This is a welcome reprint of a book published in 1896 which described a journey made by the author fifty years ago from Pekin over the Himalayas to India. Englishmen

resident in India in 1887 had opportunities of learning how Lieut. Younghusband, then a young officer of 24 years of age, had endured the hardships of the Gobi desert and had with incredible pluck surmounted the horrors of the Mustagh Pass, but, as noted in the preface to this reprint, the journey attracted little outside India and one is sorry to confess that even this *Journal* failed to speak of it when the story of it was first published. It is all the more incumbent on us, now that the author has achieved in many varied fields a place of high distinction among his countrymen, to greet with something like a cheer this resuscitation of a memorable exploit. The narrative sets forth the writer's experiences in a simple, manly style, which cannot fail to attract the reader's interest and admiration.

A. 993. E. D. MACLAGAN.

TA'RÍKH-I-JAHÁN-GUSHÁ of 'Alá'u d-Dín 'Aṭá Malik-i Juwayní. Part III. Containing the history of Mangú Qá'án, Húlágú, and the Ismá'ílís. Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and Indexes from several old MSS. by MÍRZÁ MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ABDU'L-WAHHÁB-I QAZWÍNÍ. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxx + 592, pls. 4. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," Old Series, Vol. XVI, 3. Leyden and London: Luzac and Co., 1937. 25*s*.

As Sir Denison Ross points out in his introduction, which summarizes the editor's own Persian introduction, twenty-one years have passed between the publication of the second volume and that of the present one, which completes Mírzá Muḥammad's edition of this valuable historical work. The three volumes together may be said to be as great a monument to the distinction of Professor E. G. Browne, who suggested the edition, and of Mírzá Muḥammad, who undertook it, as to that of the original author, whose main value lies in his having been in part a contemporary of the events he records.

In the present volume it is probable that the section claiming
e greatest interest will be that devoted to the history and
ɔgmas of the Ismā'īlīs, a good deal of which is derived from
ıe *Sar-gudhasht-i Sayyidnā*. For the text itself of this
ıssage the editor has not always made full use of the materials
ailable to him, there being several places in the version
ovided in the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* where there are preferable
adings [1] But all the notes in the volume are of considerable
lue and interest for the student of Islam. That on 'Abd-
llāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ may be singled out for special
ention. It is demonstrated there, on satisfactory authority,
ıat he belonged not to the third but to the second century
Islam, having been a contemporary of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq,
ho died in 148/765, and that the Ismā'īlī movement began
r earlier than is usually considered, thereby showing it
possess an antiquity as respectable as any other part of
am. It is further shown that 'Abd-Allāh was not himself
ı Ismā'īlī but a member of the ordinary Imāmī Shī'a and,
ɔidentally, that *Qaddāḥ* means not "oculist" but "arrow-
ıisher".

The volume is completed by good indexes.

13. R. LEVY.

ZBEK TEXTS FROM AFGHAN TURKESTAN, with Glossary. By GUNNAR JARRING. Lunds Universitets Årsskrift N.F. Avd. 1, Bd. 34, Nr. 2. 10 × 6¾. pp. vi + 246. Gleerup, Lund, 1938.

This volume contains a number of texts taken down in
abul from the dictation of an Afghan Türki from Andkhui,
gether with an English translation. The texts are recorded
an agreeably simple form of transliteration and linguisticly
ɔ of considerable interest. The pronunciation is heavily

[1] e g. (p. 131, l. 9) بکشت for بگسست.
(p. 149, l. 14) وان عاریت است for وامامت عاریت داشت.
(p 150, l. 4) معاصر ارهیم for بعد از ابرهیم.

. *Journal*, 1930, pp. 509 ff.

infected by Persian, particularly so far as the vowels are concerned, and the typical Turkish distinction between "hard" and "soft" vowels has to all intents and purposes disappeared. The consonantal system is of the standard Eastern Türki type, and the grammar, apart from a few peculiarities such as a decayed Genitive in *-ni*, is also more or less standard Eastern Türki. The Glossary is a useful word-list, distinguishing the loan-words from Arabic and Persian, which do not seem to be more common than is usual in the Türki dialects. Except for one or two brief remarks on local customs, the texts are distressingly dull, animal stories, religious anecdotes, and the like. It is perhaps a pity that Dr. Jarring, instead of allowing his informant to unload this rather depressing stuff on him, did not induce him to expatiate more on local customs and describe his journey from Andkhui to Kabul. Material of this kind is of greater contemporary and (prospectively) historical interest than rehashes of the *Arabian Nights*. Apart from this the book is open to no criticism, it is a thoroughly scientific and workmanlike production.

B. 163. G. L. M. CLAUSON.

FINNUGOR ROKONSÁGUNK. By M. ZSIRAI. 11 × 7½. pp. 587, maps 2, pls. 124, figs. 56. Budapest: *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia*, 1937. Pengős 16.

"Our Finno-Ugrian relationship" is a large work, composed of four Parts and an Introduction. The first section of the Introduction comprises some general remarks as to types of languages (isolative, agglutinative, inflexional, etc.), while the second deals with the more important families of languages. Part I is devoted to the Hungarian language; general remarks as to linguistic change and linguistic relationship are followed by a sketch of the comparative philology of Hungarian—the loan-words and the comparative phonology and morphology being in turn discussed; some remarks on

"race and language" with special reference to Hungarian are added. Part II deals with the Primitive Finno-Ugrian period. After the name *Finno-Ugrian* has been discussed, the *Urheimat* of the Finno-Ugrians, their culture, archæology, contacts with foreign cultures, and dissemination are discussed. Part III—the largest section of the book—is devoted to the individual Finno-Ugrian peoples (the Hungarians being omitted); in each case name, distribution, culture, language, literature, and history are dealt with in fair detail. Part IV is a history of Finno-Ugrian philology from the earliest times to the present day. The work includes full bibliographies and two maps showing the distribution of the Finno-Ugrian peoples.

Professor Zsirai's work is an important one; it is in fact a handbook to the subject, and the amount of material it contains is very great. It is well planned and clearly written and shows a real knowledge of the most diverse parts of this large subject. It is a book that can especially be recommended to the beginner, as affording him a comprehensive view of the whole field.

There is, however, much to criticize, both in general and in particular. In general the work seems too much of an *olla podrida*; the four Parts, each affording an excellent sketch of its particular subject, hardly belong together under one title. In a compendium of this nature the obvious difficulty is the best allotment of the space at the author's disposal and, for example, so large (and so well known) a subject as the classification of the languages of the world cannot be adequately dealt with in fourteen pages (pp. 10–23); this section might have been omitted. And Part I, which deals with the philology of Hungarian, hardly shows sufficient advance on S. Simonyi, *Die ungarische Sprache* (1907), and J. Szinnyei, *Magyar Nyelvhasonlítás* (7th ed., 1927), the two standard elementary works, to be worth 68 pages (pp 24–91). On the other hand there appear to me to be two serious omissions. First, the Hungarians (with their difficult early

history) are not included among the Finno-Ugrian peoples discussed ; the Hungarian beginner will perhaps not feel the lack of this section but for the foreigner it is an obvious disadvantage. Secondly, some account of the Samoyedes (Samoyede and Finno-Ugrian together form the Uralian family) would have been most valuable, if only for the reason that such information is not easily accessible. In this connection it may be noted that the discussion of words apparently common to Pr. IndE. and Pr. FU. (pp. 127 ff.) suffers greatly from the fact that Zsirai does not mention that many of these words are also found in Samoyede, a circumstance which gives rather a different orientation to the problem ; thus he cites Lat. *nōmen*, etc. : Finn. *nimi*, etc., but not the Samoyede forms (e.g. Jurak-Nenets *nimḫ*), and in the bibliography to this section (pp. 131–2) he does not cite B. Collinder's *Indo-uralisches Sprachgut*, the standard work on the whole question.

Though there is some inaccuracy in points of detail, it must be admitted that this is mostly confined to matters not directly Finno-Ugrian ; it could easily have been obviated by collaboration with specialists in other philologies, all more widely studied than Finno-Ugrian. In particular, Zsirai seems to be out of touch with his sources when these are not purely Finno-Ugrian. This failing is well exemplified by his treatment of Ohthere's *Voyage* (pp. 204, 423 and, particularly, 472 ff.), of which he makes much use, referring to Ohthere—quite rightly—as the father of Finno-Ugrian comparative philology. This *Voyage*, incorporated in the Alfredian translation of Orosius, is one of the best known passages in Anglo-Saxon literature and is included in very many Readers. Yet Zsirai refers only to the Latin translation given by Rafn in his *Antiquités russes* (1850–2), ii, 458 ff., and he does not even mention the standard edition (that of H. Sweet, 1883). In discussing the *Bjarmar* he refers to their country as *Bjarma*, *Beorma*, *Bjarmaland*, of which only the last form exists, and, giving Tiander's etymology of the

word, he refers to "skandináv *berema, berma* 'Rand, Uferstreich (*sic*)'" (p. 205), again a non-existent form (Icel. *barmr*, etc., is no doubt the form intended); it is unfortunate, too, that he merely repeats Tiander's scheme of the Germanic development of the word with its elementary blunders. Zsirai could have avoided the repetition of the old mistake that Ohthere's "great river" was the Dvina by referring to a classic lecture of Storm's in 1894 (published in *Det norske geografiske Selskabs årbog*, v, 91 ff.). The discussion of the name of the Estonians (pp. 448 ff.), would have benefited by reference to a well-known article on the subject—which Zsirai does not give in his bibliography (pp. 469 ff.)—that of K. Malone, *Speculum*, viii, 67 ff.

B 246. ALAN S. C. ROSS.

India

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM OF WESTERN INDIA, BOMBAY. The Sultans of Gujarat. Compiled by C. R. SINGHAL. Edited by G. V. ACHARYA. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. pp xxxii + 154, pls. 11. Bombay: British India Press, 1935.

The Museum now possesses the collection of the late Dr. G. P. Taylor, published by him in *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.*, in 1902, and also that of Professor S. H. Hodivala making a total of about 500 silver and 2,000 copper, besides one gold coin out of about twenty known. Types not represented at Bombay have been reproduced from those in the British Museum and other collections, so that the thousand coins described form a corpus. The work has been carefully done and the book is well equipped with a historical introduction and indexes of mints, legends, and mint-marks. A good selection of 150 coins is illustrated, though the plates are not so well executed as the rest of the book.

Two new mint names have been deciphered. Dīb or Diu was held by Gujarāt rulers for more than a century before

the Portuguese took it. Daulatābād was another name for Baroda. Mr. Singhal is also to be congratulated on correcting the tentative reading of Khānpur to Burhānpur. It seems probable, however, that coin No. 269, which suggests that the reign of Maḥmūd I began in A.H. 862, instead of 863, which the historians state, was wrongly engraved, as coins of 863 of his predecessor are known.

The earliest coin in the catalogue is one of Muẓaffar Shāh I, dated in 813, and it should have been explained in the introduction (p. xiv) that this was the title assumed by Zafar Khān. For Aḥmad Shāh I the earliest date recorded is 828, but I have a copper coin issued by him in 813, and I believe there are earlier coins struck in his name in 806.

Misprints are few and usually not misleading. At p. xii it may be suggested that Fèrishta put the birth of Aḥmad II in 805, not in 855. On p. xv the last year of the reign of Mahmūd I should be 917 not 977, and on p. xvi Faruqī should be read for Farukhi. On pl. iv, 420*c* is a slip for 420*e*.

At p. xvi Muḥammad Zaman Mīrzā is described as grandson of a daughter of Bābur. He was really the grandson of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā and was married to Bābur's daughter.

A. 626. R. BURN.

THE SIDDHĀNTALEŚASAṄGRAHA OF APPAYYA DĪKṢITA, with an English translation by S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI. 2 vols. Publications of the Department of Indian Philosophy, No. 4. 10 × 7, pp. 414 and 166 + 118 + lxii. Madras: University of Madras, 1935–7. Rs. 3.

BRAHMA-SUTRAS, with text, word-for-word translation, English rendering, comments, and index. By SWAMI VIRESWARANANDA. 7½ × 6½, pp. lxiv + 542. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas, 1936. Rs. 3.

Although the *Siddhāntaleśaṅgraha* has been edited some five times, this edition marks a great advance. The text is

based on five manuscripts, and is given both in roman transliteration and in Devanāgarī. Besides other aids to study, including an analytical index of some sixty pages, the editor gives an excellent introduction discussing the chief matters in debate as well as a very able English translation. As the title implies, the work is a collection of differing views held by Advaita authors about various problems that have arisen within the school, and is thus valuable rather for the history of the school in the sixteenth century than for Appayya Dīkṣita's own views. The question of the universal application of the doctrine of Māyā involves an antinomy parallel to that found in the doctrine of universal doubt. If all is illusion, is not the principle of illusion itself illusory? In the same way the doctrine of universal doubt in order to be consistent must doubt its own principle that everything is doubtful. The editor does not solve the antinomy, but finds an independent solution by holding that it is impossible to think away the thinker. Descartes, he says, was fundamentally right, but he made the error of identifying the thinker with the individual self. Advaitism avoids this by following *śruti* and asserting the universal self.

Swami Vireswarananda's edition of the *Brahma-sūtras* is one of a series of works published by the Ramakrishna Order. A very conservative view is taken of the authorship of the *Sūtras*. It is held that both the *Gītā* and the *Brahma-sūtras* are pre-Buddhistic, and that Veda Vyāsa, the author of the *Gītā*, if not the author also of the *Sūtras*, at least had a hand in their recension. But apart from such questions the long introduction forms a useful help to the study of Śaṅkara. The actual course of his argument is traced in a discussion of some of the leading principles of Vedānta with a comparison of the views of other Vedantic schools. There is an important chapter on *adhyāsa*, and the indexes make the whole a practical and useful volume. It is excellently printed.

A. 840, 925. E. J. THOMAS.

BĀṆA'S KĀDAMBARĪ. By A. A. M. SCHARPÉ. Vertaling van het Sanskrit in het Nederlands, van het Uttarabhāga en van gedeelten van het Pūrvabhāga, met inleiding, aantekeningen en lexicographisch appendix [Doctor's thesis Utrecht University]. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$. pp. xvi + 502. Leuven : N. V. de Vlaamsche Drukkerij, 1937. Belgas 32.

Of Bāṇa's Kādambarī there has long existed a frequently used English translation by Miss Ridding (London, 1896), which, however, is intended rather for the general reader, and has consequently but a limited value as an instrument of study. Miss Ridding omits the greater part of the extensive descriptive passages in the Pūrvabhāga, and only provides a brief synopsis of the Uttarabhāga, which she justly values far less. To supply these deficiencies (which were already pointed out by Rapson, *JRAS.*, 1897, 395 sqq.), Mr. Scharpé, a young Flemish Sanskritist, has now, as a help to the study of Bāna's work, provided us with a new translation, containing all the passages of the Pūrvabhāga omitted by Miss Ridding and a complete translation of the Uttarabhāga.

While Miss Ridding aimed rather at a fluent, readable translation, frequently omitting words or parts of sentences, Mr. Scharpé gives us the closest possible rendering of the Sanskrit text, for which he has availed himself of various Indian translations and in which copious notes account for the solution of the numerous difficulties. The work is rendered not less valuable by its extensive introduction, which contains a richly documented biography of Bāṇa, a survey of his work, and a discussion of his relation to Subandhu. The student of old Indian culture will at the same time find here an excellent summary of all the data of Indian civilization. Personal or novel views of the author's will not be found in this introduction; the painstaking collection of all the data supplied by the entire literature on the subject, however, contributes not a little to the value this book may have for the student. From now on the Sanskritist conversant with Dutch can

avail himself of a very valuable aid in his study of Bāṇa's work. For those who do not know the language, however, the work under discussion may be of very great use on account of its detailed bibliography, which comprises all known editions and translations, and its concordance, which enables the student to locate the quotations of the *Petersburg Dictionary* in Peterson's Edition.

This work, which bears testimony to great accuracy and zeal, is to be considered as an important acquisition for all who want to make a study of Bāna's and Subandhu's ornate prose.

A 843. F. B. J. KUIPER.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SIND. By M. B. PITHAWALA. Part I: $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$. pp. xvi + 72, pls. 16. Rs. 5. Karachi, 1936. Part II: $10 \times 6\frac{3}{4}$. pp. 62, maps 2. Rs. 2·8·0. Karachi, 1936. Part III: $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$. pp. 57, maps 3. Rs. 2·8·0. Karachi, 1937.

The second of these three Parts was reviewed in the *Journal* for January, 1938. The first part, which is also entitled "A Geographical Analysis of the Lower Indus Basin (Sind)", is a reprint from the Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Sciences, and, somewhat awkwardly, retains the paging of those Proceedings. The second and third Parts are reprints from the *Journal* of the Sind Historical Society. The three parts contain much information about the geography and history of Sind, but little effort is made to co-ordinate the various authorities quoted, or to assess their comparative value. A sketch plan showing the course of the distributaries from the Sukkur Barrage, and the effect of that work on the Manchar Lake and on other features of Sind, would have been more useful than some of the sketch maps included. The author deserves credit, however, for a painstaking regional study of the Lower Indus country.

A. 880. B. 137. P. R. CADELL.

THE RENGMA NAGAS. By J. P. MILLS. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. pp. x + 381, pls. 17. Published by direction of the Government of Assam. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1937. 25s.

Before the War a Naga of the Naga Hills was a Naga and nothing more; Angami, Ao, Lhota, Rengma, Sema were mere names. That these names now have a very definite and lively meaning for all who care to read is due to the insight and humanism of two District Officers backed by an enlightened Government. This fifth monograph, the third by Mr. Mills, and the last that he expects ever to write, must have been the most difficult of all, for the Rengmas of the Naga Hills, who in 1931 numbered only 6,329 souls, are split into three groups, each with a dialect and customs of its own; every item of their culture had to be worked through thrice. "Full of contradictions" as they are, Mr. Mills never gets lost in the maze; his plates show, often side by side, the contrasts between the Eastern and Western groups; a full calendar for a single village guides his reader through the diversities of their festivals; his paragraphs are clean cut; he does not obscure his facts by generalizations, he finds space for nearly forty pages of folk tales and a full glossary of Rengma Naga terms, and he never lacks freshness and humour. The key to the puzzle is, as always, the clans, and their distribution among their fifteen villages, the outcome of a kaleidoscopic series of fusions and fissions among Angamis, Lhotas, Rengmas, and Semas, all of whom trace their origin to a common stock.

Fearless hunters of elephant and tiger, ferocious in their quarrels, Mr. Mills found the Rengmas lovable friends. Civilization has hit them hard; our courts have ruined tribal discipline and solidarity; all they cherish is fast vanishing; yet they themselves feel that our rule is but a passing episode, and that a few generations hence "the old days will come back and things will be as they were for so very long before"

A. 898. F. J. RICHARDS.

THE NĀṬAKALAKṢAṆARATNAKOŚA OF SĀGARANANDIN. Edited by MYLES DILLON. Vol. I, Text. 10 × 6½, pp. xx + 147. London: Oxford University Press, 1937. 15s.

This treatise on dramatic art, first discovered by the late Professor Sylvain Lévi in an old MS. in Nepal and dating possibly from the eleventh or twelfth century A.D., has been edited by Mr. Dillon from a modern Devanāgarī transcript, whose inaccuracies furnish abundant material for the display of editorial acumen and knowledge. Despite the difficulties caused thereby, the work of editing has been well done and a readable text presented, though there remain a number of passages, for which the correct reading has yet to be found. As the text is to be followed by a translation, it is to be hoped that scholars who read the book will give Mr. Dillon the benefit of any suggestions that may occur to them for improvement; it is a case in which no one worker can hope to solve all the problems. The one criticism that I would make is that sufficient attention has not been paid to the kind of errors which are most frequent in Nepali MSS. and which would mislead a copyist into Devanāgarī; thus at lines 1602 and 1604 palæography, no less than the context, demands the readings *saraḥ* and *bhraśyad* for the *śiraḥ* and *bhrāmyad* (misprinted *bhramyad*) adopted in the text, though the copyist's misreading of *du* as *u* has been rightly recognized.

As a contribution to dramatic theory, Sāgaranandin's treatise has little importance, but, resting as it does mainly on the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*, it should be of material help to anyone who undertakes the formidable task of critically editing that work. Its real interest lies, as Professor Lévi was quick to see, in the information it affords about Sanskrit drama through its numerous quotations, many of them from works not known to us; the identification of those from known plays is made more difficult by the author's persistent habit of giving the name of the act in which a verse is to be found without mentioning the title of the play itself, whereas modern editions of Sanskrit plays almost invariably omit the name

by which an act was known, contenting themselves with the number alone. Mr. Dillon has nevertheless been able to identify a large proportion of the quotations ; it is interesting to note that of plays first published in recent years the *Kundamālā* provides four verses (that at line 1645 is omitted from the index), and further research may lead to more discoveries of this sort. In this respect the book invites much annotation for which there is no space here.

A. 907. E. H. JOHNSTON.

ŚIVASVĀMIN'S KAPPHIṆĀBHYUDAYA or Exaltation of King Kapphina, critically edited for the first time with an introduction and an appendix by GAURI SHANKAR. Panjab University Oriental Publication, Vol. 26. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$. pp. iii + 2 + 2 + lxxxviii + 165 + xviii, pls. 2, figs. 9. Lahore : University of the Panjab, 1937.

The present work, a Mahākāvya of considerable merit, and a production of the most flourishing period of the literary history of Kashmir, is now presented to the public for the first time. Though its existence was noted as long ago as 1893, the paucity and unsatisfactory nature of the manuscript material has delayed editors from attempting it until now. Mr. Shankar's diligence has succeeded in collecting all the available material for an edition, but it is still not at all satisfactory. The work, lost to all appearances in its original home, has been preserved in Nepal and in Orissa. MSS. of both localities have been utilized by the editor, and until further material appears he has done as much as can be done. Parts, indeed, in fact the main part, of the poem, are in quite a satisfactory state of preservation ; but others, notably the fifth, sixth, and seventh sargas, have considerable lacunæ. The part worst preserved of all is the nineteenth sarga, written in Prakrit. The text as printed is here hopelessly corrupt and for the most part completely unintelligible. The editor in attempting to explain it has

added a Sanskrit *chāyā*, with so little success, however, that he would have been wiser to have omitted it.

The poem is interesting both for literary reasons and with reference to the history of Buddhism. The editor deals fully with these matters in a long introduction, illustrating at length, for instance, Śivasvāmin's indebtedness to Māgha and his contemporary and compatriot Ratnākara. On the whole the edition is well prepared and not likely to be improved on much without the discovery of further material.

A. 911. T. BURROW.

JOURNAAL VAN J. J. KETELAAR'S HOFREIS NAAR DEN GROOT MOGOL TE LAHORE, 1711–13. By DR. J. PH. VOGEL. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. pp. xxvii + 454, pl. xx, ills. 3, map 1. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1937. Gld. 20·50.

This interesting work is issued by the Linschoten-Vereeniging, of whose other publications, pp. vii–xiii, give particulars. After a short preface (pp. xxi–xxvii) Dr. Vogel has supplied a valuable introduction of 128 pages giving an account of the historical background and the circumstances which led to Ketelaar's mission, his previous career, his journey from Surat to Lahore and back, his mission to Isfahān in 1717, and his death at Bandar 'Abbās in the following year.

Ketelaar was a German by birth who took service under the Dutch East India Company, and has the distinction of having written the first Hindustānī grammar, with regard to which reference may be made to Dr. Vogel's paper in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. viii, pp. 817–822. Of this journal describing his mission to Lahore copies of only two parts have survived, covering his arrival there and his return journey, but some incidents of his journey from Surat to Lahore have been preserved in letters given in the introduction and the appendices. The expedition, both to and fro, was accompanied by unpleasant occurrences due

to the disturbed state of the country and the rapacity of some of the Indian officials and inhabitants, who sometimes endeavoured to oppose its progress and had to be bought off.

The object of the mission was to obtain better facilities for the company's trade. But during its stay at Lahore the Mogul emperor Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh died, and his successor Jahāndār Shāh's accession was soon followed by a civil war which ended in his defeat by his nephew Farrukhsiyar in January, 1713. By this time the mission was already well on its way back to Surat, but the event was a blow to the company, for the expedition from start to finish had taken two years and cost more than 1,200,000 guilders, half of which had been spent in gifts, as set out in Appendix VI. The six other appendices consist chiefly of letters. A comprehensive bibliography and an index of proper names and Oriental words are added. The work has been admirably edited and the plates are good and well chosen.

B 52. C. O. BLAGDEN.

INDIAN TEMPLES. 136 photographs chosen and annotated by ODETTE BRUHL, with a preface by SYLVAIN LÉVI. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$. pp. xvi, ills. 136. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press (Indian Branch), 1937. 10*s*. 6*d*.

This appears to be a reproduction, with an English translation of the preface, titles, and notes, of a collection of views of temples, monuments, and sculpture published under the title *Aux Indes : Sanctuaires*, by Paul Hartmann, of Paris, in 1935. The selection of the photographs has been well made, and some of those taken by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffman, M. Victor Goloubew, and Dr. E. H. Hunt are particularly fine. The reproductions have also been well done. Many will treasure the volume for the introductory remarks by the late Sylvain Lévi, who briefly surveys the background

of the art displayed with characteristic understanding and skill.

The English translation is good. The only mistakes noticed are in the place-names. For Aiholi, Kajuraho, Pakshithirtham, temple at Pashpati, and Buddh Gaya, should be read Aihole, Khajuraho, Pakshitirtham, temple of Pashupati, and Bodh Gaya.

B. 78. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

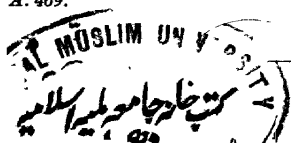
A HANDBOOK OF SINDHI IDIOMS. By M. J. SHAHANI. 7 × 4¾. pp. 215 + iv. Karachi: Educational Publishing Co., 1937. Re. 1.

This is a useful little book in which the English meaning of a large number of Sindhi expressions is correctly given, either by translation or by an equivalent. The standard of Sindhi is so much behind that of the vernaculars of the other Provinces with which it now takes its place that any assistance to the study of the language is to be welcomed.

B. 19. P. R. CADELL.

SIDDHI UND ABHIÑÑĀ. Eine Studie ueber die klassischen Wunder des Yoga By SIGURD LINDQUIST. Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift, 1935, 2. 10 × 6½. pp. 98. Uppsala: A. B. Lundequitska Bokhandeln, 1935.

This monograph is a continuation of Lindquist's valuable book, *Die Methoden des Yoga*, published in 1932. It gives from the same methodical angle of modern medico-psychological analogy a more detailed treatment of the problems of the classical miracles of Yoga.

A. 469. BETTY HEIMANN.

LETTERS TO CEYLON, 1814–1824. Being Correspondence addressed to Sir John D'Oyly. Ed. by P. E. PIERIS. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$. pp. vi + 155. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1938. *10s. 6d.*

These letters addressed to Sir John D'Oyly by members of his family in England throw valuable light on the character and varied interests of that distinguished Ceylon Civil Servant, who from 1815 to his death in 1824 was Resident in Kandy and as such was mainly responsible for the government of the newly acquired Kandyan Provinces.

The student, who hitherto has known D'Oyly only in his later years when he had retired from social intercourse with his fellows and was famed for his mastery of the Sinhalese tongue and his deep knowledge of Kandyan affairs, now learns that he was also interested in such matters as the epigraphy, geology, botany, mineralogy, meteorology, and natural history of the country which he served. He will also read, perhaps with some astonishment, Dr. Pieris' able Introduction dealing with D'Oyly's brilliant academic career at Cambridge and his occupations as a young man, apparently so much at variance with those of the mature recluse. In 1810 Sir James Mackintosh wrote (p. 125), "He is the only Cingalese scholar in the Ceylon Civil Service, and like many Orientalists has almost become a native in his habits of life. He lives on a plantain, invites nobody to his house, and does not dine abroad, and seems an amiable though uncouth recluse. When I saw him come to dinner at Mr. Wood's, I was struck with the change of a Cambridge boy into a Cingalese hermit, looking as old as I do."

On pp. 75 and 78 there is mention of watches with Sinhalese dial-plates having been made to D'Oyly's order by Barwise of London. One such, presented to Ehelepola Adigar, still exists. The dial-plate has two rows of Sinhalese numerals, the outer marking the sixty *pāyas* (*ghaṭika*) or "hours" of the day and night, the inner the sixty *vināḍi* (*pala*) or "minutes", every fifth one of which has a numeral against

it. The watch bears the inscription: "London. No. 4518. Barwise."

The details as to the cost of postage are not without interest at the present day, when the compulsory use of the air mail for all letters may involve the sender in sums not far off those current in the early nineteenth century.

Dr. Pieris is to be congratulated on his work, which clearly was a labour of love. An immense amount of research has been entailed in obtaining the materials for the Introduction and the Notes.

B. 70. H. W. CODRINGTON.

A GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM. By N. G. MAJUMDAR. Part I. Early Indian Schools. pp. 106. pls. 12, 2*s*. Part II. The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra. pp. 137, pls. 15, map 1, 2*s*. 6*d*. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1937.

The collection of sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has no rival, and its importance to the student of Indian plastic art and iconography can hardly be exaggerated. As the exhibits range in date from the third century B.C. to the eleventh century A.D. and have been drawn from a wide area of Central and Northern India they exhibit great variety of form and subject and represent most of the principal schools which have flourished in those regions. Confronted with this mass of material the visitor to the museum has long felt the want of some guide to their elucidation, since Anderson's splendid *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum* published in 1883 and Bloch's *Supplementary Catalogue* of 1911 have long been out of print. These two publications make, therefore, a most timely appearance and add greatly to the educative value of the collections.

The early schools are dealt with in Part I, and in examples of these the collection is particularly rich, comprising as it does, Mauryan statues, Aśokan pillars, the unique and extensive remains of the Bharhut Stūpa, miscellaneous sculptures from Sāñchi, a portion of the Bodh Gayā railing, and sculptures from Patna and Rājgīr. The author deals succinctly with the history and characteristics of Aśokan and Śuṅga art, explains the original purpose and appearance of the monuments, gives a summary of the *jātakas* and legends illustrated by the reliefs, and describes the various personages represented by the statues or figured on the railings. A numerical index enables the visitor to trace at once in the Guide the page where the numbered exhibit is described, while an appendix gives the text and translation of all the inscriptions on the Bharhut remains. Eleven excellent plates and a frontispiece adequately illustrate the text, and there is a short bibliography and index. Part II is devoted entirely to the Graeco-Buddhist sculptures of Gandhāra, an Introduction of twenty-eight pages presenting a well-balanced account of the school—its history, characteristics, development, and decay, and its place in the history of Indian art and iconography. It is well documented and the matter is presented in very readable form. The general treatment is similar to that of Part I, but in addition to fourteen plates and a frontispiece is an excellent folding map of Ancient Gandhāra and Udyāna showing the ancient sites of this region, including those whence the described sculptures emanate.

The work is scholarly, lucid, and logically treated and controversial subjects are fairly presented, the two volumes bringing down the history of Indian sculpture to about the fourth century A.D. In consequence the sculptures are almost entirely Buddhist. There remains, therefore, the Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain sculpture of some seven hundred years still to be dealt with, but according to the Preface to Part I these two volumes form part of a series of Guide-books of the archæological section of the Indian Museum, and it is to be

hoped that the author will still further increase our indebtedness to him by dealing similarly with the sculptures of the Gupta and later medieval schools.

It is with the deepest regret that I have to add that the hope expressed in the last sentence of this review (written while he was still alive) will, alas, never be fulfilled, for Mr. Majumdar while exploring in the Dadu District of Sind was, on the night of the 10th November, 1938, murdered by dacoits.

Mr. Majumdar's learning, enthusiasm, energy, and intellectual honesty marked him as one likely to add lustre to Indian scholarship, and his death is a grievous and irreparable loss to Indian archæology, to every branch of which he made most valuable contributions.

B. 112 H. HARGREAVES.

HISTORY OF THE BOMBAY ARMY. By SIR PATRICK CADELL 9 × 6. pp. xv + 362, pls. 2, maps 11. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938. 18*s*.

The Bombay Army has long needed a historian; and a happy chance has entrusted the writing of its history to one admirably equipped for the task. Sir Patrick Cadell rose to high distinction in the Indian Civil Service. The son of an eminent soldier, General Cadell, V.C., C.B., he was always interested in things military. All through his service a keen volunteer, he commanded the Bombay volunteer rifles from 1914 to 1917, and the Bombay battalion of the I D.F. until 1919. The result is that he has produced a work full of detail, yet so well arranged that every page is as interesting as that of an exciting novel.

The English factories were at first so widely separated that they had to recruit their own levies for their defence. There were thus three separate forces, an arrangement that lasted until they were merged into one Indian army.

The early efforts of the Bombay army were usually fiascos. It was not until M. Dumas, governor of Pondicherry, had discovered that with proper discipline and leadership the sepoy could be made the equal of European troops, that the Bombay military establishment achieved any real success. The captures of Vijayadurg and Suvarnadurg promised future victories; but the most brilliant feat of the Bombay army was the conquest of Sind. This has been eloquently described by the writer, who served in that province both as assistant collector and commissioner. The Talpur Amirs had attacked Outram in his residency on the banks of the Indus and Sir Charles Napier with a force of some 3,000 Bombay troops advanced on their capital Haidarabad. He met the Amirs' army at Miani, some 20,000 strong. Sir Patrick has given a very clear account of what he describes as "one of the most remarkably fought battles in Indian history", and has illustrated it with a map. The English army was not well commanded, but fortunately the Baluch army was not commanded at all. The Baluchis charged as tribesmen, not as an organized force. Napier rode about between the lines and would have been killed but for the gallantry of Lieut. Marston (afterwards General Marston). Eventually the 9th Bombay Cavalry and the Sind Horse charged the Baluchis in flank and the enemy retired with losses variously estimated at from 6,000 to 2,000. A second victory was won a month later at Dabo, and the pacification of Sind followed. The parting words of Napier to the Indian army were: "I love the Bombay army most. I never think of its sepoys without admiration."

I should like to follow the author through the Panjab, Persian, and Afghan wars; but my space is limited. His description of Maiwand is very vivid and he has exonerated the Bombay army from the charges levelled at it. Defeated it was, but it would have been destroyed but for the gallantry of its retreat. This disaster weighed heavily for many years on the regiments recruited in the Bombay Presidency. In

the Great War they more than recovered their reputation by their steadfast courage in Mesopotamia, German East Africa, and especially in Palestine.

Here I must leave this entrancing work; but I can assure my readers that if they begin it they will certainly not put it down before reaching the last page. Every Bombay regiment will, I am sure, place a copy of it in the most honoured spot in the regimental library.

B. 166. CHARLES A. KINCAID.

THE GAIKWADS OF BARODA. English documents. Vols. II and III. By J. H. GENSE and D. R. BANAJI. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7$. Vol. II. Fatesingrao (1771–6), pp. xx + 353, pls. 3, Rs. 7/8. Vol. III. Fatesingrao Manajirao Govindrao (1776–1800), pp. xxii + 298, pls. 3, Rs. 6/8. Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala, 1938.

These two large volumes deal with the period A.D. 1771–1800. They provide the student engaged in research with a great mass of material, throwing light on many obscure events and forming a sound basis for the history of the time in Western India, so far as the fortunes of the Bombay Government and the affairs of the Gaikwād family in Gujarāt are concerned. No future historian interested in these matters can afford to neglect them, and Messrs. Gense and Banaji must be complimented on the results of their labour. They have earned the gratitude of all scholars. To the ordinary reader, of course, this work is less attractive because hardly any matters of first-rate importance and interest arise. One notes the criticism of Warren Hastings' dealings with the Bombay Government. That Government was anxious to improve its own financial position. It had to draw "considerable annual sums from Bengal" (vol. ii, p. 301). The complete upset of all the Bombay schemes by Hastings in 1775 entailed "the greatest hazard (to) the certainty we

otherwise had of obtaining an annual revenue for Your Honours of about £250,000 sterling" (p. 308). Here, as again in 1780–1782, Hastings appears to have issued orders confounding the operations of the people on the spot without himself properly understanding the actual facts or the views and objects of the Bombay authorities. His description of the Bombay policy in 1775 as "impolitic, dangerous, unauthorized, and unjust" is, to say the least, a little blunt and unsympathetic. Yet the Governor-General had to take account of the march of events in a much larger world than that of Bombay and Gujarāt, and, before final judgment, the historian will have to consult material outside the contents of these volumes.

The books are well and carefully printed, and less than half a dozen misprints have been noticed.

B. 185 C. N. SEDDON.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

KINGS AND COUNCILLORS. By A. M. HOCART. Egyptian University: Collection of works published by the Faculty of Arts, No. 12. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$. pp. 308. Cairo: Egyptian University. London: Luzac and Co., 1936.

Though this "essay in the comparative anatomy of human society" in the author's own words "definitely abjures the method of Tylor and his successors, the composite picture made up of scattered fragments", the uninitiated reader might be excused if he applied the same description to it. No doubt Mr. Hocart has performed the "intensive anatomy" of human societies as wholes, which he recommends, and is himself no "collector of scraps" like his predecessors. But the "homologies" with which he constructs his thesis that "the machinery of government was blocked out in society

long before the appearance of government as we now understand it", sometimes look like rather Tylorian patchwork. The short chapter on *War* compiles from Fiji, the Jukun king, Eddystone Island, Vedic India, Tibet, Homeric Greece, Horus and Set in Egypt, Persia, Scandinavian Thor and the Giants, Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, St. Louis and Charles V of France, the modern *Duce* or *Führer*, pre-War Russia, and the French imperial eagle with thunderbolt. In no instance is any one of these examples studied as a whole in these pages: we can only congratulate Mr. Hocart on the happy coincidence of some of his conclusions with those of "Tylor and his successors": *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose* seems to apply to ethnology too.

Apart from this question of method, which obsesses Mr. Hocart, there is much that is true and useful in his argument. It is not only his predecessors in ethnology who have gone astray and dealt wickedly, but the majority of those who have set their wits and experience to the perilous task of government. Ethnology has no limits for Mr. Hocart. "So far from having done with divine kingship we seem to be returning to it in a more virulent form. It is a harmless doctrine that God is life and that the king is the repository of that life. There are obvious dangers in a doctrine that God is infallibility, and that the chief gunman is the mouthpiece of that infallibility. Its dangers are, however, less certain than those of anarchy." And a glance at the index shows how far Dr. Hocart has gone in his "intensive anatomy" of modern as well as primitive societies. He claims that his book "is a work of pure science, for pure science must precede applied science". He has, however, ingeniously gilded the pill of pure science by entertaining and significant "applications" to daily life; for as he confesses at the outset "it is the present we are trying to explain!"

A. 819. J. L. Myres.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHÆOLOGY, BARODA STATES, 1935–6. By HIRANANDA SASTRI. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vi + 36, pls. 8. Baroda State Press, 1938. Rs. 2.7.0.

In accordance with his practice of adopting and adapting for the purposes of the State such British enactments as may be useful, H.H. the late Maharaja of Baroda recently set up an archæological department on the lines inaugurated by Lord Curzon. The department has only been in existence since 1932 and it is hardly to be expected that any epoch-making discoveries should have been made. Nevertheless there has been considerable progress, though none of the finds are of any great antiquity as the term is understood to-day. Unfortunately, like so many other places, Baroda finds that there is more work to be done than she can find the money to do ; old buildings, and historic monuments must give way to the more pressing needs of the living people. It is therefore not surprising that Dr. Hirananda Sastri, the Director, should report that " for want of funds no special work of conservation could be undertaken during the year under report ". So far the work done seems to have been confined to the northern part of the State in the districts of Mehsana and Baroda, and to the outlying part in Kathiawar—and it is in these parts that the Government have notified protected monuments. During the year under report, however, some excavations were made at Kamrej on the left or southern bank of the Tapti River. Here were found some interesting relics, including a high mound which seems to have been turned into a miniature fortress during the Mussulman period. Other finds are of minor importance, but no doubt work will be continued there, as there is promise of considerable interest. In the Baroda possessions of Kathiawar lies the town of Dwarka and the thoughts of all pious Hindus naturally turn to this, the capital of the ancient kingdom of Sri-Krishna. It is not very clear whether the shrine uncovered at Mula-Dwarka has any bearing on this place of undoubted antiquity

and of special sanctity. The shrine itself does not appear to be very old but the excavations show two other levels on which there were previous buildings. Dwarka is on the sea and is subject to very high winds. It is possible, therefore, that there has been a good deal of encroachment by the sea, and that the ancient remains lie buried under a vast accumulation of sand. There were also very interesting finds at Vadnagar in Mehsana District and a figure of Surya, the sun god at Kheralu which seems to be in an excellent state of preservation.

On the whole it may be said that if the work so far done has not revealed anything of outstanding interest—anything to compare with the great discoveries at Mohenjodaro and at Harappa in the Panjab—there is much promise for the future. The Maharaja had already shown personal interest by expressing a desire that a replica of one of the famous Asoka pillars should be set up in Baroda and the intention was that it should be erected in some suitable site in Baroda City. Although there is no mention of any such site, the obvious choice for such a pillar would be in the fine public park which is open to everyone and is much frequented on certain days of the week.

. 127. STANLEY RICE.

Biblical Archæology

THE QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE. Vol. VI, Nos. 3, 4. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8$, pp. 120, pls. xxv–xxxii, figs. 51. Jerusalem: Published for the Government of Palestine by Humphrey Milford. London: Oxford University Press, 1937. 10s.

Some of the articles continue an account of the work already described in these pages (see pp. 94 seq.). Thus at Rās el-'Ain Mr. Ory finds evidence for the view that the site was abandoned in the sixteenth century B.C. until the Hellenistic age. Mr. C. N. Johns, still working at the Pilgrims'

Castle at 'Atlit, has now discovered traces of Phœnician connections going back to the Assyrian period; the site was perhaps a Phœnician colony. Interesting evidence for cremation was brought to light, and he gives his reasons for believing that in the case of burials in the sand pottery was ceremonially broken and deposited as a burial gift. It is necessary to stress the importance of the excavations at 'Atlit both for history and for the study of burial usages. A useful little monograph on the "toggle-pins" in the Palestine archæological museum (E. Henschel-Simon) draws attention to the difference between the type that can be associated with the Hyksos and the earlier varieties; readers who are unacquainted with or sceptical of the value of minute investigations of this sort should notice the very interesting questions of historical and cultural significance which these seemingly unlikely little objects bring.

Later archæological periods are represented by the discoveries outside St. Stephen's Gate, Jerusalem, of Roman and Byzantine remains (R. W. Hamilton), and by the traces of a palace of the Umayyad period at Khirbet el-Mefjer (D. C. Baramki). There is the usual summary of excavations in Palestine (for 1935–6), followed by a handy bibliography. The former reports, *inter alia*, the discovery of the remains of a synagogue at es-Samū, the Biblical Eshtemoa, and fresh light (in the Ḥuleh district) on the chronology of the Pleistocene and its relation to the Palæolithic culture. The fascicule is as usual splendidly illustrated.

B. 46. S. A. COOK.

Cuneiform

CONTRATS DE L'EPOQUE SÉLEUCIDE CONSERVÉS AU MUSÉE DU LOUVRE. By MLLE RUTTEN. 10 × 6½, pp. 252, pls. ii, figs. 31. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1935.

In this book, which also forms vol. xv of *Babyloniaca*, Mlle Rutten has edited nineteen contracts dated in the

Seleucid epoch. Sixteen of these are in the Louvre collection and comprise Nos. 235–249 of Contenau's copies in *T.C.L.*, xiii, with the addition of one (AO. 17265) which is here published for the first time. The remaining three are from other collections, viz. Schroeder, *V.A.S.*, xv, Nos. 3 and 20; and Clay, *Morgan*, ii, No. 10. The texts are grouped into three categories—sales of slaves, sales of land, and sales of "ecclesiastical benefices"; and the three documents not in the Louvre are added for comparison with *T.C.L.*, xiii, No. 248, this being the only Louvre text belonging to the first category.

The first part—nearly half—of the work contains a bibliography, a section on the dating of tablets in this epoch, a chapter on Uruk at the time of the Seleucids, its history and topography, its deities and their cults, and the excavations carried out there, a list of the proper names that occur in these texts, and a section on the glyptic. There is also an excellent copy of AO. 17265.

It is unfortunate for Mlle Rutten that the appearance of her work coincided with that of Miss E. W. Moore's edition of all the texts contained in *T.C.L.*, xii and xiii.[1] The translations do not differ seriously, it is true, but wherever there is a difference it is Miss Moore who has the better reading, with the exception perhaps of No. 248, 8 ff., where Rutten's rendering gives better sense. However, these errors do not for the most part affect the legal interpretation of the texts, and from the legal point of view the grouping of the documents and the formulation of the scheme on which each is drawn up are considerable advantages.

In the first part of the book the author has included—presumably for the sake of completeness—much that is already well known and in places curiously elementary. What is the use of a page or less on such deities as Anu, Enlil, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Marduk, etc., and of such

[1] *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents*, University of Michigan Press, 1935.

information as "En sémitique Bêltu est le forme féminine de Bêl"? In a work of this kind such an introduction is irrelevant. There is, however, much that is useful, especially the table of dates and the account of the temple functionaries on pp. 59–63.

A. 905. O. R. GURNEY.

Islam

THE WISDOM OF THE QUR'ĀN. By MAḤMŪD MUḪTĀR-KĀTIRCIOGLŪ. English Translation by JOHN NAISH. 9¼ × 6, pp. lx + 146. London: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, 1937. 5*s*.

This book is, as Professor Massignon says in a short note, the spiritual last will and testament of the Turkish statesman Muḫtār Pasha who died in 1935 just after finishing it. It consists in the main of a selection of verses from the Qur'ān, taken from each sūrah in order, and amounting to about a fifth of the whole. Discounting the many repetitions and the matter of temporary polemical interest, the author regards this as giving the essential parts of the Qur'ān. The selection has not been made from any historico-critical point of view, but rather for the purpose of presenting what a modern Muslim of wide culture and experience and earnest piety finds of permanent value

The translation of the verses selected is made from the same point of view. The author aims not at linguistic accuracy but at giving the sense which the verses convey to him. The Introduction which is prefixed to this selection of Qur'ān verses expounds the teachings of Islam and deals with some questions arising in its history. It shows wide knowledge and deep reflection, but is an index to the author's mind rather than an objective study.

He regards the central force and driving power of Islam as residing in its dogmatic simplicity and practical idealism. Canonical Islam is apt to be crudely literal and legalistic.

He acknowledges the services of the mystic brotherhoods in counteracting this, though in the present day they have fallen into cultural inferiority and become centres of reaction. He therefore approves the modern Turkish reforms which abolished them, deposed the Ulema, and freed the state and religion from mutual entanglement. His exposition of the theology and ontology of Islam shows philosophical grasp and not a little influence of Western thought.

The whole makes a book of considerable charm and great spiritual value. The English version, it should be added, is worthy of it, and hardly ever gives cause to remember that one is reading a translation.

B. 20. RICHARD BELL.

STUDIES IN ISLAM AND JUDAISM. The Arabic original of Ibn Shâhîn's Book of Comfort known as the Ḥibbûr Yaphê of R. Nissîm b. Ya'aqobh. Edited from the unique manuscript by JULIAN OBERMANN. (Yale Oriental Series, Researches XVII.) $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8$, pp. lix + 183, pls. clvi. New Haven: Yale University, 1933. Frs. 400.

Seldom does an editor of *Faraj* literature produce a volume of such wide interest as Mr. Obermann has published. The author lived in the eleventh century, and the MS. which is given us in facsimile is the sole survivor, though Steinschneider mentions two printed Hebrew versions.

Mr. Obermann has edited the text with great care and diligence, and the bibliographical notes testify to the width of his reading. He has carefully analysed his own notes, so that the reader can see at a glance the new material which the book provides. The quotations from Ben Sirach have great interest; so, too, has the note on the Hashmonean synagogue. Legends from the Apocrypha and Talmud often appear in a new and comely dress, as, for example, when it is said that Judith before slaying Holofernes, the enemy of her people, " purified her intention before her Creator."

What the book needs more than anything else is an Introduction which will explain its importance in witnessing to ancient traditions which are known only in different forms; and this Mr. Obermann has promised us in a second volume which will contain an English translation of the text. The care and thoroughness which has been given to this edition encourages the hope that the promised volume will be an important contribution to the literature of Rabbinical Judaism and its relations with Islam.

B. 26. A. GUILLAUME.

Miscellaneous

A JÁNOSHIDAI AVARKORI KETTŐSSIP (Die avarische Doppelschalmei von Jánoshida). By BARTHA DÉNES. Archæologia Hungarica. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 107, pls. 13, figs. 10. Budapest: Magyar Történeti Muzeum, 1934.

D. de Bartha's monograph in Hungarian and German gives the description of an Avar double-shalm found in 1933 at Jánoshida, Szolnok County, Hungary. The instrument, the form of which may be regarded as typical on the basis of more recent finds, consists of two bone-tubes (5 + 2 holes) with traces of a one-time parallel connection.

The author first discusses the historical and ethnographical parallels of this type of double-shalm. Historical information, sense, and iconographical evidence are very scanty and only prove that during the late Middle Ages the instrument had sunk to a popular instrument and was not highly esteemed. More precise information is furnished by ethnographical evidence. If we trace it from the Far East to the southern border of Arabian civilization in Africa it may be classified according to the following characteristics: (1) the kind of the wind-chamber, if any, (2) the kind of the mouth-piece, (3) the disposition of the holes, (4) the material of the pipes, and (5) the shape and frame of the bell.

From the twenty-five types of instruments examined the following varieties appear to belong to the same class as the

Avar double-shalm in question: namely, the bag-pipes of East and South-East Europe (Volga, Caucasus, Italy, the Balkans), the Arabian *zummāra sabāuıa*, the Basque *alboquea*, a special type of Indian horn-pipe, different types of double-shalms from Yugoslavia. The kind of music that was performed on the Avar instrument can only be inferred from a close examination of the gamuts and melodies produced.

Thirteen tables contain illustrations of the double-shalm of Jánoshida together with other finds from the same place, and several other types of similar instruments from the Hungarian National Museum and the Museums of Vienna and Brussels.

The author has rendered a valuable service to the comparative history of music by this monograph, which will also be of interest to the general archæologist.

A 810. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

STUDIEN ZUR ARABISCHEN MUSIK AUF GRUND DER GEGENWARTIGEN THEORIE UND PRAXIS IN AGYPTEN. By ALFRED BERNER. Schriftenreihe des Staatlichen Instituts fur Deutsche Musikforschung, II. 10 × 7, pp. vi + 124 (77 letterpress + 47 music). Leipsic: Kistner and Siegel, 1937. R.M. 4.

The painting, architecture, ceramics, textiles, and other of the arts of the East have long been the fields of research workers. It is only during the last decade or so that music has been considered worthy of attention, as the pages of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society can attest. Whilst research workers in this country and in France have specialized in Oriental music of the past, the Germans have turned to the music of to-day, and the present work by Alfred Berner belongs to this class. The author spent two or three years (1931–3) in Cairo and was there when I attended the Congress of Arabian Music in 1932. It was a period when music was being more discussed in Egypt than it has been for centuries.

In his book the author contributes a very stimulating study of the theory and practice of Egyptian music, or rather Cairene music. He deals with the modern quarter-tone system in a dozen pages, although the subject deserved a fuller treatment. Then come about eighteen pages devoted to the most important instruments of music—the lute (*'ūd*), psaltery (*qānūn*), violin (*kamānja*), flute (*nāy*), and tambourine (*riqq*). The modal formulæ and musical form are also dealt with at length, as well as rhythm, but the most interesting part of the book is in the music transcriptions from twenty-two H.M.V. and Odeon gramophone records which are admirably presented.

The transliteration of Arabic words is sometimes irritating, and in some cases the author is not *au fait* with the history of Arabian music, although he frequently quotes my own works. Yet, on the whole, the work is to be commended.

A 961. H. G. FARMER.

A MANICHAEAN PSALM-BOOK. Ed. by C. R. C. ALLBERRY, with a contribution by HUGO IBSCHER. Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, Vol. II. 12 × 8¾, pp. xxiii + 234 + 48. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1938.

So much has now been written about the Manichaean texts found in the Fayyûm, nine years since, that one may assume the main facts as known. The present publication represents only the second half of one of the papyrus volumes; the first is to appear later; yet it is more than twice as long as the *Homilies*, edited in 1934 by Dr. Polotsky. Nor need I repeat my doubts as to the home of the dialect in which these Manichaean and two other texts are written—place of finding is not necessarily place of origin. Arguments for assigning it to the district south of Siût[1] are set out by Professor Worrell and

[1] It may be noted that texts of later periods, from above Siût—those from Balaiza, Ishkâu, Wadi Sarga—show none of the features peculiar to our dialect.

Fr. Chaîne [1]; the latter claiming that, of the three texts involved, the vowel system of these Mani papyri (so far as they were in 1934 available) approximates nearest to Achmîmic, while the idiom of the *Acta Pauli* should probably be located further down-stream, since certain of its features relate it to the Fayyûmic group. Decision as to locality is not made easier by a document, purely in this dialect, among the Meletian letters.[2] The most that can be said is that its writer and recipient both probably dwelt in the Cynopolite nome—again verging on the Fayyûm, in whose dialect indeed another of these letters is written. Yet on the other side these texts show not a few points of contact, both in words and vocalization, with the dialect of Thebes.[3]

To have deciphered 230 pages of papyrus where many of them, despite all Dr. Ibscher's skill, still show but a minority of indubitable letters, would in itself be a remarkable performance; to have produced plausible, often ingenious translations from such ruined materials, where lack of context and strangeness of subject-matter might well have discouraged more experienced scholars, is an achievement on which Mr. Allberry—whose first publication this is—deserves our congratulations and our thanks. The texts which he has made available will no doubt exercise the wits of students for many a day: the opportunities for line or word completion are infinite. Even where the text is tolerably legible, uncouth phraseology or unknown words, of which there are a large number, often forbid more than a piecemeal translation. Indeed among the incidental Greek words not a few are wholly or almost unknown and support the view that, even if Aramaic was the original language of the texts, the Coptic rests upon an intervening Greek version; and this

[1] W. H. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, 74 ff., M. Chaîne, *Les Dialectes Coptes Assioutiques*, 15 ff.

[2] Bell, *Jews and Christians*, Pap. 1921. Cf. ib., p. 43 ff.

[3] Isolated *A*[2] words at Thebes: ⲁⲛⲓⲧ CO. 282, ⲁϩⲁⲛ ST. 240, ϭⲓⲣⲟ ϭⲓⲣⲓ- Dict. 827*b*.

gains in probability from the unaccustomed correctness of the Greek forms. Whether Coptic was the translator's mother tongue may be doubted; attentive reading will note many features which offend against normal usage. Here are examples: the frequency of relative πετ- for ετ- (ππεταɪ, ɴɪπετραʏτ); the possessive with article prefixed (ππαπεαʏ); the future εϥα-, etc. (already observed in the kindred texts); absolute in place of construct verbs (characteristic likewise of the Theban idiom); the capricious use of ⲣ̄- before Greek verbs (so in all the Mani texts); omission of the article [1] (e g. pp. 52_{23}, 57_{13}, 58_{7},[2] 84_{28}, 157_{28}, $158_{10, 13, 25}$, 172_{30}) or of "and" (pp. 23_{20}, 62_{17}, 83_{32}, 156_{20}) occasionally of ϫε-[3] (16_{2}, cf. the *Kephalaia*, where this occurs repeatedly); the awkward use of ɴϫɪ (22_{8}); an abnormal ɴτε (18_{20}, 19_{18}, 97_{27}), or ϩɪτɴ- (64_{10}, 91_{21}). A peculiarity of the *Kephalaia*, not shared with the *Psalm-book*, is the use of α- as dative after παϫε. No doubt there are other features which differentiate the manuscripts one from another, but which may of course, like those above cited, be ascribable to a variety of translators.

Some strange verbal forms occur, mostly as qualitatives: καϩταɪτ (7_{1}), τϻαɪτ (158_{4}), ϩɴτοʏαɪτ (150_{18}, though here a noun, as suggested by the editor, is more probable), ϫɪϥⲫαɪτ (*Hom.* 59), τɴϩατ (122_{29}), κααт (56_{26}); still stranger ϣτεκατ (192_{28}). The preponderance of forms in -αɪτ is remarkable and characteristic perhaps of an antiquated stage in the language. Here and there a qualitative is in use which the other dialects have abandoned, e.g. αɴɪτ, ϭαϣτ. Forms with doubled second radical: κϻɴϻε, cϻαϻε, ϣϭαϭε (*Hom.*), ϫραρε, appear to be peculiar to these texts, which show a predilection too for the plural ending -α(ε)ʏε: ϐεϫεʏε (*Hom.*), ρϻϩεʏε (*Hom.*), ϣϐɪαʏε,

[1] An Aramaic-speaking translator would be prone to this. It occurs too often to be a scribal lapse.

[2] Similarly in 150_{15} before ɴοʏτε.

[3] Are these omissions archaic? They recall demotic usage.

ϩιⲙⲉⲩⲉ, ϭⲁⲓⲉⲩⲉ (*Hom.*), especially in Greek words: ⲅⲣⲁⲫⲁⲩⲉ (*Hom.*), ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲁⲩⲉ (*Hom.*), ⲏⲗⲟⲛⲁⲩⲉ, ⲥⲕⲏⲛⲁⲩⲉ. One may ask the reason for the alteration between ⲁⲓ- and ⲛⲧⲁⲓ- (200_{19} ff.), ⲁⲩ- and ⲛⲧⲁⲩ- (199_{14} ff.), ⲙⲡⲱⲣⲕⲱⲧ and -ⲕⲁⲧ (189_{3} ff.), whereby the sense remains apparently unaffected.

Various proper names met with in the Mani publications would alone suffice to show that these versions were made for an Egyptian community; before all, the months *Paape, Emshir, Paremhatp, Parmoute.* Then, among the "doxological" names, with ⲁⲡⲁ prefixed to some: ϫⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ (cf. ϫⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ Miss. iv, 680, *Τσενοῦθις*), ⲡⲁⲛⲁⲓ (cf. ? ⲡⲁⲛⲁ AM. 287, ⲡⲁⲛⲉ PLond. 4), ⲡϣⲁⲓ (= ⲡϣⲟⲓ), also the mysterious ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ (226_{16}), the last two common in all districts north of Thebes. *Plousianus* again seems peculiar to Egypt. The bishop so-named of Lycopolis (Siût) at the Nicene Council is probably the ex-Meletian,[1] befriended by the notorious Arsenius of Hypsele, a town with a special place in the history of Manichaean propaganda.[2] Two biblical names show remarkable forms: ⲗⲉⲩⲓⲥ (194_{16}) and ⲙⲁⲣⲓϩⲁⲙⲙⲏ (187, 194), recalling the *Μαριάμμη* of Josephus. One might be tempted to see in ⲑⲱⲙ (203_{1}) *Thomas* an Aramaic form. As to the name (or word) ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲱⲛ (133_{1}, cf. Introd. xxi), I cannot believe it unconnected with ⲥⲁⲣⲁⲕⲱⲧⲉ, which I have proposed as the original of *Sarabaita* (Dict. 354*b*) and which is known to have designated the "vagrant" Meletians (ibid. Additions and Corrections, *ad loc.*, Epiph. I, p. 125 n.), whose hymns were forbidden to the orthodox.[3]

[1] *Patr Nic. Nom.* 80 = Zoega 244.

[2] *PG.* 25, 372. Presumably the same man Sozomen, ii, 25 (*PG* 67, 1004) and ? in Mitteis, *Griech. Urk.*, no. 43. One may recall that the name *Πλωτῖνος* (cf. *Πλούτινος* in Middle Egypt) was borne by a reputed native of Siût, and wonder if *Πρωμάως* may be its equivalent. On Hypsele C. Schmidt-Polotsky, *Mani-Fund*, 12.

[3] Perhaps it may be noted that Siût was the home of the Meletians and that there were Meletians near to Medinet Madi, the finding-place of these papyri (*PG.* 65, 405).

Even were it possible to examine the papyrus afresh, I doubt whether Mr. Allberry's cautious readings could be much improved upon, and what I have here to offer are but hesitating suggestions—the less improbable perhaps from among a large number of places considered. To most of them at least one ? would be appropriate.

P. 7_{24}, πειρα.—P. 7_{32}, ⲁⲛⲉⲧⲱⲣⲧ recurs in *Keph.* Cf. *B* ⲁⲛⲧⲱⲧⲉⲣ.—P. 8_{14}, note, ⲥⲛⲓⲣⲟⲟⲩⲉ is plur. of ⲥⲛⲓⲣ. —P. 26_{9}, "The root" here recalls Shenoute's phrase: "Manes, the root of the Manichaeans" (C 42_{109}).—P. 37_{18}, ⲙϩⲏ. Cf. *mḥj.t* "north wind".—P. 40_{8}, end, ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ.— P. 43_{9}, ⲛⲧⲁϥ ⲇⲉ.—P. 45_{31}, read as in note; first ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲱ ? superfluous.—P. 51_{11}, ⲓⲱⲣⲙⲉ.—P. 56_{32}, end, ϫⲉⲟⲩⲁ.— P. 63_{18}, lit. "there befell a divine deceit; Jesus it was aided me".—P. 82_{3}, ⲁⲩⲱ rather than ⲁⲃⲁⲗ.—P. 82_{22}, ϩⲏ for ? ϩⲁⲏ. —P. 93_{26}, ⲛⲧⲁϯ . . . [ⲛⲏⲕ.—P. 100_{30}, ⲁⲥⲓⲱⲟⲩ "swift". —P. 103_{29}, ⲁⲩϭⲱⲗ.—P. 106_{21}, ⲥⲟⲩⲧⲁⲛⲧ more likely.— P. 108_{8}, ⲙⲛⲧⲁϣⲓⲣⲉ.—P. 117_{27}, ϩⲱⲛⲕ properly "make libation".—P. 135_{9}, ⲛⲩϭⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲱⲛϩ.—P. 144_{19}, ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲩⲛ ⲧⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ.—P. 149_{20}, ϩ]ⲱ "Desist, then".—P. $153_{11, 12}$, is ⲱⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲏⲉ impossible ?—P. 159_{15}, ϫⲉⲥⲧϥ must have been intended.—P. 163_{7}, "pushed back the foe."—P. $165_{10, 11}$, cf. Mt. xxvi, 41.—P. 165_{21}, "ere the storm arise."—P. 173_{28}, ⲙⲡⲓⲥⲏⲩ "formerly".—P. 187_{32}, ⲛⲓ- is used by Shenoute (C 7340, ⲛⲛⲉⲓ-). This phrase is based on Ps. cxxxi, 4, which has ⲛⲛⲁ-.—P. 188_{10}, "I appeal to thee."—P. 194_{13}, "Thomas also."—P. 200_{13}, ⲙⲣⲁⲩⲧ "crop-land", v. Epiph. no. 433 n.—P. 207_{8}, [ϭⲱⲃⲉ].—P. 210_{14} shows that Zoega's (Shenoute's) ⲙⲛⲉⲓⲟⲕ is right (cf. Dict. 159*a*).— P. 210_{27}, ϭⲁⲡⲧ. Cf. 211_{12}.—P. 212_{25}, "demons" rather than "goddesses".—P. 217_{21}, ϭⲱϫⲉ "spadeful".—P. 220_{11}, cf. ⲟⲩⲁⲙϩⲣⲏⲣⲉ.—P. 224_{24}, ⲙⲛⲥⲁϣϥ seems required.— P. 225_{2}, ⲗⲁⲛⲓⲥⲧⲏⲥ.

B. 251. W. E. CRUM.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

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Sketch Map of
THE HADHRAMAUT
Miss Stark's Route shown in dotted lines
Shabwa
Shibam
Sūne
Henin
Ali Qatn
Meshed
Rukheine
W. Amd
W. Doan
Hureidha
Nafhun
Aneq
Nu'air
Shibe
Amd
Hajarain
Aqaba Khurje
Ruins
Berqwert
Husn Suweidat
Berire
Sif
Khoraiba
Masna'a
Robat
W. Jardan
Cemetary & Cairns
Dhula'a
Shuruj
Yeb'eth
Sh Rahbe
Rock Paintings
Husn Ghiurek
Rock Paintings
J 'Ali
Dzera' Pass
Sh Rahbe
Sidara
Shir
Kor Saiban
Mukalla
W. 'Amaqin
W Hobban
BENI NUMAN
J Aswad
Ghail
Azzan
J Kadur
Naqbal Haje
BENI HIMYAR
W Meifa'a
J Himyar
Bir 'Ali
Balhaf
Husn al Ghurab (Cana)
Ras or Kaida
INDIAN OCEAN

Some Pre-Islamic Inscriptions on the Frankincense Route in Southern Arabia

(PLATES II–X)

On the 12th of January, 1939, Miss Freya Stark read a paper at the rooms of the Society, upon her last expedition to the Ḥaḍramaut on the trail of the frankincense route of the Ancients. She spoke as follows :—

Some Pre-Islamic Inscriptions on the Frankincense Route in Southern Arabia

In a lecture given in November to the Royal Geographical Society I traced, briefly, the last part of the Lord Wakefield Expedition in the Ḥaḍramaut, a camel journey from Ḥuraiḍa to the coast across country that was partly new to European travellers. Miss Caton-Thompson, in a previous lecture to the same society, dealt with the archæological and geological side of the expedition and had also undertaken to explain its more general aspects to a meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society. It might seem that very little new ground was left to be dealt with to-night. But I thought, when you had the kindness to ask me to come before you, that I would like to deal with one aspect of archæological investigation which, more than most others, is open to the amateur ; this is the collection of inscriptions.

In the Ḥaḍramaut the sides of the innumerable wadis give any number of tolerably smooth, perpendicular faces, protected nearly always by an overhang from above. From these gigantic walls, worn by wind and water, great blocks as large as houses fall down, and lie in ruin on the scree slopes below. In their shadow the goatherd and his goats take shelter through the arid hours of summer, and must have done so since the first goat and the first goatherd existed in these ravines. And it is under these overhangs of rock or on the perpendicular faces along some ancient highway that one must look for inscriptions either chipped with a sharp tool or smeared with a paint of dull red ochres ; they will frequently

be found where a track branches off from the valley towards the jōl, the high plateau above, or at a valley parting of the ways, such as the Bents found in wadi Šer. Only the most sheltered markings can have survived on the friable surface of the wadi sandstone, but on volcanic rock such as that of Ḥuṣn al Ghurāb, or limestone such as that of Baiḥan, the writing survives in all its clearness; and indeed I should not wonder if the friability of the sandstone walls of the wadi Ḥaḍramaut had not something to do with the paucity of inscriptions found there.

The importance of such inscriptions can be gauged when we consider that practically all we know of early South Arabian history is based upon them. They have given us our dates and our king-lists and the succession of the four great empires of the land, for which otherwise we had no authority other than vague references in classical writers. One of the great events of pre-Islamic history, the breaking of the dam at Mārib and the dispersal of the tribes, would not have been recognized by us as historical at all, and would certainly not have been dated if it were not for the great Mārib inscription. The early travellers, Arnaud, Glaser, and Hálévy, risked their lives to collect these things. Theirs must ever be the honoured names in the study of all South Arabian history. But it is open to any wayfarer to-day to continue their good work, to copy and photograph faithfully whatever he may find, and to bring it home for experts like Professor G. Ryckmans of Louvain and Mr. J. Walker of the British Museum (who are kindly disentangling my budget) to deal with at their leisure.

No one has ever yet followed in its entire length the line of this great trade route, from where it begins at Cana to where it ends at Petra, and the frankincense from Zufar and the varied merchandise from India arrived together. But almost every part of the road has been visited in sections, and usually by travellers with an eye for antiquarian remains.

Our expedition last winter was not intended to do this preliminary exploratory work; it had, indeed, already

been done by various travellers for the wadi Ḥaḍramaut itself. Enough had been found there to suggest the existence of pre-Islamic settlements near Shibām and Tarīm and there were ruins at Meshed, Sūne, and Ḥuṣn al-'Urr, all visited by van der Meulen and von Wissmann and others. The name itself of Ḥuṣn al-'Urr is a pre-Islamic sign-post as it were, since the word is pre-Islamic for a fort on a hill—a very exact description of the place.[1] It had been inhabited, at a later period of its history and certainly in A.H. 655/A.D. 1296, by Arabs and—according to an MS. in Ḥureiḍha—was destroyed in A.H. 657/A.D. 1298.[2]

Some rough inscriptions on a rock were reported to us in the neighbourhood of Quṣum, but we did not visit them. Two very meagre ones were found by Miss Caton-Thompson at Saiūn and Shibām respectively, the latter with an outline of a camel; and I found a few pre-Islamic letters smeared with red ochre and rather effaced under a huge isolated boulder north of the track that runs from Ḥureiḍha to the ravine of Samū'a; it is nearly opposite the take-off of a track up the 'aqaba, the zig-zag pathway to the jōl, a very favourite place for such markings.

The actual choosing of Ḥureiḍha as a site for excavation had to be done before the arrival of our expedition and therefore without the advantage of Miss Caton-Thompson's experience, and I was chiefly influenced by the existence on my former visit of an inscription there—copied in *The Southern Gates of Arabia* and now buried under the new mosque floor. This, together with the geographic probabilities of the place and Von Wissmann's description of the ruin area, and the conditions of security necessary for excavation, made it appear to be the most suitable site in the wadi.

Of the fifty or more inscribed slabs unearthed during Miss Caton-Thompson's excavation of the temple to the Moon God in this district, I will not speak as she herself

[1] Cf. G. Ryckmans, *Rép. d'Épigrafie Sémitique*, 2633, 6–7.

[2] MS. History by Ibn Ḥamid, only copy known is in Ḥuraiḍa.

is dealing with them. From my own point of view, intereste as I was chiefly in the tracing of the ancient trade route, th remarkable point about the temple of Ḥureidha was its povert and smallness: it could not have been a station on th *great* trade route, whose towns and temples must have bee at least as important as their modern counterparts are now This impression, first born in Ḥureidha, grows stronger one travels up the wadi 'Amd towards the coast.

The only rock inscriptions we found anywhere in 'Am were some very rough ones at the entrance to a big cav which Miss Caton-Thompson had no time to excavate she did not think the writings worth photographing, but give one of them—taken in a bad afternoon light—becaus it is the best and indeed only one of its kind found nea Ḥureidha; it probably refers to the enlargement of th cave beside it, and is interesting because of the unusua character of the scripts.

When the excavations there were at an end, and the Sout Arabian spring was beginning to feel warm, my two colleague returned by motor to the port of Mukalla, while I took more westerly camel track across the jōl, so as to look fo any remaining traces of the trade route that might lie on th way between 'Amd and the sea. This journey I have alread described to the Royal Geographical Society, and I nov propose to travel over it again with a more special referenc to the pre-Islamic traces found as I went along, and th inferences I think one may *provisionally* draw from them in the interval that must elapse before the country and it history become thoroughly known and investigated.

In the wadi 'Amd itself above Ḥureidha I found no pre Islamic writings, though this of course does not mean tha there were none. It does however mean that they are no common. The only pre-Islamic traces I could see in thi beautiful wadi, whose life is still the old-fashioned life of th Ḥaḍramaut, governed by the tribe of the Ja'da—the onl traces here were two tombs of "walis", super-humanl

long and not oriented in the Muslim way, which the people attribute to their ancestors before Islam. One of these is in wadi Rukhaima, on the northern side of the main wadi a two hours' ride from Ḥureiḍha, and the other at Nu'air, in the main wadi an hour north of 'Amd. Here too, and at the little town of Nafḥiūn father north, there are great cisterns for the storage of water, of ancient or more probably medieval workmanship ; there are signs of old work in dykes and dams here and there, but the ancient and modern irrigation systems appear to be so closely similar that, when the actual centres of cultivation have not changed, it is difficult to tell where one ends and the other begins.

The most curious thing in wadi 'Amd are long lines of heaped stones symmetrically laid along the scree slopes that enclose the valley. They usually end in a round heap like a cairn, either at top or bottom of the line. They do not necessarily run parallel to each other, but they are always in the direction of the slope, regardless of how it faces. The only theory the bedawin have about them is that they may be ancient breastworks made for shooting; but they did not appear to lie in very strategic positions. They certainly deserve a careful examination, and the best and most numerous are in the region of 'Aneq, the chief town of middle 'Amd.

The wadi 'Amd is remarkable for its careful cultivation in the upper reaches, as contrasted with the comparative barrenness round Ḥureiḍha. Its poverty in inscriptions or other pre-Islamic traces strengthened my belief, already formed in Ḥureidha, that this could not be the main line of the ancient traffic to the sea ; but I was surprised and disappointed at finding nothing at all, and was much relieved when, on the second day after leaving 'Amd, emerging from wadi Shi'be by a route a little west of that travelled by the van der Meulen party—the only other travellers in this region[1]—

[1] It is possible that Adolf von Wrede came down to 'Amd somewhere in this neighbourhood in 1843, but this part of his journey is not fully authenticated.

I came at last upon some pre-Islamic letters roughly scratched in the limestone of a great boulder that lay in the middle of the track. It was a spectacular place, for the track, ascending in zig-zags up an almost perpendicular face, here plunges into a cleft made by a huge buttress, slightly detached from the cliff behind it; it forms a tunnel in whose dim twilight one can just see the writing on the smooth, century-polished surface of the stone. In this position, sheltered by the roof and the overhang of rock, the boulders of a causeway, carefully laid and worn quite smooth by the passing of many feet, still remain to prove the existence of a track which the letters show to have been pre-Islamic. Their position in semi-darkness made a photograph impossible; they were only rough jottings, scratched at all angles, probably by resting packmen—and Professor Ryckmans has been able to make little of them beyond the fact that they seem to be proper names. In proving the existence of a road, however, they did good service.

The 'aqaba Khurja, where these letters and causeway are, leads to the jōl that divides the wadis 'Amd and Ḥajr and Dū'ān, a high and waterless divide irrigated only by the visit of summer rains. In the shallow valley-heads where these collect, there runs a series of fortified villages, or sometimes mere solitary towers, roughly following the north–south line of the route to the sea from 'Amd to Ḥajr. That these villages are medieval if not older is shown by the careful workmanship of their big ponds, lined with stones in a manner foreign to the bedawin of more recent times.

We kept to the west of the main line of villages and of the track of my predecessors, in order to look at a pre-Islamic ruin reported at a place called Suwaidāt. The flat-topped elliptical mound on which it stands is 51° 2″, i.e. roughly north-east, from Ḥajlain.

On the top of the mound, built without foundations on the hard limestone, is a small ruin 18 ft. by 18 ft. 8 in., of dressed stone roofed with stone slabs (3 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 4½ in.

by 4¾ in.). The stones were well laid together and the mortar used between them was invisible unless one looked for it. The whole was divided into three equal parts by two partitions running north and south. There was a door in the south, and possibly one in the north wall also, but this side was more or less buried in its own blocks. The door posts had grooves cut in them, 5 inches wide and less than 1 inch deep. At the far side of the mound, north, are three cairns, roughly heaped stones about 5 feet high, with a hollow in the centre.

I came to the conclusion that this ruin, too small altogether for a house, was probably a funeral monument, for two graves had been laid bare by rains in the western slope of the mound just below. They were very different graves from those of Ḥureiḍha, and the first of their kind seen in the Ḥaḍramaut or —as far as I know—in South Arabia; they were built into the hillside, of roughly dressed stone and mortar; they contained only one body each, and had been closed, the bedawin told me, with stone slabs running in grooved stones. Bits of these were lying about broken and in disorder, and from their shape suggested that the door must have closed down from above, a fact which the bedawin confirmed. They had found, in the most northerly grave, two rings with pre-Islamic lettering (one I knew to be in the possession of Mrs. Ingrams at Mukalla), cowrie shells, a cornelian, a jar, and bones; in the more southerly grave, which still had a corner of masonry intact, they could remember no particular objects. They had only recently, within the last year, looted these graves and by so doing destroyed their archæological value. An inscription remained, half-buried and much dilapidated, and too shallow to photograph well: I copied it, and Professor Ryckmans has been able to discover that it is in the Ḥaḍrami dialect and refers to a man who caused this tomb, in which he was to be buried, to be restored or renewed. It proves the existence of pre-Islamic habitation in this region between 'Amd and the sea; and I think it is more than likely that other tombs may be buried in the

slope of the same mound ; the fact of *restoring* a grave there suggests that it was some sort of a cemetery, and the two discovered already are not of sufficient importance to warrant a funeral monument to themselves, if that is what the ruin above was indeed intended for.

This jōl between 'Amd and Ḥajr is strewn in many places with flint flakes and tools, some of which I collected for Miss Caton-Thompson, who verified them as being palæolithic. The country, possibly much more fertile in a wetter age, must have been inhabited from very early times. On the 8th day of our journey we left this high and flinty land and descended to the oasis of Yeb'eth, which is on the upper waters that drain to Ḥajr, and is a basin of cultivated fields with fortified villages beside them.

If this had been on the ancient main route, it would certainly have been a place of some importance, being the last take-off as it were before the high journey of the steppe ; but I could hear of nothing in the oasis of any antiquity and felt ever more convinced that the route we had been following was, then as now, a subsidiary and not a main way to the sea.

As soon as we had left Yeb'eth behind us, travelling south-west over a new and unknown expanse of jōl, I began to hear of inscriptions here and there in all directions, with increasing frequency as one approached the great Meifa'a wadi. They appeared to be rough inscriptions, drawings smeared with red ochres on the faces of overhanging rocks, and as it meant a day's delay or more to visit every one of them and I was —owing to a bout of fever—behind my time already, I visited only those in wadi Raḥbe, making a detour of five hours through the heat of the day while most of the caravan were resting.

These inscriptions of wadi Raḥbe were worth the trouble of discovering, for they were far more extensive than anything we had seen in the Ḥaḍramaut before. Their *text* is unimportant—indeed, if it were not for their position, on a cliff face in a completely unknown locality, Professor Ryckmans tells me

that he might easily have considered them to be fakes! They contain hardly any known words or names, and may possibly belong to a non-Semitic language, or be "magic texts"—a supposition favoured by the frequent recurrence of the same letters arranged with no apparent sequence, so that one cannot imagine them to make words. They fall into the category of the graffiti found by Mr. Bertram Thomas in eastern South Arabia. Their interest is in the pictures. The first series, which is under an overhanging wall of cliff about twenty-five minutes below the Kalab-Lijlij track to the left, shows, besides the familiar outlines of ibex, two camels with riders (one holding a rein), a figure of a man with either a turban or a top-knot of hair as they wear now, and three outlines of oxen. These are particularly noticeable because, unlike the modern South Arabian animal, they have no hump. In the Dair al-Baḥri reliefs (15th century B.C.) the oxen represented as belonging to the frankincense land, the Land of Punt, are also without humps[1]; a fact which has been used as an argument to suggest that Punt was in Arabia rather than in Africa. The introduction of humped cattle into Arabia is, I believe, quite recent.

The second group of graffiti is a two hours' ride down the wadi eastward, twenty minutes beyond the solitary tower of Ghūtek, which—with one other tower a day's ride away—is its only habitation. These graffiti are under the slanting roof of a huge boulder south of the track, and contain two very primitive drawings of houses, interesting because they show towers, evidently, then as now, used on an otherwise one-storied building. The high sky-scraper style of architecture chiefly belongs to the wadis in the Ḥaḍramaut, and not to the solitary fortresses of the jōl, and this distinction may well have existed back into pre-Islamic times.

Travelling ever in a south-westerly direction, we were now crossing the watershed to Meifa'a and coming to the region where dark metamorphic rock meets the tawny and white

[1] See *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, ed. by Schoff, 1912.

limestone and sandstone which had surrounded us through the winter. This was all very barren country: pools of water, worn into the limestone, remain through the summer in most of the ravines, but there were only three actual wells on the track between Yeb'eth and 'Azzān, and hardly any cultivation. On approaching 'Azzān we rode down the bed of wadi Salmūn, a perennial stream, with green stretches of millet and lucerne on either side of it, and the pleasant shade of trees. The villages scattered about this wadi Salmūn—called Ghail on this particular stretch—belong to the Āl Badiyān and the Āl Boraish alternately.

'Azzān is the fortified key position which holds the valley; it is no more than a small cluster of fortresses where the Sultans and their bodyguard live. The trading town is Ḥauta, a little to the north, which I was prevented from visiting by the fact that the Sultans were terrified of their own fanatical population. An hour's ride or little more down the valley, lies the greatest pre-Islamic ruin of the Ḥadramaut, the fortress of Naqb al-Ḥajr, which must in ancient times have held the same position that 'Azzān holds to-day astride the (then) rich commercial highway.

No one with a geographic turn of mind can fail to pick this out as the most likely line for the main trade route to have followed.

Anything farther west (country which I did not visit) must be excluded since it would not fulfil the essential condition of leading up to Shabwa. But the Meifa'a road is still, the Arabs told me, used as the quickest way to Shabwa from the coast; it runs through potentially fertile country, owing to the fact that water is found close below the surface of the ground all along Meifa'a; and its upper valleys open out to the populous districts of Ḥabbān, Niṣāb, and Yeshbum. The way up by the wadi Amāqin to the wadi Jardān and Shabwa has not yet been travelled (political reasons prevented the journey this year)—but there is every reason to surmise that it was the Gorda of Ptolemy (the local pronunciation is

still Gardan rather than Jardan); this appears on his map as the link between Shabwa (Sabbatha), and Meifa'a, whose name, unchanged, is cut in pre-Islamic letters on the wall of the southern gate of the great fortress. Many of these pre-Islamic names have come down unaltered; wadi Kasr is known in an inscription[1]; Mr. Perowne's inscription mentions Baiḥan; Qana', cut in the rock of Ḥuṣn al-Ghurāb, commemorates the harbour of Cana.

The pre-Islamic inscription had been copied, but had not been photographed; I had some difficulty in doing so, for the bedawin of the whole district gathered over a radius of miles and surrounded me with a crowd of two or three hundred men, all engaged in the effort to extract blackmail in a good-tempered but very exhausting way.

The fortress is very large; the outer wall, built of dressed blocks with shallow square buttresses, encloses several acres of ground and is cut off from a rise on the east by an artificial fosse. There are two gateways, one north and one south, the remains of a well within the southern gateway, and ruins of buildings showing a variety of periods. From its scattered potsherds, the place has evidently also been inhabited in Islamic times. It is indeed a naturally strategic point, gently dominating the Meifa'a valley, here known as the Wād: this curious name interested me because of a sentence in the Qur'ān,[2] which mentions the Wād as the habitation of the pre-Islamic sons of Thamud. The vowelling of Arabic makes it impossible to tell whether the proper name Wād or the generic name of wadi is intended, but my learned friends in Ḥureiḍha assured me that it should be taken as a proper name, and that such a place existed, they did not quite know where. The fact that I found it in the neighbourhood of the great fortress, suggests that this was considered to have been the Thamudian capital by the contemporaries of Muḥammad.

[1] Conte Rossini, *Crestomathia.* [2] Surat al-Fajr.

Count Landberg's expedition in 1896 was travelling for inscriptions, but the usual difficulties with the bedawin harassed them in 'Azzān,[1] and they were not able to scour the country far from the Sultan's palace. It is, however, surprising that they were not (as far as I know), taken to the graffiti in the river bed at the place called Saiq, a mile or so above 'Azzān, where the stream, eating its way between perpendicular walls, has provided surfaces for the scratching out of pictures and words.

There is here a great variety, the words being partly pre- and partly post-Islamic, and the drawings more varied and animated than those of Raḥbe. Here there is, for the first time, the picture of a horse, saddled and bridled. There is a camel evidently used for fighting, for two riders stand on its neck balancing what looks like a spear and bow and arrow. There is a man fighting a creature which Professor Ryckmans prudently calls "an animal with claws", and I suspect to be a lion; he is ramming a spear into its mouth and holds a rather vague shield in his other hand. There is no inscription of any importance among these graffiti, but names, greetings, and such like exclamatory messages which marching troops might scratch on their way. The word Thamud is there, the name of a man, a people, or a divinity. And there are *wasms* and monograms, ranging from archaic to recent pre-Islamic and to Arabic It was impossible to get a comprehensive photograph, for the writings are on a curving wall, and the ledge which accedes to them is too narrow to allow for reasonable distance; the cutting of the drawings also, though it varies in style, is too shallow to give much relief; and here too I was troubled by a woman who stood in the river bed below, shouting abuse and inciting the men around me to stop my labours by force.

In the middle of the wadi bed, a ten minutes' walk below

[1] C. Graf Landberg, *Die Südarabische Expedition*, 1899, and *Die Expedition nach Süd-Arabien*.

'Azzān, lies another rock with inscriptions, almost entire
Arabic.

I was in 'Azzān for five days and spent two of them ridin
up to the plateau of Kadūr to the west of wadi Ḥabbān
The ruins on this plateau had been reported to Captain Mile
on his spirited journey in 1870, when he had them on his le
hand. I heard about them with the usual exaggerations from
the people in 'Azzān, who had never been there.

The place, a naturally impregnable area of plateau an
high valleys, with trees and water, and surrounded by cliff
almost everywhere perpendicular, must have been a ver
ancient refuge. Palæolithic flint flakes lay strewn about it i
great numbers, and the flat smooth slabs of limestone, polishe
by weather, had been used here and there for the chippin
out of ibex in rough outline. The ruins themselves wer
disappointing, and might from their appearance belong t
almost any age ; they had once been a straggling village alon
the lip of a ravine towards the centre of the plateau, and wer
roughly built of stone. Round the edge of the plateau, wher
the cliffs fell away to the wadi Ḥabbān, a wall had strengthene
the defences ; it was built of smallish blocks filled in wit
smaller stones, with a base of about 8 feet narrowing to th
top, which was ruinous, so that one could not tell the origina
height A rough track led us up from the village of Lamāte
westward a three hours' ride by camel to the base of th
cliff and a further one hour and three-quarters to the top
Here it passed through what must once have been a gateway
showing better building and bigger blocks than the remainin
wall—possibly older work. The bedawin assured me tha
these defences make the whole circuit of the plateau, whos
great cliffs stand like a bastion between 'Azzān and Ḥabbān
At the bottom of the cliff, north of the track and plainl
visible from the top, a pre-Islamic inscription is scratched o
a smooth face of rock, giving names of clans. The tribe of th
Beni Ḥimyar own this region and look upon it jealously
private to themselves ; I had some difficulty in forcing m

y up, and indeed a small fight took place among the tribes-
en themselves who were not unanimous in welcoming me ;
ıt as soon as we were actually away among their cherished
›lands, and only a dozen or so of the bedawin with us, their
ıtural hospitality reasserted itself, the perennial and most
:hausting topic of blackmail was forgotten, and they were
›lighted to have someone who enjoyed their clear waters,
'een trees, and the spacious and lovely views.

As soon as we returned to where the villagers could get at
ı on the following day, my troubles began again. These
en came up in relays of tens and dozens at a time, and all
ıd to be spoken to, and it was quite vital to keep the inter-
urse on a level of cheerful and friendly banter, though—
'ter twenty-two hours on a camel in two days—I was almost
›o tired to think. I had trouble also with my own sayyid—
holy man at any rate by birth—who wished me to run away.
his is a mistake at the best of times, but idiotic when one
unable to do so faster than one's pursuers. We were arguing
ıe point, when someone mentioned an inscription at a bend
the wadi Rakhaila, the name given to the Ḥabbān valley
ı the stretch immediately north of 'Azzān. The inscription
above a small ledge about twenty feet up on the right bank,
here the valley turns a sharp corner first west and then
›rth. It is 4 feet high and 3 ft. 6 in. wide, and the top illegible
om weathering, being very shallow, cut in gritty sandstone.
This is an unknown inscription and is dated in the 560th
›ar of the Sabæan era, about A.D. 445. It begins with a list
names of people who have united to repair and build or
rrace up their low-lying valley lands from top to bottom with
/psum and mortar by the help of God (monotheistic Sabæan
scriptions grow frequent in the early 5th century A.D.)
ıd the help of their lords, the lords of Raidan, and the tribes,
xiliaries, hunters, guards, etc.

This is the first time that the formula "lords of Raidan"
found. Raidan appears about the year 115 B.C. as a title
' the Sabæan kings, gained by conquest over their

Katabanian neighbours. The name of Raidan has bee taken to derive from a fortress so called near Ẓafar, close tc the modern Yarim in Yaman. But Glaser [1] had already hearc vaguely of a Raidan in the region of Baiḥan, and Captain the Hon. R. A. B. Hamilton told me, when I was in Aden, tha a hill of the name is a conspicuous landmark in the wad Baiḥan, and is in the neighbourhood of the mound of Nuqub which, from its size and the numerous antiquities discoverec in its vicinity, appears to be the chief ancient site of the wadı It is, I think, probable that the title "lords of Raidan' referred to this region rather than to that of Yarim.

An inscription of far greater interest than anything founc by me was discovered in Baiḥan by Mr. Stewart Perowne who will give you a short account of it later. That district where the Katabanian capital of Tamna' must be situate and particularly the way up to it from 'Azzān, has not ye been properly looked at, and the surmise that this was th commercial highway, the pivot therefore of empire in th south, yet remains to be proved; but the inscriptions collectec by Mr. Perowne, and in a lesser degree that in wad Rakhaila, are first steps in the process.

Leaving the north with regret, I now turned to follow the southern and last portion of the frankincense road to the coast, down the wide and shallow natural highway of Meifa'a I found no trace of anything ancient in this wilderness c gravel and sand dunes; the bed of the stream, and the wind-blown sands that shift about it, have probably changed the whole geography several times over since Sabæan merchants travelled by this way. It was also impossible to loiter, for the route was by no means safe, and the Sultan's caravan in which I travelled hurried through the middle and worst bit by night, so as not to be seen.

[1] See Glaser's map arranged by A. Grohmann in *Rhodokanakis. Altsabaische Texte*, Sitzungsber. Ak. Wiss. Wien Philos. Hist. Kl., 205 band, 2 Abh., 1927, end of vol.

The little harbour of Bāl Ḥāf, three square towers on a headland of extinct volcanoes, also showed no trace of ancient habitation. There is no water, which by itself eliminates it from among the possible sites for the harbour and terminus of the road at Cana.

The day after reaching Bāl Ḥāf, I rode along the coast, examining the inlets as I came to them—an inspection not I believe made before, since earlier travellers mostly came by sea. Nowhere was there any water until we reached the bay of Bir 'Ali, where there are wells, and where on the sea-jutting crater now called Ḥuṣn al-Ghurāb a quantity of ancient ruins, walls, houses (inhabited by Arabs in medieval times), four great cisterns, and two inscriptions prove the existence of a pre-Islamic fort. Captain Miles saw the ruins of a town between the crater and the modern Bir 'Ali; even in 1870 they were half-buried, and I could see nothing of them in the few hours at my disposal. It is probable that the town followed the usual lay-out of these places, a fortified citadel on the height and the merchants' and citizens' houses below near the shore. Count Landberg, on his visit in 1896, says that there were no houses of importance in the ruins of the lower town. He copied the two inscriptions; I did not know this at the time, and laboriously did so over again. He did not, however, photograph the larger one, and the small alterations which appear from the print and fix the text definitely made this expedition worth while. This larger inscription mentions two of the tribes whose names already appeared in that of wadi Rakhaila, eighty years earlier. The inscriptions are of course well known, but they are interesting enough in themselves to be repeated. The larger one suggests that the land of Himyar was in this region, and one may observe that the mountains south of 'Azzān are still called Jebel Himyar, though the maps have wrongly marked them as Hamra; and that the present Himyarites are the people who gave me so mixed a reception

The second and shorter inscription says that the keep or commandant of Qana' (Cana) has written his name on t rock of Mawiyat, a proof—as Landberg has already suggeste —that the two places are not identical, but close togethe Landberg suggests a site farther east, at Mijdaha, as t probable place for the town as opposed to the fortres but I think this is not likely, since caravans from Meifa would not go farther east out of their way more than the were obliged to do by the necessity for water. The like place for the town, which was an important source of revenu with customs, etc., would be under the walls of the fortre though no doubt there were residential oases in any locali near by that had water. Ptolemy's map gives several litt subsidiary coast-towns, and boats might land at differe places according to the season of the year and the monsoc

I must conclude this paper by saying that such eruditi as it contains is not my own, but the result of Profess Ryckmans' kind research, for which I am most truly gratef. All I did was to collect the material, and all I hope to ha shown to-night is that even the most unlettered travel may be occupied usefully and amusingly in gathering dat which the acumen of the learned can later put to use. T text of the inscriptions is being published by Profess Ryckmans in the *Museon*.

On the conclusion of Miss Stark's lecture Mr. Stew Perowne made the following remarks :—

The ancient site known as Beihan lies at an altitude over 3,000 feet about a mile north-east of the village ar landing-ground of Nuqub in the wadi Baihan.

The wadi Baihan runs north-east from the highland about 7,000 feet above sea-level, that separate Aden fro the Empty Quarter. Baihan is about 140 miles from Ade and guards the mouth of the wadi, which is at that poi about 2 miles wide. The floor of the wadi is flat and sand and is watered not only by the annual torrents but by

tains that flank it, and the sands of the Empty Quarter, into which it flows, the wadi Baihan is a fertile locality.

It was this fertility combined with its position at the junction of the route to Aden with the main incense route that gave it its importance in antiquity. For important it appears to have been. The site of the ancient city lies on a little eminence by the side of the wadi. The line of the walls, roughly oval, with the longest axis running parallel with the bed of the stream, is clearly discernible from the air, though owing to the encroachment of the dunes only sections can be examined on the ground. The dimensions of the city are about 500 yards by 400, I think. Unfortunately I was only able to make a hurried survey, in the course of official duties, and had the misfortune to collapse with a fever in the middle of it. But, by the courtesy and help of the Royal Air Force, some excellent photographs were obtained, both from the air and on the ground. I here express my deep gratitude to Air Commodore McLaughry, at that time A.O.C., Aden, to Wing Commander Barrett, commanding No. 8 Squadron who readily granted my request for a survey, and to Flying Officer E. R. Curry, an expert amateur photographer, who took the ground photographs.

I have copies of these photographs with me. They show the lay-out of the city, and also the locality, including the hill whence the stone was quarried. It is about three-quarters of a mile distant on the southern side of the wadi. The size of the stones in some of the buildings indicates a high degree of engineering skill in those who planned and executed the work.

As to its date, I can say nothing. There are visible a number of inscriptions in the Katabanian script. Most of these have been known from copies, though not all from photographs, for some time. I was fortunate in securing photographs of a number of inscriptions and in finding three inscriptions hitherto unrecorded.

Professor Ryckmans has kindly supplied me with trans-

lations. Two of them mention the name Baihan, an interesting point. One, imperfect, records the imposition of a tax on the land of Kataban, in the second year of a person called Hawf'atât. This inscription is mutilated. Like several others it lies in the southern gateway, an apparently makeshift affair, built after the decay of the city. The second inscription is nearly perfect, and now reposes, upside down, in the wall of a house belonging to the ruling family of the locality, who are very friendly people. It reads, in translation :—

"Shahr Gaylan, son of 'Abshibam, King of Qataban, has built and renewed, with the help of Athar Nawfân and of the irrigation deities, the temple of Baihan, and its substructure and its altar of burnt sacrifice and its superstructure, from the foundation to the summit, when the 'Athar and the irrigation deities assured to the Shahr Gaylan the defeat of Ḥaḍhramaut and 'Amrun. And he established this temple Baihan and its substructure in the favour and help which Athar Nawfân shall accord. By 'Athar and by 'Amm and by Aubay and by Dat-santim and by Dat zahran."

The third inscription consists of two words only, carved on a stone which also is built into a dwelling house, too high up to be photographed. It reads : " WAD 'AB
IRRIGATION "

This is interesting for two reasons : (*a*) because of the mention of irrigation, which occurs in the other inscription, and (*b*) because the name Wad 'Ab occurs in an inscription at 'Imadyia, another Katabanian site, of which I have photographs.

In the 'Imadyia context it is, in the opinion of Professor Ryckmans, a magic text, such as Miss Stark has already found in the wadi Raḥbe.

At 'Imadyia, however, the words are beautifully carved in high relief on finely-dressed granite blocks.

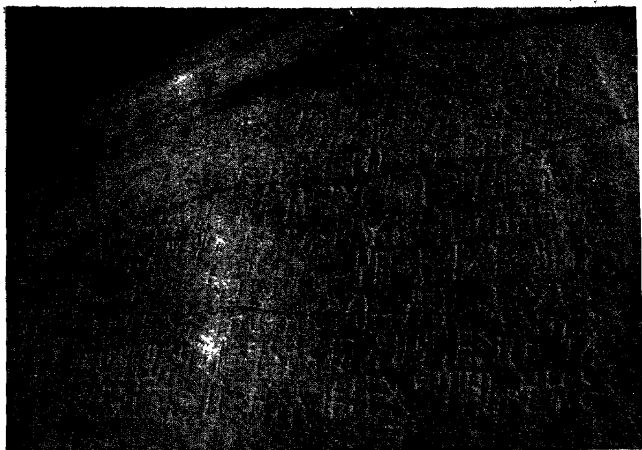
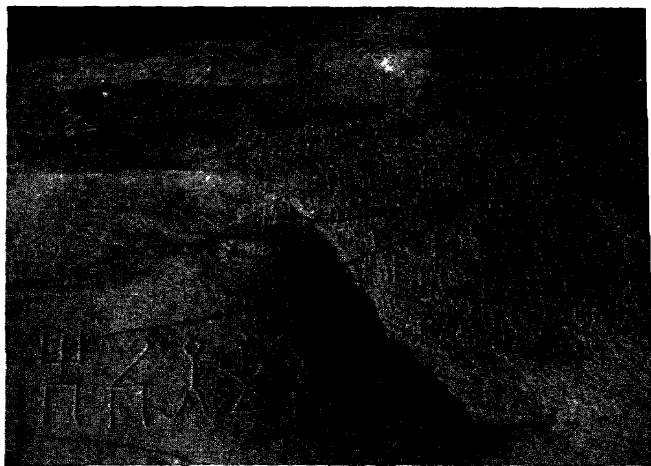
King Shahr Gaylan is known from other inscriptions.

One of the remnants still visible may be the substructure of the temple. It shows up well in the photographs.

I can tell you little more. I acquired on the spot and plac in the Aden museum a beautiful alabaster ointment bc and part of an altar—a spout or gargoyle, in the form of a bull head. A similar altar top is among the objects recovered fro Huraidha by Miss Caton-Thompson, recently exhibited the Fitzwilliam Museum. I acquired part of a similar alt top at 'Imadyia. Time does not permit of my saying anythin of it to-day, but I have some pictures of 'Imadyia also, case anyone would care to see them.

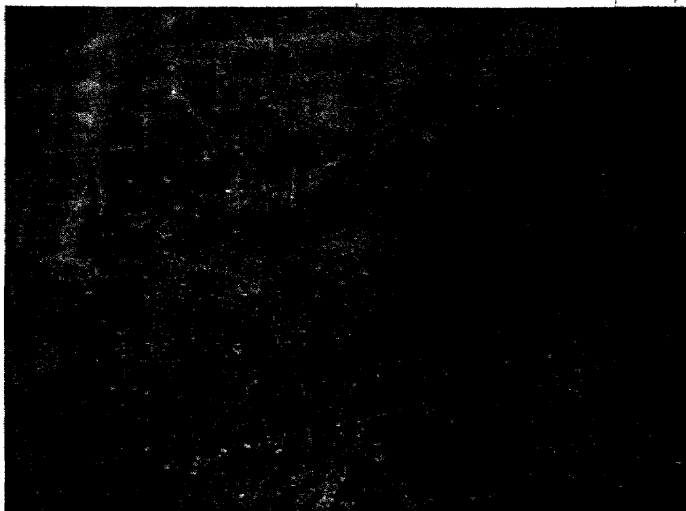
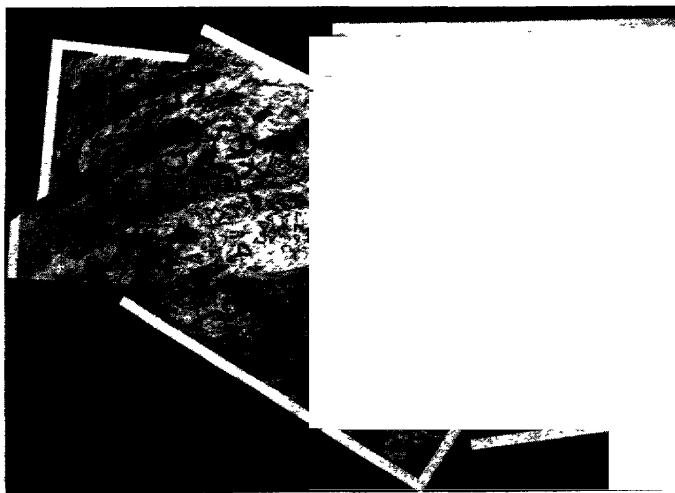
It is hoped that a competent archæologist will visit bo sites in a few months' time, with a view to gathering moı information. Perhaps later an expedition may be able to vis the two sites, to carry out proper excavations. It seem possible that both might yield interesting information cor cerning a land and a people of which our knowledge is, I a told, still imperfect

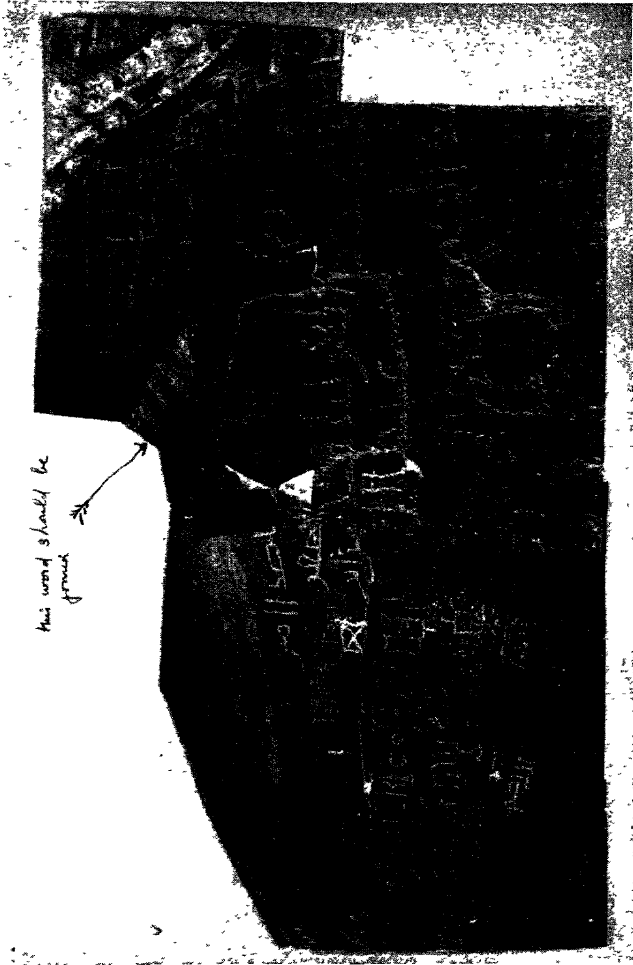
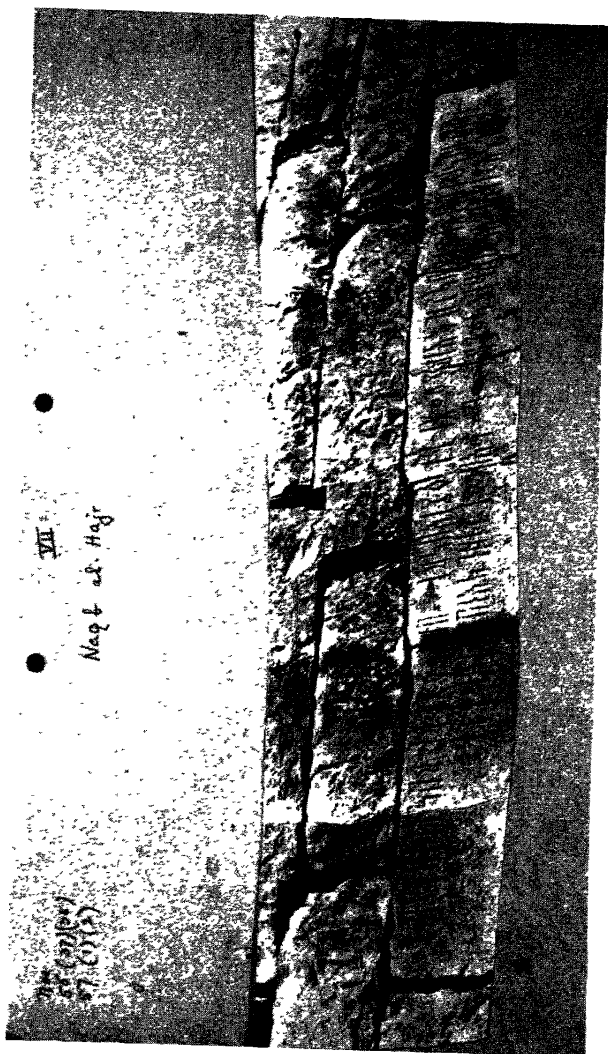
INSCRIPTION BY CAVE-ENTRANCE · HURAIDA

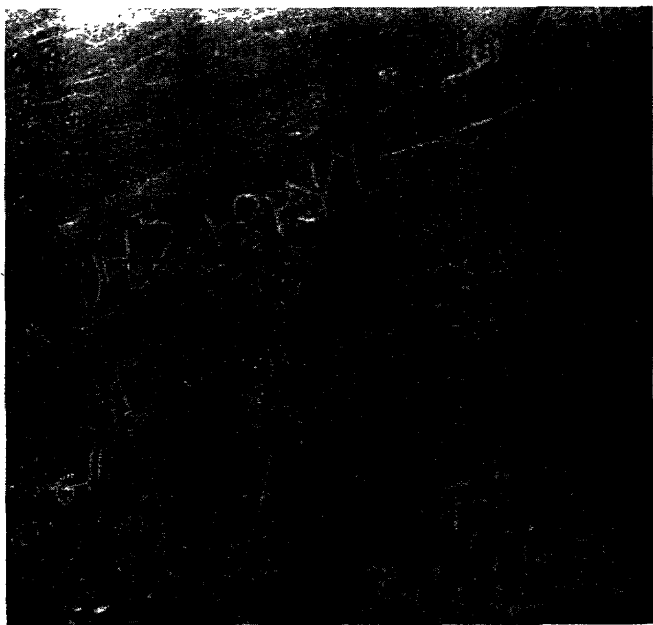
GRAFFITI OF OXEN: WADI RAḤBE.

WESTERN HALF.

EASTERN HALF

THE LARGE INSCRIPTION AT HUSN AL-GHURĀB.

RUIN AT SUWAIDĀT.

RUIN AT SUWAIDĀT

Man and Lion (?) Fighting. From Saiq in W Maifa'a.

Graffiti w Drawings of Houses in wadi Raḥbe

COMPOSITE PHOTOGRAPH OF THE INSCRIPTION IN WADI RAKHAIL

COMPOSITE PHOTOGRAPH OF INSCRIPTIONS AT SAIQ, W MAIFA'A. NOTE THE SADDLED HORSE BELOW.

THE GREAT INSCRIPTION OF NAQB AL-HAJR.

THE LINES OF HEAPED STONES AT ʿANEQ.

GRAFFITI OF SAIQ IN W MAIFAʾA FIGHTERS STANDING ON CAMEL'S NECK ON LEFT CENTRE.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Colonel L. A. Waddell

Through the death (September 20, 1938) of Lieutenant-Colonel L. A. Waddell, at his residence, Ardsloy, Craigmore, Rothesay, in his 85th year, the Society, which he joined in 1892, has lost one of its oldest members, a not infrequent contributor to its *Journal*, and a representative of a service which, while primarily interested in matters outside the Society's ordinary scope, has furnished notable participants in its researches. The course which he followed from medicine and sanitation through local, and then more widely extended, Buddhist Archæology to Himalayan Buddhism and ethnography and Tibetan religion, ritual, art, and history was still within the Society's horizon when he tackled the newly discovered Indus civilization. When he launched sweeping theories concerning "Aryan" beginnings of Mesopotamian and Egyptian civilizations, he was receding somewhat; and the last stages, represented by his publications concerning a Phœnician or Trojan origin of the British race and concerning the *Edda* as a British survival of Sumero-Aryan religious and historical tradition, were decidedly beyond its frontier.

Lawrence Austine Waddell was born on May 29, 1854, in Cumbernauld, Dumbartonshire, being son of Dr. T. S. Waddell, schoolmaster and author, and his wife Jean, youngest daughter of John Chapman, of Banton, Stirlingshire. From a private school he proceeded to the University of Glasgow, where in 1878 he graduated (M.B., M.Ch.) with highest honours. After being President of the Medical Society and Resident Surgeon in the Western Infirmary, Glasgow, he entered (1880) the Indian Medical Service. During six years he was Professor of Chemistry and Pathology in the Calcutta Medical College, during four was Editor of the *Indian Medical Gazette*, and during ten Assistant Sanitary Commissioner under

the Government of India. With his medical work must be associated his participation in military operations, in Burma (1886–7), Chitral (1895), Peking (1901–2), and the Mahsud Blockade (1901–2), on each of which occasions he received military decorations, on the third also the C.I.E.: he further served, in 1902, as Medical Officer in Malakand, and during the years 1888–1895 was Medical Officer for the Darjeeling District. The scientific publications to be mentioned in this connection are a memoir entitled *Are Venomous Snakes Autotoxic? An inquiry into the effect of serpent venom upon the serpents themselves* (1889), a work on the *Birds of Sikkim* contributed to the *Gazetteer of Sikkim* (1893) and the 8th edition (1928) of *Lyons' Medical Jurisprudence for India.*

In the course of the Burma expedition Waddell had been in contact with Buddhism; but it was, no doubt, as Sanitary Commissioner operating in the area of the founder's career that he became interested in ancient sites connected with that religion. Taking up the question of Pātaliputra, the ancient capital of Magadha, he visited Patna in 1892 and in its vicinity identified the general sites and many of the details. This work was recorded in an official report, *Discovery of the exact site of Asoka's Classic Capital of Pāṭaliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks* (1892), subsequently, after his excavations in 1895 and his further visit in 1899, amplified into a *Report on the excavations at Pāṭaliputra (Patna), the Palibothra of the Greeks* (1903). In 1892 he contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* an article identifying some remains in Monghyr with the Buddhist hermitage, Hiranya-parvata. Farther afield, also, during his service in Chitral, he was on the look-out for Buddhist antiquities and published in 1895–7 *Reports on collections of Indo-Scythian Buddhist Sculptures from the Swat Valley.* At the International Congress of Orientalists in 1893 he read a paper entitled "*Discovery of the exact site of Buddha's birthplace*" and in 1897 one "*On some newly found Indo-Grecian Buddhistic Sculptures from the Swat Valley (Udyāna)*".

His visits to the Darjeeling district, the chief summer resort for Bengal officials, must have begun in 1884 or 1885, seeing that in the charming descriptive work, *Among the Himalayas* (1899), he speaks of long sojourns spread over fourteen years and devoted to shooting, sketching, collecting, and study of the local peoples, Lepchas and others: all which matters, as well as montane explorations, are abundantly represented in the book. He purchased a Lamaist temple with all its appurtenances, so as to have every ceremony performed before his eyes and expounded by the priests. These experiences prepared the way for articles published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's *Journal*: "*Place and River Names in the Darjiling District and Tibet*" (1891); "*Lamaist Rosaries: their kinds and uses*" (1892); "*The Tsam-chho-dung of the Lamas, and their very erroneous identification of the site of Buddha's death*" (1892); "*The Buddhist Pictorial Wheel of Life*" (1892); "*Description of Lhasa Cathedral, translated from the Tibetan*" (1895); "*A Tibetan Guide-book to the lost sites of Buddha's Birth and Death*" (1896); "*Upagupta as the High Priest of Asoka*" (1897 and 1899); also in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: "*The Indian Buddhist cult of Avalokitesvara and his consort Tārā, 'the Saviouress', illustrated from the remains in Magadha*", (1894); "*A trilingual list of Nāga Rājās from the Tibetan [Mahāvyutpatti]*" (1894); "*Lamaist Graces before Meat*" (1894); "*Indian Buddhist MSS. in Tibet*" (1894); "*Polycephalic images of Avalokita in India*" (1894); "*The Buddhist Goddess Tārā* (1897); "*A historical basis for the 'Questions of King Menander', from the Tibetan*" (1897). A paper on "*The Motive of the Mystery Play of Tibet*" was read at the Congress of 1894. To one read at the Congress of 1893, "*Discovery of the exact site of Buddha's birthplace,*" and a separate publication, *Discovery of the birthplace of Buddha* (1896), and correspondence preceding the latter, belongs the credit of indicating the site (a corollary from an accidental find at a neighbouring site by a Nepalese official) and initiating the

notably successful excavations. The matter became subje of a controversy, including two notes by Waddell in th *Journal*, 1897 and 1898.

The most substantial outcome, however, of those investig tions was the volume, published in London (1894; 2n edition, Cambridge, 1934) with the title *The Buddhism Tibet or Lamaism, with its mystic cults, symbolism ar mythology, and in its relation to Indian Buddhism.* This wo is crammed with precise information, both at first hand ar compiled from all previous disquisitions, more particular in regard to sects, shrines, discipline, superstitions, ar customs. Its chief defect, shared by other works treating Tibet without adequate knowledge of Buddhist literature Sanskrit, is failure to discriminate everywhere those elemer in the terminology and doctrines of Lamaism which a indigenous from those derived from India. Good informati is supplied concerning the features of the native Bon-religion. The work is profusely and helpfully illustrated.

Waddell visited also Himalayan districts outside Sikki from the region of Kumaon as far as Assam, and ev trespassed a little beyond the Tibetan frontier and wrote *Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley* (Calcutta, 1900). To t Tibetan expedition of 1904–5 he was attached as Chief Medic Officer, with a further commission to secure specimens literature and religious art: he was present in Lhasa duri the occupation. The large collections of books, flags, et which he procured was subsequently distributed (with rou lists) between Calcutta, London (India Office Library ar British Museum), and the Oxford and Cambridge Universi Libraries. Of Waddell's private collection of books o valuable section was presented by him to the India Offi Library; but of his other collections some boxes are said have disappeared in a torrent or gorge during conveyan over the Himalaya. His account of the expedition is publish in his extensive illustrated volume *Lhasa and its Myster* (1905). Historically a higher value belongs to his editi

of the (Sino-) Tibetan treaty inscriptions on the famous stele standing before the "Cathedral" (Jo-khaṅ) of Lhasa. The edition, published with translations and introductions in the form of articles in this *Journal* (1909, pp. 923–52; 1910, pp. 1247–82; 1911, pp. 389–435), requires revision in respect of texts, renderings, and historical and topographical conclusions; but it is meritorious in all these respects. Another inscription brought from Lhasa (*JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 69–86) contains a Chinese edict of A.D. 1808, relating to the Grand Lamas.

Returning in 1905 (with the C.B. for service in the Lhasa expedition), Waddell held for some years (1906–8) the rather sinecure post of Professor of Tibetan in University College, London: after which he took up a permanent residence in Scotland. Beside the articles already noted he contributed to the discussion of the date of Kaniska (1913, *JRAS.*, pp. 945–952) an address concerning the dating of Gandhāra art, and wrote for the *Journal* a paper on the import and title of the Pali *Mahā-padhāna suttanta* (1914, pp. 661–680). In the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* and in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* he collaborated with many articles on Northern Buddhism, Tibet, and Swat. Two extensive memoirs by him (*The 'Dhāraṇī' cult in Buddhism, its Origin, Deified Literature, and Images* and *Buddha's Diadem or 'Uṣṇīṣa', with 25 figures*) appeared in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vols. i and iii. In the *Asiatic Review* for 1911 he wrote on "*Evolution of the Buddhist Cult, its Gods, Images and Art*".

It was in the *Asiatic Review* (1917) that he first exploited the subject, "Aryan origin of the world's civilization," which dominated his later activities. Its main feature was a relating of Hindu traditional or imagined history to the records of the early Mesopotamian and allied civilizations. In 1924 he published *The Phœnician origin of Britons, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons.* The discovery of the early Indus Civilization, with the very natural and reasonable suggestion of a

comparison with the Sumerian script, evoked his volume *The Indo-Sumerian Seals deciphered* (1925), followed two years later by *A Sumer-Aryan Dictionary, Part I.* Subsequent works, *The Makers of Civilization in Race and History* (1929), *Egyptian Civilization, its Sumerian origin and real chronology* (1930), and *The British Edda, reconstructed from Medieval MSS.* (1930), pursue the same idea even farther afield. The Indo-European expansion is, no doubt, the most important general movement in known history; but Waddell's demonstrations, which adduce much matter in itself interesting, are based mainly upon linguistic and literary conjectures ignoring all principles and results of sober research: they can be rather compactly studied in the fragmentary *Sumer-Aryan Dictionary.*

Colonel Waddell was a man of great vigour and industry and, as will have been realized, of wide accomplishment, laudably, but perhaps too unrestrainedly, bent upon discovery. His titles of honour include, in addition to those incidentally mentioned, the LL.D. of the University of Glasgow (1895). He was married in 1895 and leaves a widow and daughter, his son having been killed in the war.

37. F. W. THOMAS.

Dr. Moses Gaster

Dr. Moses Gaster joined the Royal Asiatic Society in 1890, was elected a Member of Council in 1898 and till his death on 5th March of this year assisted its deliberations either as Councillor or Vice-President. Besides numerous original contributions to the *Journal* and reviews which appeared in it—one of considerable length and importance is appearing posthumously in this number—he also gave the Society two valuable works for its Oriental Translation Fund. His vast and varied knowledge, his wide acquaintance with scholars in different parts of the world, and his practical wisdom anc sagacity were always at the disposal of the Council, which

ited greatly by them. By the courtesy of the Editor of *Times* we are permitted to reprint the expert notice of career which appeared the day after his death.

r. Moses Gaster, the Jewish scholar and linguist, died erday at the age of 82 while travelling by car from Oxford Reading to address a gathering of Rumanian students. was accompanied by his wife. His death deprives Anglo-ry of its most versatile scholar. As a Chief Rabbi he was nent in Jewish and other Semitic learning, but he was a great folk-lorist and probably the greatest authority in Jnited Kingdom on the Rumanian language and literature. was an educationist, a Biblical and apocryphal scholar, istorian, and as an orator he could move audiences in a dozen languages.

e was born at Bucharest on 16th September, 1856, the of the Chevalier A. E. Gaster, who was attached to the ch Legation and a member of a family which had been led in Rumania for generations. As Jews, however, they refused Rumanian citizenship and were aliens without untry. Dr. Gaster graduated Bachelier des Lettres et nces at the University of Bucharest; at the University eipzig he received the degree of D.Phil.; and at the ish Rabbinical Seminary at Breslau the Rabbinical oma. He returned to Rumania in 1880 and after a od of journalism and dramatic criticism he was appointed urer on the Rumanian Language and Literature at harest University, an Inspector-General of Schools, and ember of the council for the examination of teachers, to other public offices. For his publications devoted Rumanian scholarship he was awarded the second class of Rumanian Order of Merit.

t the same time he interested himself in projects for the lement of Jews in Palestine and helped to establish the ish agricultural colony of Zammarin (Zichron Jacob) in h Laurence Oliphant, then living at Haifa, was interested; colonists were drawn from Rumanian Jewry. Though,

however, Dr. Gaster's Jewish activities were for the most part intellectual and educational, the Government party was imbued with anti-Semitism, and for political reasons at the time when the Russian and Austrian Governments were pressing Rumania for the expulsion of certain of their subjects, Rumania complied with the requests and included Dr. Gaster among the exiles.

On his expulsion Dr. Gaster came to England. He speedily acquired a mastery of English sufficient to justify his acceptance of the Ilchester lectureship in Greco-Slavonic Literature at Oxford, an office to which he was reappointed five years later. The trustees published the first series of lectures, and thereby Dr. Gaster gained a secure position in English scholarship, and incidentally his appointment as Chief Rabbi to the Sephardim or Spanish and Portuguese Jews in London. This office he held from 1887 to 1918, when he was compelled by failing eyesight to retire. He was also principal of the Sir Moses Montefiore Memorial College at Ramsgate.

Among other works Dr. Gaster wrote *Hebrew Illuminated Bibles of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*; *A Samaritan Scroll of the Pentateuch*; *The History of the Bevis Marks Synagogue*, *The Samaritan Book of Joshua*; *Jewish Divorce*; *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories*; *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Medieval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha, and Samaritan Archaeology* in three volumes; and *Exempla of the Rabbis*. His volume on *The Samaritans* represented the Schweich Lectures of 1925. *The Sword of Moses*, an early Jewish magical work which had been lost for a thousand years, was discovered and published by him. Nor did he remain for long estranged from his native land. The edict of expulsion was cancelled, and he paid several visits to Rumania, where he was entertained with every honour. At the request of the Government he wrote a report on the English educational system which was issued as a Rumanian state paper. He also printed and edited for the Rumanian Government the

oldest Rumanian Version of the New Testament from an MS. in the British Museum. For these services he was awarded the first class of the Rumanian Order of Merit. He was also a Commander of the Rumanian Crown and an honorary member of the Rumanian Academy.

In England Dr. Gaster displayed an active sympathy with the Choveve Zion (Lovers of Zion), a Palestinian Colonization Society. He was president of the English Zionist Federation, and three times vice-president of the International Zionist Congress. He took a part in the initial stage of the negotiations with the British Government which led to the declaration in favour of the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

In 1890 Dr. Gaster married Lucy, only child of the late Dr. Michael Friedlander, Principal of Jews' College, London. He is survived by his widow, seven sons, and six daughters. The eldest daughter is the wife of Mr. Neville Laski, K.C.

Stuart N. Wolfenden

The sudden death of Stuart Wolfenden in California on the 28th December, 1938, at the early age of 47 is a sad loss to Oriental studies.

Wolfenden was a charming and agreeable companion, always full of interest and enthusiasm. He was one of those rare but fortunate people who had not only the inclination but also the means and the leisure to pursue research in a field of studies of great scientific importance, but so remote from ordinary scholastic studies that it would not have been regarded as falling within the sphere of any academic appointment.

The subject which he made his own was the comparative philology of the lesser-known Tibeto-Burman dialects and, more broadly, the relationship between Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese, and the other members of the larger group to which they belong. He joined the Society in 1928, and in 1929 his

Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology was published in the Prize Publication Fund Series. Since then he has made a number of other contributions to our *Journal* and to the publications of other learned societies. His work was always marked by wide research and great care; nor was he merely an arm-chair scholar; he had resided for long periods in the Himalayan regions where the dialects which he was studying are still spoken. It is a tragedy that he was not able to complete, so far as we know at present, the wider and more comprehensive work for which he was obviously preparing himself, but his outlines by themselves entitle him to a permanent place on the roll of honour of the Society.

G. L. K. CLAUSON.

Ella Constance Sykes

We regret to have to record the death on the 23rd March of Miss Ella Constance Sykes, who held the Secretaryship of this Society during the years 1920–26. Educated at St. Margaret's Hall, Oxford, she turned to the East in 1894, when she joined her brother, Sir Percy Sykes, in Persia, where she accompanied him on many of his tours and wanderings in that historic country and neighbouring lands, including Balūchistān and India, Chinese Turkistān, and the Pāmīrs. Her experiences have been told in graphic and attractive style in her books, *Through Persia on a Side Saddle*, *Persia and its People*, and *Through Deserts and Oases of Central Asia* (in collaboration with her brother). These works reveal chiefly one side of her character, her keen observation of all that surrounded her, whether of historical, artistic or purely human interest, and her broad-minded sympathy with peoples of other faiths and other cultures. Her interest in "things Asian" never flagged, and among her closest friends were men and women distinguished for exploration and wide travel in that continent.

later years she devoted herself largely to other causes.
ween the periods spent in the East she twice visited
ada on behalf of the Colonial Intelligence League to study
conditions bearing on the employment of educated women
that Dominion, and there she personally tested the
ibilities by taking up herself any work—even menial—that
red, in rural as well as urban parts. *A Home-help in
ada*, in which she tells of this work, sets a fine example to
British women having the welfare of the Empire at heart.
oming home from Central Asia during the Great War, Miss
es organized canteen work in France. In 1920, she accepted
ost of Secretary to this Society, for the functions of which
was well equipped by her Asian experience and her literary
inments. On relinquishing these duties, her practical
vledge was utilized for many years past on the Governing
y of the Church of England Council of Empire Settlement,
objects of which she had warmly at heart, and latterly
on. Secretary of the Girls' Friendly Society, Kensington.
counsel and selfless devotion to the work in hand in these
other capacities will be greatly missed; and many "little
eless, unremembered acts" of service will not be forgotten.
character was well exemplified by the fortitude with
ch she bore the physical suffering entailed by two unfor-
te accidents that befell her in her last years.

C. E. A. W. Oldham.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY GENERAL MEETING
9th May, 1939

The Marquess of Willingdon, President, in the chair.

The proceedings began with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting on 12th May, 1938.

We regret to announce the death, during the past year, of the following Members :—

The Rt Hon. Lord Chalmers, *Hon. Vice-President*
Dr. M. Gaster, *Vice-President.*
H.H The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.
Rev P. O Bodding.
Malik Md. Din.
Mr. H. A. Elsberg.
Lady Eve.
Maulvi Mattiur Rahman Khan.
Sir Robert Mond.
Mr. W. H. Moreland
Mr. J H. M. Moorhead.
Prof C. A. Nallino.
Raja M. N. Roy Chaudhury of Santosh.
Prof Dr. J Wackernagel.
Lt.-Col. L. A. Waddell.
Mr. Stuart N. Wolfenden.

Lord Chalmers was President of the Society when it celebrated its Centenary, and his services on that occasion and indeed throughout his term of office are gratefully remembered.

Dr. Gaster from the year 1890 continuously served the Society as Councillor or Vice-President, till his death in March of this year. His vast and varied attainments, his wide acquaintance with the learned world, his experience and sagacity, will be sorely missed by his colleagues.

The following Members have resigned :—

The Lord Hailey, *President.*
Mr. G. V. Acharya.
Lt.-Col. M. L. Ferrar.
Mr. G. FitzGerald-Lee.
Mr. G. B. Gardner.
Mr. F. H. Giles.
Prof. F. Howland.
Rev. T. Christie Innes.
Mr. G. Md. Khan.
Capt. J. M. Morris.
Miss P. Nanavutty.
Mr. M. J. Seth.
Sardar Kahan Singh of Nabha.

The following have taken up their election :—

Abdel-Aziz Moustafa Md. al-Maraghi.
Mr. A. N. Aindley.
Mr. Md M. Ansari
Mr. J. Aquilina.
Rev. Barakat-Ullah.
Mr. A I. Bassam.
Mr. L. N Beg.
Mr. A. K. Banerjee.
Mr. J. Bowman.
Major H. M Burton.
Mr. A. B. Dadarker.
Mr. Y K. Deshpande.
Mr. D. M. Dunlop.
Mr A. K. Duri.
Mr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee
Mr. J. R. Firth.
Rev. T. Fish.
Dr. H. L. Gottschalk.
Rev. A. E. Goodman
Mlle M. E. Hess.
Mr. A. Hollis-Randell.
Mr. K A Narayana Iyer.
Mr. S. C. Jain.
Mr. G. S. Kahlon.
M. Sardar Khan
Mr. R. L. Lal.
Mr. R. B. Lal.
Mr J. H Lindsay
Mr. P. Lort-Phillips.
Seth Niranjan Nath Maheshwari
Mr Alfred Master.
Mr. K. Mukerjee.
Dr. C. H. Philips.
Sir John Pratt.
Dr. Earl H. Pritchard.
Mr. A. S. Raj.
Mr. T. N Randeva.
Ran Bahadur Singh, Jandaiv Bahadur, Rana of Balsa State.
Mahopadhyaya Kaviraj N. K Ray.
Rev. A. C. Rose.
Mr. B. D. Sanwal.
H.H. The Raja of Samtha State.
Prof. P. P Saydon.
Prof. G D Shahla.
Rev. Prof. John Simons, S.J.
Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.
Mr. M A. Tawfiq.
Prof M. R. Verma.
Mr. K. R Vijayaraghavan.
Prof. Raghu Vira.
Mr. E. Leroy Waterman.
Mr D. H. Weir.

The President and Council have elected Professor E. Lévi-Provençal of Algiers to take the place of the late Professor Carlo A. Nallino of Rome upon the roll of Honorary Members of the Society.

As stated in last year's Report, ill health rendered it impossible for Baron Hailey of Shahpur, Panjab and Newport Pagnell, Bucks, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., M.A., to continue his duties as President and preside at our meetings during the

year. His duties were carried on during this period by Professor Margoliouth, and later by Sir E. D. Maclagan, to both of whom the grateful thanks of the Council and the Society were voted by the Council on your behalf. From 14th March last, we have had the pleasure of having as our President the Most Hon. The Marquess of Willingdon, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.

Under the terms of Rule 25, 45 persons ceased to be Members of the Society, owing to the non-payment of their annual subscriptions, an increase of 3 over the figure for 1937. The total number of Members is 798, an increase of 19 during the past year. In this connection the thanks of the Society are specially due to Mr. Heyworth-Dunne, who has introduced about 40 new Members to the Society since last May.

The number of subscribing libraries and institutions is 252, that is to say 9 more than in the previous year. The number of Library Associates has decreased from 26 to 24, and there are two Student Associates as in 1938. The number of visits paid by students to the library during the year was 777, as against 861 for 1937, while the number of books lent to members was 780, as against 765 for the previous year. One hundred and fifty-five volumes were lent to affiliated libraries through the National Central Library, and 58 were borrowed by members of the Society through the same channel.

Lectures.—One of the items of interest provided for Members of the Society consists of lectures on Oriental subjects, which are given from time to time, and are, as a rule, illustrated by lantern slides. The following were given during the past year :—

"Prehistoric Cilicia," by Prof. John Garstang.

"Three Great Tombs of the First Dynasty," by Dr. Walter Emery.

"The Origins of Religious Practices in Ancient Egypt," by Mr. G. D. Hornblower.

"Roads and Railways in French Indo-China," by Madame G. Vassal.

"Labyrinthine Ritual and Mythology in South India and Malekula," by Mr. John Layard.

"The Southern End of the Arabian Frankincense Route," by Miss Freya Stark.

"Mergui: Fresh Evidence of an old Route to the Far East," by Mr. Maurice Collis.

"The Noh as a Contest of Skill," by Prof. Toyoichito Nogami of Hosei University, Tokio.

"An Ancient Indian Colony in British Malaya," by Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales: the results of the last two season's excavation by the Greater India Research Committee.

"Mesopotamian Monsters in French Churches," by Prof. Henri Frankfort.

Universities Essay Prize.—Two alternative subjects were again offered by the Council for the Annual Universities Prize Essay Competition, namely; (i) "The T'ai-p'ing Rebellion in China and its Consequences", or (ii) "The History of the Relations of the British with Malaya and Java (1780–1867)". The prize, consisting of £20 and a Diploma, was won by Mr. A. J. Chapman of Keble College, Oxford, who chose the second subject. Bristol, Cambridge, and Oxford have so far each won the prize twice.

The following works have been published by the Society during the past year:—

Oriental Translation Fund: "Tracts on Listening to Music," by J. Robson.

R.A.S. Monographs: "The Rise of the Ottoman Empire," by P. Wittek.

Prize Publication Fund: "The Early Iranian Calendars," by S. H. Taqizada.

James G. Forlong Fund: "Three Persian Dialects," by A. K. S. Lambton.

It is interesting to realize that, notwithstanding the curtailment of the size of the *Journal*, its sales continue to rise satisfactorily.

The preparation and checking of the index cards for the new

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1937						
Carnegie Grant for printing Catalogue . .	250	0	0			
Compounded Subscriptions Account . .	751	15	7			
	1,001	15	7			
Less: Over-Expenditure on General Account .	909	19	0			
				91	16	7
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	233	2	0			
Non-Resident Members	718	10	0			
Non-Resident Compounders . . .	28	16	0			
Students and Miscellaneous . . .	38	5	0			
				1,018	13	0
RENTS RECEIVED				505	0	0
GRANTS—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
,, Federated Malay States .	40	0	0			
,, Straits Settlements . .	20	0	0			
,, Hong Kong . . .	10	0	0			
				385	0	0
SUNDRY DONATIONS				6	5	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	460	12	2			
Additional Copies sold	24	2	6			
Pamphlets sold	1	6	9			
				486	1	5
DIVIDENDS				85	12	10
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				1	0	8
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES . . .					5	8
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS.				3	19	6
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				127	12	11
CARNEGIE TRUST—						
Payment on account for printing catalogue .	163	11	3			
Grant re Library Help 1937	52	10	0			
				216	1	3
				£2,927	8	10

INVESTMENTS

£350 3½ per cent War Loan.
£1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1938

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Account—						
Rent and Land Tax	495	2	3			
Rates, less contributions by Tenants	81	11	5			
Gas and Light	80	12	4			
Coal and Coke, less contributed by Tenants	38	8	9			
Telephone	12	19	11			
Cleaning	12	0	6			
Insurance	27	7	2			
Repairs and Renewals	81	15	11			
				829	18	3
Leasehold Redemption Fund				30	0	0
Salaries and Wages				801	0	0
Printing and Stationery				48	1	9
Journal Account—						
Printing	485	18	6			
Postage	50	0	0			
				535	18	6
Library Expenditure—						
General Expenditure	47	0	3			
Library Help	153	0	0			
Payment on account of printing catalogue	163	11	3			
				363	11	6
General Postage				57	13	0
Audit Fee				5	5	0
Sundry Expenses—						
Teas	26	19	4			
Lectures	17	4	6			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	21	11	10			
Other General Expenditure	68	5	3			
				134	0	11
Balance at 31st December, 1938						
Carnegie Grant for printing catalogue	250	0	0			
Compounded Subscriptions Account	780	11	7			
	1,030	11	7			
Less: Over-expenditure on General Account	908	11	8			
				121	19	11
Represented by:						
Cash at Bank on General Account	110	11	8			
Cash at Post Office Savings Bank		5	7			
Cash in hand	11	2	8			
	121	19	11			
				£2,927	8	10

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { D. LORIMER, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

23rd March, 1939.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.	£
1938. Jan. 1.		1938. Dec. 31.		
alance	356 9 10	Storage of Stock .		2
ales . . .	51 1 2	Binding 100 Vols. I, X, and XVII . .		15
nterest on Deposit .	1 4 11	Printing and Binding 500 Vols. XXXIV .		162
		Stereos . . .		1
		Balance carried to Summary . . .		226
	£408 15 11			£408

Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund

	£ s. d.			£
Jan 1.		Dec 31		
alance	48 8 9	Binding 25 Vols. XIX and XXII.		2
ales . . .	32 8 0	Balance carried to Summary . . .		78
	£80 16 9			£80

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£
Dec. 31.		Dec. 31.		
riental Translation Fund . . .	226 11 7	Cash at Bank—		
oyal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund .	78 14 3	On Current Account .	55 5 10	
		On Deposit Account .	250 0 0	305
	£305 5 10			£305

Leasehold Redemption Fund

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£
Jan. 1.		Dec. 31.		
alance	529 11 1	Balance represented by £540 4*s.* 4*d.* 3½%		
ransfer from General Account . .	30 0 0	War Loan . . .	559 11 1	
ividends to be Re-invested . . .	18 18 0	Cash at Bank . .	18 18 0	578
	£578 9 1			£578

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publication Fund

	£ s. d.			£
1938. Jan. 1.		1938. Dec. 31.		
alance	133 13 4	Printing 500 and Binding 100 Vols. XVI .		49
les . . .	21 0 0	Balance carried to Summary . . .		123
ividends . . .	18 0 0			
	£172 13 4			£172

Gold Medal Fund

	£ s. d.			£
Jan. 1.		Dec. 31.		
alance . . .	60 0 11	Gold Medal (Nicholson)		37
ividends . . .	9 15 0	Balance carried to Summary . . .		32
	£69 15 11			£69

Universities Prize Essay Fund

	£ s. d.			£
Jan. 1.		Dec. 31.		
lance . . .	136 18 0	Cash Prize (Chapman) .		20
ividends . . .	20 15 4	Balance carried to Summary . . .		137
	£157 13 4			£157

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
[illegible]		Dec. 31.	
[illegible]	28 0 2	Balance carried to Summary	54 1 0
[illegible]ds	19 13 0		
[Inc]ome Tax Refund	6 7 10		
	£54 1 0		£54 1 0

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.		Dec. 31.	
[P]rize Publication Fund	123 7 4	Cash at Bank on Current Account	347 5 1
Gold Medal Fund	32 3 5		
Universities Prize Essay Fund	137 13 4		
Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account	54 1 0		
	£347 5 1		£347 5 1

Trust Fund Investments

£600 Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
£645 11*s*. 2*d* Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
£40 3½% Conversion Stock 1961 (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Promissory Note No. 034904 of 1879 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).

I have examined the above Statements with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { D. LORIMER, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

23rd March, 1939

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts		Payments	
1937. Jan. 1.		1937 Dec. 31.	
Balance	8 1 6	Balance, Cash at Bank on Current Account	9 10 10
Dividends	1 9 4		
	£9 10 10		£9 10 10

Investment—
£49 0*s*. 10*d*. 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan. 1.		Dec. 31.		
Balance	349 7 8	10% Commission on 1937 Sales		3 19 6
Sales	37 19 3	School of Oriental Studies—		
Dividends	199 0 1	Photos of Manichæan MSS	50 0 0	
Income-tax Recovered for the year ended 5th April, 1937	34 4 7	Lectures	52 10 0	
		Publication	100 0 0	
		Scholarships	100 0 0	
				302 10 0
		Binding 25 Vol. II		1 3 3
		Printing and Binding 200 Vol. XVII		117 2 0
		Balance, Cash at Bank on Current Account		195 16 10
	£620 11 7			£620 11 7

Investments

£1,005 14*s* 7*d* New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942–62.
£1,015 16*s* 3*d* South Australian Government 4% Government Inscribed Stock 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal-Nagpur Railway 4% Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6*s*. 3*d*. India 3½% Inscribed Stock.
£700 3½% Conversion Loan 1961.
£45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".
£253 18*s*. 4*d*. 3½% War Loan.

I have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { D. LORIMER, Auditor for the Council.
RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

23rd March, 1939.

library catalogue have, at length, been completed, and the cards are in the hands of the printers. It is hoped that the catalogue may be printed by the end of the year.

Under the terms of Rules 28 to 30, certain changes in the composition of the Council are made each year; in practice about half the new members are taken from those who have been on the Council before, while the remainder are chosen from members who have never served on it. The change in Presidents has already been dealt with. We lose the services of Dr. Gaster, deceased, and of Dr. L. D. Barnett, who were Vice-Presidents, and five ordinary members; under Rules 30 to 32 your Council recommends that the vacancies be filled by the election of:—

As Vice-Presidents

Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A., F.B.A.
Professor R. L. Turner, M.C., M.A., Litt.D.

As Hon. Officers

A. G. Ellis, Esq., M.A., *Hon. Librarian.*
C. E. A. W. Oldham, Esq., C.S.I., *Hon. Secretary.*
E. S. M. Perowne, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer.*

As Ordinary Members of Council

L. D. Barnett, Esq., C.B., M.A., Litt.D.
Sir Richard Burn, Kt., C.S.I.
Sir Atul C. Chatterjee, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., LL.D.
J. R. Firth, Esq., M.A.
Professor H. A. R. Gibb, M.A.
J. H. Lindsay, Esq.

The three Honorary Officers must retire as required by the Rules: they are eligible for, and are recommended for, re-election to their respective offices.

As is stipulated by the Rules, the Accounts of the Society for 1938 have been audited, first by a professional firm, and then by the board appointed by you at the last Anniversary General Meeting. This board consisted of Lieut.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer, for the Council, Sir Richard Burn, for the Society, and Sir Nicholas Waterhouse, of Messrs. Price, Waterhouse

and Co., for the professional auditors. The meeting was held on 23rd March, 1939, and the board reported as given below :—

"We have examined the accounts with the assistance of the Professional Auditor.

They show that the ordinary expenditure was practically the same as in 1937, but while in that year payment was made for four parts of the *Journal*, in 1938 bills for only three parts were paid. Over-spending on Capital Account is also practically the same as last year. There is a small increase in receipts from ordinary (non-compounding) members which is satisfactory.

Sir Nicholas Waterhouse informs us that the accounts have been excellently kept."

The Accounts are now presented to you for your consideration.

Under Rule 81, the professional auditors, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., retire but, being eligible, they offer themselves for re-election. They kindly render their services to the Society at a very much reduced fee, for which they merit your grateful thanks. The Council recommend that the Auditors for the forthcoming session be :—

Sir Richard Burn for the Council.

Mr. C. N. Seddon for the Society.

Your thanks are also due to our Honorary Solicitors, Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., who have given us so generously the benefit of their professional help and advice since 1886 : Major D. H. Bramall, M.B.E., has always been most prompt and helpful in solving our legal problems, whenever asked, and has earned the gratitude of the Society.

As foreshadowed in last year's Report, the Eckenstein Collection of all the works of Sir Richard Burton, who was for many years a Member of the Society, has been presented to us by Mr. Lewis C. Loyd, of 25 Moore St., S.W. 3. The books are housed in a special bookcase, presented by Mr. Norman M. Penzer, the originator of the Society's Memorial to Burton, who is having affixed to the bookcase a small wood plaque to

commemorate this valuable acquisition to the Library. A general description of the contents was given in the Notes of the Quarter in the last April issue of the *Journal*.

The period fixed by the Council for the first Competition under the terms of the Deed of the B. C. Law Trust ended on 31st December, 1938. By this trust, the Society will publish, from time to time, if approved, original works on Buddhism, Jainism, or the History or Geography of Ancient India up to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. The judges appointed under the Trust finally decided, with the greatest regret, that there was no work submitted for the above period which was worthy of publication. Your Council accepted this verdict, and resolved that the funds shall be allowed to accumulate until the end of the second period on 31st December, 1940.

On 13th October, 1938, a committee of Ways and Means was appointed by the Council to consider certain suggestions which were put before it. These consisted of proposals for increasing membership and introducing further measures of economy in the administration of the Society. In considering the possibility of improving the finances of the Society, the Committee has, so far, taken three lines of action.

1. It suggested the transfer of the duty of advertising and selling the Society's publications, other than the *Journal*, to an expert firm of booksellers. This proposal has been put into practice by the Council on trial.

2. It has entered into new arrangements with the Society's printers for working out the cost of printing the *Journal*, and it is expected that the new arrangement will result in a substantial saving.

3. It has, with the sanction of the Council, entered into negotiation with a view to the transfer of our premises from Mayfair to a cheaper site farther west, in order to effect a very considerable saving in the Society's finances. It was felt that the character of the premises in Grosvenor Street was gradually becoming unsuitable to the nature of the Society's objects.

The Marquis of Willingdon then delivered the Presidential

Address. He referred to the many difficulties with which the Society—like so many others—had to contend during the past year, and to the loss incurred by the death of many members, paying a special tribute to the memory of Lord Chalmers, one of his predecessors in the chair, for his distinguished services to the Empire in many capacities. He mentioned the project for moving to premises better suited to the growing needs of the Society in a quieter neighbourhood. He expressed his gratification at the fact that, in spite of the financial stringency that had handicapped its activities of late, the Society had fully maintained the principles that had ever guided it, of promoting study and research on scientific and scholarly lines in Oriental subjects, thus fostering closer relations between the East and the West. The attainment of such harmonious association had ever been his aim during the sixteen years he had lived in India, and he regarded it as a good augury that he was able to welcome to a seat on the Council his old and distinguished Indian friend, Sir Atul Chatterjee. He looked forward with hope and confidence to the future welfare and progress of the Society.

The President then called upon Dr. H. N. Randle to propose the name of a firm of Professional Auditors to superintend the audit of the Society's Accounts for the year 1938. Dr. Randle proposed that Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., who had so successfully carried out the work before and were eligible, should do so again. This was seconded by Mr. J. H. Lindsay and carried.

The President called upon the Hon. Treasurer to make his annual report.

The Hon. Treasurer mentioned that the Auditors' Report did not altogether reflect the exact position of the accounts, as they only dealt with the receipts and payments during the period between the 1st January and 31st December, 1938, including the balance brought forward from 31st December, 1937.

After giving explanations on the items on both sides of the

account, the Treasurer explained that he proposed to sum up the position rather in the form of a rough balance sheet. In this way the total receipts from all sources during the twelve months amounted to £2,927 8*s*. 10*d*., including the balance of £91 16*s*. 7*d*. brought forward, £28 16*s*. for compounders fees and £216 1*s*. 3*d*. received from the Carnegie Trust (the two latter being capital items), and after deducting these three items the net available income for the year was £2,590 15*s*., which was £100 less than in 1937.

The net payments on account of income after deducting the £121 19*s*. 11*d*. balance brought down and £316 11*s*. 3*d*. which would be recouped by the Carnegie Trustees, only amounted to £2,488 17*s*. 8*d*. (some £100 less than recent average payments), thus leaving a credit balance of £101 17*s*. 4*d*. at the end of the year to which should be added £100 10*s*., the difference between the £216 1*s*. 3*d*. received from the Carnegie Trustees and the £316 11*s*. 3*d*. paid as Library capital expenditure, making together a credit balance on account of income of £202 7*s* 4*d*., against which there were two outstanding payments due for the *Journal* amounting together to £399 2*s*. 9*d*., which should have been paid during the year, thus converting the credit balance into a debit one of £196 5*s*. 5*d*. The special funds were practically all earmarked for publications about to appear, and the Leasehold Redemption fund was beginning to make a good show.

The President then proposed the adoption of the Council's Annual Report: this was seconded by Mr. C. A. Kincaid and carried *nem. com.* after which The President concluded the proceedings by inviting those present to tea.

Notices

On account of the summer vacation, it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September.

La Société de Géographie, 10 Avenue d'Iéna, Paris.

The duties of Secrétaire Général de la Société have been taken over by le Colonel Édouard de Martonne.

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series

The second period during which MSS. may be submitted by competitors for publication in the above series, lately founded by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, will close on 31st December, 1940. Details are given in the loose sheet enclosed in this number of the *Journal*. They may also be obtained on application to: The Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W. 1.

Forthcoming Events

Bicentenary Celebrations of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, in Stockholm, on 23rd to 25th September, 1939.

Tenth All-India Oriental Conference at Hyderabad, Deccan, during third week in December, 1939.

Archæological Expedition

Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania

Turkey.—Cilician Plain: Tarsus: Hüyük of Gözlü Kule. Dr. H. Goldman. *Collaborator*: Princeton University.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

The Geographical Journal. Vol. xciii, No. 5, May, 1939.

Barger, E. Exploration of Ancient Sites in Northern Afghanistan.

Bengal, Past and Present. Vol. lv, Parts iii and iv, Nos. 111–12, July–December, 1938.

Banerji, S. K. Iltutmish as seen in his Monuments.
Datta, K. K. Some Unpublished Documents relating to the Conspiracy of Wazır Ali.

Indian Art and Letters. Vol. xiii, No 1, first issue, 1939.

Gray, B The Rearrangement of the Indıan Collections at the Brıtish Museum.
La Meri, Dancıng in India.
Bailey, T. G. Recent Hindu Lıterature.

Epigraphia Indıca. Vol. xxiv, Part iii, July, 1937.

Mirashi, V. V. Rewah Stone Inscriptıon of the tıme of Karna : the (Chedı) year 800.
—— The epoch of the Kalachuri-Chedi era.
Chhabra, B. Ch. Svalpa-Velura grant of Ganga Anantavarman.
Krishnamacharlu, C. R. Siroda plates of Devaraja.

The Journal of the Assam Research Society (Kāmarupa Anusandhan Samiti). Vol. vıı, No. 1, Aprıl, 1939.

Barua, K. L , Prehistoric Culture in Assam.

Iraq. Vol. vı, Part i, Spring, 1939.

Barnett, F. D. A Cylınder Seal from Syria.
Gordon, C. H. Western Asıatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery.
Driver, G. R., and Miles, J. C. The *Sal-Zıkrum* " Woman-Man " in Old-Babylonian Texts.
Myres, J. L. Recent Archæological Discoveries in Asia Minor.

The Journal of the Sıam Society. Vol. xxxi, Part i, March, 1939.

Nivat, H.H. Prince Dhanı, and Seidenfaden, E. Early Trade Relations between Denmark and Siam.
Hutchinson, E. W. Megaliths in Bayab.
Nıvat, H.H. Prince Dhani. The word Jetavan in Old Siamese.
Le May, R. On Tai Pottery.
—— On the Coins of Northern Siam.
Seidenfaden, E. An Analysis of *Das Land der Tai* (Credner).

Djåwå. 19de Jaargang, No. 3, Mei, 1939.

Stutterheim, W. F. Een bronzen stūpa (met i afbeelding).
Overbeck, H. Sri Tandjoeng en Pramoesintå.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Books presented by Sir George Granville Leveson Gower, K.B.E., 21st March, 1939.

Three Albums of Photographs illustrating a tour in India and Ceylon made by Sir George Leveson Gower and Mr. Leonard Shoobridge, Oct., 1886–June, 1887.

Aga Khan (The), India in transition. A study in political evolution . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1918.

Hart, Sir Robert, "These from the Land of Sinim." Essays on the Chinese question . . . 9 × 6. *London*, 1901.

Lawrence, *Sir* Walter R., The Valley of Kashmir . . . 10½ × 8. *London*, 1895.

Layard, Sir H., Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia . . . 2 vols. 8 × 6. *London*, 1887.

Melville, G. W., In the Lena Delta, a narrative of the search for Lieut.-Commander De Long . . . followed by an account of the Greely Relief Expedition . . . Ed. by M. Philips . . . 9 × 6½. *Boston*, 1884.

Oliphant, Laurence, Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the years 1857, '58, '59 . . . 2 vols. 9 × 6. *Edinburgh and London*, 1859.

Skrine, F. H., and Ross, E. D., The Heart of Asia. A history of Russian Turkestan . . . 8½ × 6. *London*, 1899.

Rousselet, L., L'Inde des rajahs. Voyage dans l'Inde Centrale . . . 14 × 11. *Paris*, 1875.

Tennent, Sir James E., Ceylon: an account of the island, physical, historical, and topographical . . . 3rd ed. 2 vols. 9 × 6. *London*, 1859.

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Ātreya Rāmānuja: Nyāyakuliśa, or the Lightning-shaft of Reason . . . Ed. with [English] introduction . . . by R. Ramanujachari . . . and . . . K. Srinivasacharya . . . (Annamalai Univ. Phil. Ser., 1.) 10 × 7½. [*Annamalainagar?*] 1938. *From the Registrar, Annamalai Univ.*

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From Messrs. Kohlhammer.

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From Messrs. Edward Arnold.

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Cumming, Sir J., Revealing India's Past. A co-operative record of archæological conservation and exploration in India and beyond, by twenty-two authorities . . . Ed. by Sir J. C. . . . Foreword by A. Foucher . . . (India Soc.) 8½ × 7. *London*, 1939. *From the India Society.*

Dhammapāla. Paramatthadīpanī, being the commentary on the Cariyā-piṭaka. Ed. by D. L. Barua . . . (Pali Text Soc.) 9 × 6. *London*, 1939. *Exchange.*

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Foster, J , The Church of the T'ang Dynasty . . . 7½ × 5½. *London*, 1939. *From the S.P.C.K.*

Frazer, Sir J G , The native races of Australasia . . . A selection of passages . . . ed. from the MSS. by R. A. Downie . . . 11½ × 9. *London*, 1939. *From Messrs. Percy Lund, Humphries and Co.*

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Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

75. Nyāyaratnamālā of Pārthasārathimiśra. With the commentary. Ed. by K. S. Rāmaswami Śāstrī Śiromaṇi. 1937.
76. Descriptive catalogue of MSS. in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan. Compiled from the notes of C. D Dalal. By Lalchandra Bhagwandas Gandhi . . . Vol. 1. 1937.
77. Triṣaṣṭiśalākā puruṣa caritra (of Hemacandra). Tr. by H. M. Johnson. Vol. 2. 1937.
78. Gaṇitatilaka by Śrīpati, with the commentary of Siṁhatilaka Sūri. Ed. by H. R. Kāpadīā. 1937.
79. The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān. By A. Jeffery. 1938.
80. The Tattvasaṁgraha of Śāntarakṣita with the commentary of Kamalaśīla. Tr. by Ganganatha Jha. Vol. 1. 1937.
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82. The Sūktimuktāvali of Jalhaṇa. Ed. by Embar Krishnamacharya. *Baroda*, 1938. *Exchange.*

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From the Association of Authorship, Translation, and Publication Press.

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Michel, A., Amalfi und Jerusalem im Griechischen Kirchenstreit, 1054–1090 . . . (Or. Christiana Analecta, 121.) $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. *Roma*, 1939. *Exchange.*

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OCTOBER, 1939.

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

Far East

Middle East

India

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1939

PART IV.—OCTOBER

Bishr b. abī Khāzim: Collection of Fragments

BY GUSTAV VON GRÜNEBAUM

THE high esteem in which Bishr b. abī Khāzim is held by the native theorists and critics has been the main motive that induced me to collect his verses. The widely scattered quotations of his work present still better proof of the æsthetic merits which his poems held for the Arabs than the favourable judgment which an authority such as al-Aṣma'ī passed upon him by inserting him into the ranks of the *fuḥūl*.[1] Four of his *qaṣīdahs* have found their way into the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (ed. Lyall, poems 96–9); six more are contained in the anthology of Hibatallāh b. al-Shajarī, known as the *Dīwān mukhtārāt shu'arā' al-'Arab* (lithographed Cairo, 1306, pp. 65–81). Hartigan, who has tried to establish Bishr's biography (*MFO.*, i, 284 ff.), mentions his fragments (loc. cit., 293), claiming a knowledge of 131 verses belonging, in his opinion, to thirty different poems. He does not, however, name his sources. He obviously had the intention of making an edition himself, but this never appeared. From the standpoint of modern literary history, the work of Bishr

[1] Cf. his *Kitāb fuḥūlat al-shu'arā'*, ed. Torrey, *ZDMG.*, lxv, 497 (translated on p. 510).

has the special interest of permitting a deep insight into the formation of poetical schools in ancient Arabia. To provide a solid foundation for any such investigation, a complete edition of his poetical remains has proved indispensable. In spite of the somewhat unfavourable circumstances under which I was obliged to complete this collection, I have been fortunate enough to bring together 215 verses of 44 independent *qaṣīdahs*.[1] I should not have been able to obtain this result had I not been assisted by the notes of my lamented teacher, Professor Rudolf Geyer, kindly placed at my disposal by Dozent H. H. Bräu, of St. Florian; I am indebted, moreover, to the ever generous aid of Professor Giorgio Levi Della Vida, who admitted me to his private library and gave me leave to peruse his transcriptions of several manuscripts; I am deeply grateful to Professor Krenkow, of Cambridge, for granting me the opportunity of comparing my collection with the materials which he had prepared, about thirty years ago, for a similar task.

The recomposition of regular poems out of what are usually very short fragments must of necessity leave room for some doubt as to the genuine order of the verses. Naturally I cannot claim to have always achieved conformity with Bishr's intentions; but I hope the translation which I wish to put forward in the near future will at least show that my proposed arrangement of the verses involves no contradiction of the inner laws of pre-Islamic poetry.[2]

[1] In a letter, dated 4th January, 1939, Professor Krenkow kindly pointed out that most of the quotations from the *'Iqd* are wrongly ascribed to Bishr b. abī Khāzim. They are in fact by a poet who lived in the beginning of the third century A.H. and whose full name was Muhammad b. Ḥāzim (not b. abī Khāzim). He is mentioned by al-Marzubānī, *Muw* 439, and *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xii, 158–167. This affects the passages printed *'Iqd* 1, 147.242.243.317.352 389.392. Hartigan, however, evidently had included the ten fragments containing thirty-seven verses into his collection.

[2] At present the *Dīwān* of Bishr b. abī Khāzim appears to be lost, yet so late an author as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī in the *Khizāna* (1, 9[23]) enumerates it among the books he has consulted. So we may yet discover it in Stanbul (K.). Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL. Suppl.*, 1, 58.

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I

1.2. Yāq. 1, 536; IA. 1, 470; Bakrī, 384.—**7–10.** Khiz. 1, 455.—**7.8.** TA. 9, 54; Kāmil, 132; Khiz. 2, 263; 4, 111; Alūsī, 1, 84.—**3.** Am. 2, 312; Am. Par., fol. 166r.—**4.** TA. 10, 312; Asās, 2, 84.—**5.** LA. 18, 273.—**6.** Asās, 1, 258.—**11.** LA. 11, 211; TA. 6, 234; Fār., fol. 81v; ZDMG. 47, 168.—**12.** Asās, 1, 504. *Wāfir.*

أَتَعْرِفُ مِنْ هُنَيْدَةَ رَسْمَ دارٍ   بِأَعْلَى ذَرْوَةٍ وإِلَى لِواها

وِمِنْها مَنْزِلٌ بِبِراقِ خَبْتٍ   عَفَتْ حِقَبًا وَغَيَّرَها بِلاها

أَرَبَّ على مَغانِيها مُلِثٌّ   هَزِيمٌ وَدْقُهُ حَتَّى عَفاها

*   *   *

فَلاةٌ قَدْ سَرَيْتُ بِها هُدُوأً   إذاما العَيْنُ طافَ بِها كَراها

أَشِجُّ بِها إِذا الظَلْماءُ أَلْقَتْ   مَراسِيَها وأَرْدَفَها دُجاها

بِصادِقَةِ الهَواجِرِ ذاتِ لَوْثٍ   مُضَبَّرَةٍ تَخَيَّلُ فى سُراها

إلى أَوْسِ بْنِ حارِثَةَ بْنِ لَأْمٍ   لِيَقْضِىَ حاجَتِى فِيمَنْ قَضاها

فَما وَطِئَ الحَصامِثْلُ بْنِ سُعْدَى   وَلا لَبِسَ النِعالَ ولا ٱحْتَذاها

إذاما المَكْرُماتُ دُفِنَّ يَوْماً   وَقَصَّرَ مُبْتَغُوها عَنْ مَداها

١٠ وَضاقَتْ أَذْرُعُ الْمُثْرِينَ عَنّها سَمَا أَوْسٌ إليها فَاحْتَواه

١١ لَهُ كَفّانِ كَفٌّ كَفُّ ضُرٍّ وَكَفٌّ فَواضِلٍ خَضِلٌ نَدا

* * *

١٢ إذاما شَمَّرَتْ حَرْبٌ عَوانٌ يَخافُ الناسُ عَرَّتَها كَفاه

I. 1b.—IA. بِجرجى ذ ; Bakrī, بِخَرجى ذ ; IA., Bakrī, فإلى.—2. IA. حُقُبًا.—3. Am. Par. مغانبها.—5. LA. أشِحُ.— 8. Kāmıl, وَما وَطِىءَ الثَرَى ; Khiz. 1, 455 الحَصَى ; 4, 111 and Alūsī, الثرى.—9a. Khız 1, 455 إذاما رايةٌ دُفِعَتْ لِمَجْدٍ.

II

2.3. Ḥay. 6, 87.—**1.** LA. 1, 135; 2, 135; Lane, 2241*a*; TA. 1, 110.409; ISık. 530.—**3.** Ḥay. 6, 90; Aus, p. 24, n. 1; ZDMG. 49, 139.—**4.** Murtaḍà, 4, 74.—**5.** Khiz. 2, 182; Mb. 156. *Kāmil.*

١ وَكَأَنَّ ظُعْنَهُمُ غَداةَ تَحَمَّلُوا سُفُنٌ تَكَفَّأُ فى خَلِيجٍ مُغْرَدِ

* * *

٢ وَتَشِيحُ بِالعَيْرِ الفَلاةَ كَأَنَّها فَتْخاءُ كاسِرَةٌ هَوَتْ مِنْ مَرْقَدِ

٣ والعَيْرُ يُرْهِقُها الحِمارُ وَجَحْشُها
يَنْقَضُّ خَلْفَهُمَا انْقِضاضَ الكَوْكَبِ

٤ فَيَضْـكُ مِحْجَرَهُ إذاما سافَها وَجَبِينُهُ بِحَوافِرٍ لَمْ تُنْكَبِ

* * *

٥ وَالمانِحُ المِـائَةَ الهِجانَ بِـأَسْرِها تُزْجِى مَطافِلُها كَجَنَّةِ يَثْرِبِ

II. 3. Aus, خَلَفُها.

III[1]

1.2. Ḥay. 6, 112 —**3.4.** MM. 178.—**5.6.** Naq. 241; IA. 1, 463; Anb. 365; MFO. 1, 296 —**5.** Asās, 1, 368. *Wāfir.*

١ فَما صَدَعٌ بِحَيَّةَ أَوْ بِشَرْقٍ عَلَى زُلُقٍ زَوالِقَ ذِى كِهابِ

٢ تَزِلُّ اللَقْـوَةُ الشَـغْراءُ عَنْها مَخـالِبُها كَأَطْرافِ الأَشابِ

* * *

٣ فَـأَبْعَثُـهُنَّ أَرْبَعَةً وَخَـمْسًـا بِـأَلْـفـاظٍ مُثَـقَّـفَةٍ عِـذابِ

٤ وَكُنْتُ إذًا وَسَمْتُ بِهِنَّ قَوْمًا كَـأَطْواقِ الحَمائِمِ فِى الرِقابِ

* * *

٥ وَأَفْلَتَ حاجِبٌ فَوْتَ العَوالِى عَلَى شَقّـاءَ تَلْمَعُ فِى السَرابِ

٦ وَلَوْ أَدْرَكْنَ رَأْسَ بَنِى تَمِيمٍ عَفَرْنَ الوَجْـهَ مِنْهُ بِالتُرابِ

III 5. IA. جَوْبَ العوالى; MFO. فَوْقَ العَوالى; MFO. (according to Ibn al-Anbārī, *Aḍdād*, 183) شَقْراءَ; Anb. شَـقّـاءَ; Asās, تَركَعُ فِى الظِرابِ.

[1] Vss. 1.2. are probably no more than a variant to Mukht. 77, 4.5.

IV

Bayān, 2, 71. *Basīṭ.*

١ لِلّٰهِ دَرُّ بَنِي حِدَّاءَ مِنْ نَفَرٍ وَكُلُّ جارٍ عَلَى جِيرانِهِ كَلِبُ

٢ إذا غَدَوْا وَعِصِيُّ الطَّلْحِ أَرْجُلُهُمْ
كَما تُنَصَّبُ وَسْطَ البِيعَةِ الصُّلُبُ

V

4–6. Yāq. 1, 139.—**10.11.** LA. 1, 322; 15, 237; TA. 1, 223; MSh., fol. 145ᵛ f.—**12–14.16.** Murtaḍà, 2, 114.—**15–19.** IA. 1, 470.—**1.** Ṭab. Tafs. 23, 95; Shar. 1, 13.—**2.** LA. 17, 141; TA. 9, 271.—**3.** LA. 2, 138.169; 13, 168; 15, 175; TA. 1, 408.431; 7, 281; Muḥīṭ, 419; Asās, 1, 186.435 (anon.); Jauh. 2, 172; JRAS. 1907, 222.—**4.** Bakrī, 326; Yāq. 4, 618 (b only).—**7.** LA. 10, 15; TA. 5, 377; Asās, 1, 435; 2, 1.—**8.** Bakrī, 748.—**9.** MSh., fol. 145ᵛ.—**11.** Anb. 570, 17; TA. 8, 370; Asās, 2, 27; ISik. 54.—**20.** MSh., fol. 146ʳ. *Ṭawīl.*

١ تَعَنّاكَ نَصْبٌ مِن أُمَيْمَةَ مُنْصِبُ
كَذِي الشَّجْوِ لَمّا يَسْلُهُ وَيُذْهِبُ

* * *

٢ لَهُمْ ظُعُناتٌ يَهْتَدِينَ بِرايَةٍ كَما يَسْتَقِلُّ الطائِرُ المُتَقَلِّبُ

* * *

٣ رَأَى دُرَّةً بَيْضاءَ يَحْفِلُ لَوْنَها سُخامٌ كَغِرْبانِ البَرِيرِ مُقَصَّبُ

* * *

٤ حَلَفْتُ بِرَبِّ الدامياتِ نُحُورُها وَما ضَمَّ أَجْمادُ الحُوارِ وَمِذْنَبُ

٥ لَئِنْ شُبَّتِ الحَرْبُ العَوانُ الّتي أَرَى وَقَدْ طالَ إِبْعادٌ بِها وَتَرَهُّبُ

٦ لَتَحْتَمِلَنْ بِاللَّيْلِ مِنْكُمْ ظَعِينَةٌ إِلى غَيْرِ مَوْثُوقٍ مِنَ العِزِّ تَهْرُبُ

٧ أَتَخْطُبُ فِيهِمْ بَعْدَ قَتْلِ رِجالِهِمْ لَسَرْعانَ هٰذا والدِماءُ تَصَبَّبُ

٨ بِكُلِّ فَضاءٍ بَيْنَ حَرَّةِ ضارِجٍ وَخَلٍّ إِلى ماءِ القُصَيْبَةِ مَوْكِبُ

٩ وَيَلْتَفُّ جِذْماناً وَلا حَقَّ بَيْنَنا وَبَيْنَكُمُ إِلّا الصَرِيحُ المُهَذَّبُ

١٠ وَيَنْصُرُهُ قَوْمٌ غِضابٌ عَلَيْكُمُ

مَتَى تَدْعُهُمْ يَوْماً إِلى الرَوْعِ يَرْكَبُوا

١١ أَشارَ بِهِمْ لَمْعَ الأَصَمِّ فَأَقْبَلُوا عَرانِينَ لا يَأْتِيهِ لِلنَصْرِ مُجْلِبُ

١٢ وإِنِّى على ما كانَ مِنِّى لَنادِمٌ

وإِنِّى إِلى أَوْسِ بْنِ لَأْمٍ لَتائِبُ

١٣ فَهَبْ لِى حَياتِى والحَياةُ لِقائِمٍ

يَسُرُّكَ فِيها حِينَ ما أَنْتَ واهِبُ

١٤ وإِنِّى إِلى أَوْسٍ لِيَقْبَلَ تَوْبَتِى

وَيَعْرِفَ وُدِّى ما حَيِيتُ لَراغِبُ

١٥ وإِنِّى لَأَرْجُو مِنْكَ يا أَوْسُ نِعْمَةً.

وَإِنِّى لِأُخْرَى مِنْكَ يا أَوْسُ راهِبُ

١٦ وَإِنِّى لأَمْحُو بِالَّذِى أَنا صادِقٌ
بِهِ كُلَّما قَدْ قُلْتُ إِنْ أَنا كاذِبُ

١٧ فَهَلْ يَنفَعَنِّى اليَوْمَ عِنْدَكَ أَنَّنِى
سَأَشْكُرُ إِنْ أَنعَمْتَ والشُّكْرُ واجِبُ

١٨ فِدًى لِابْنِ سُعْدَى اليَوْمَ كُلُّ عَشِيرَتِى
بَنِى أَسَدٍ أَقْصاهُمُ وَالأَقارِبُ

١٩ تَدَارَكَنِى أَوْسُ بْنَ سُعْدَى بِنِعْمَةٍ
وَقَدْ أَمْكَنَتْهُ مِنْ يَدَىَّ العَواقِبُ

* * *

٢٠ . . . . وَراكِبٌ حَثِيثٌ بِأَسْبابِ المَنِيَّةِ يَضْرِبُ

V. 1. Shar.

—.تعنّاك همّ من اميمة منصب وجاء مِنَ الأَخْبارِ ما لَمْ يُكَذَّبُ

3. LA. 15, 175 يُحْفِلُ —4a. Yāq. presents the readings الرابيات and الراميات; 4b. the text follows Bakrī who, however, omits ما; Yāq. has وما ضَمَّ أَجْيادُ المُصَلَّى وَمَذْهَبُ, but 4, 618, without وَمَذْهَبُ.—7. Asās, 2, 1, begins the verse وَحالَفْتُمُ قَوْماً هَرَاقُوا دِماءَكُمْ لَوَشْكانَ.—9. MSh. gives in

his commentary the reading وَلَا حَيَّ.—**10.** MSh. سَيَنْصُرُهُ—

11. LA. 15, 237, Asās, 2, 27, and TA. 8, 370, have مُجْلِبُ ; ISik. فَأَصْبَحُوا ; MSh. لَمَعُ ; **15a.** IA. omits و.—**16.** Murtaḍà reads the verse as follows :—

سَأَمْحُو بِمَدْحٍ فِيكَ إِنْ أَنَا صَادِقٌ كِتَابَ هِجَاءٍ سَارَ إِنْ أَنَا كَاذِبُ

VI [1]

LA. 10, 415 ; TA. 6, 85. *Wāfir.*

١ بِضَيْفٍ قَدْ أَلَمَّ بِهِمْ عِشَاءً عَلَى الخَسْفِ المُبَيَّنِ والجُدُوبِ

VII

3.4. Jīm, 347b.—**1.** LA. 3, 390 ; TA. 2, 203.—**2.** Bakrī, 64.—**5.** Asās, 2, 466. *Wāfir.*

١ لَهَا قَرَدٌ كَجَثْوِ النَّمْلِ جَعْدٌ تَعَضُّ بِهَا العَرَاقِ والقُدُوحُ

٢ كَأَنَّ قُتُودَهَا بِأَبَارِيَاتٍ يُعَطِّفُهُنَّ مَوْشِيٌّ مُشِيحُ

* * *

٣ فَجَالَ كَأَنَّ نِصْعًا حِمْيَرِيًّا إِذَا كَفَلَ الغُبَارُ بِهِ يَلُوحُ

٤ فَلَمَّا أَنْ دَنَوْنَ لِكَاذَتَيْهِ وَأَسْهَلَ مِنْ مَغَابِنِهِ المَسِيحُ

٥ وَأَضْحَى يَنْفُضُ الغَمَرَاتِ عَنْهُ

كَوَقْفِ العَاجِ لَيْسَ بِهِ كُدُوحُ

VII. **1.** TA.'s mistake الرمل has been corrected by Lane, 2493c.

[1] This verse very probably belongs to the poem Mukht. 68 f.

VIII

LA. 1, 228; Jauh. 1, 33. *Kāmil.*

١ فَعَفَوْتُ عَنْهُمْ عَفْوَ غَيْرِ مُثَرِّبٍ

وَتَرَكْتُهُمْ لِعِقابِ يَوْمٍ سَرْمَدِ

IX

4.5. Bakrī, 415.—**1.** Asās, 1, 446.—**2.** Asās, 2, 57.—**3.** Asās, 2, 14. *Basīṭ.*

١ كادَتْ تُساقِطُ مِنِّى مُنَّةً فَزَعًا

مَعاهِدُ الحَىِّ وَالحُزْنُ الَّذِى أَجِدُ

٢ ثُمَّ اُعْتَرَزْتُ عَلَى عَنْسٍ عُذافِرَةٍ

سِىٍّ عَلَيْها خَبارُ الأَرْضِ وَالجَدَدُ

* * *

٣ طاوٍ بِرَمْلَةِ أَوْرالٍ تَضَيَّفَهُ إلى الكِناسِ عَشِىٌّ بارِدٌ صَرِدُ

* * *

٤ لَوْ يُوزَنُونَ كِيالًا أَوْ مُعايَرَةً

مالوا بِرَضْوَى وَلَمْ يَفْضُلْهُمْ أَحَدُ

٥ القائِمُونَ إذاما الجَهْلُ نِيمَ بِهِ

وَالثاقِبُونَ إذاما مَعْشَرٌ خَمَدُوا

X

LA. 10, 119. *Ṭawīl.*

١ إذا أَفْرَعَتْ فى تَلْعَةٍ أَصْعَدَتْ بِها

وَمَنْ يَطْلُبِ الحاجاتِ يُفْرِعْ ويُصْعِدُ

XI

1. LA. 13, 32.—**2.** Naq. 245. *Ṭawīl.*

١ لَعَمْرُكَ ما يَطْلُبْنَ مِنْ آلِ نِعْمَةٍ

وَلٰكِنَّمَا يَطْلُبْنَ قَيْسًا وَيَشْكُرَا

* * *

٢ وَنَحْنُ جَلَبْنا الخَيْلَ حَتَّى تَنَاوَلَتْ

تَمِيمَ بْنَ مُرٍّ بِالنِسارِ وَعامِرَا

XII

1. LA. 3, 238; TA. 2, 126.—**2.** LA. 8, 287; TA. 4, 386; MFO. 1, 291, n. 2. *Wāfir.*

١ أَلا بَلَحَتْ خَفارَةُ آلِ لَأْيٍ فَلا شاةً تَرُدُّ وَلا بَعِيرا

* * *

٢ وَأَوْجَرْنا عُتَيْبَةَ ذاتَ خِرْصٍ كَأَنَّ بِنَحْرِهِ مِنْها عَبِيرَا

XIII[1]

LA. 15, 291; Jauh. 2, 313; Muḥīt, 1386. *Kāmil.*

١ إِنَّ العُرَيْمَةَ مانِعٌ أَرْماحَنا ما كانَ مِنْ سَحَمٍ بِها وَصَفارِ

[1] This verse is generally ascribed to al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī. Cf. Ahlwardt, *Six Divans*, Nābigha 10, 27. Ahlwardt's notes may be consulted for the various readings of the line.

XIV

2.3. Muw. 86; Ṣin. 197.—**1.** Bakrī, 135; Yāq. 2, 138 (anon.).—**3b.** LA. 7, 103.—**4.** Bakrī, 486.—**5.** Anb. 366, 7; Naq. 241.—**6.** DM. 2, 72; Anb. 25, 3. *Wāfir.*

١ عَفَتْ أَطْلَالُ مَيَّةَ مِنْ حَفِيرٍ فَهَضْبُ الوَادِيَيْنِ فَبُرْقِ إِيرِ

٢ وَجَرَّ الرَّامِسَاتُ بِهَا ذُيُولًا كَأَنَّ شَمَالَهَا بَعْدَ الدَّبُورِ

٣ رَمَادٌ بَيْنَ أَظْآرٍ ثَلَاثٍ كَمَا وُشِمَ النَّوَاشِرُ بِالنَّؤُورِ

* * *

٤ أَبَى لِأَبْنِ المُضَلَّلِ غَيْرَ فَخْرٍ بِأَصْحَابِ الشَّقِيقَةِ يَوْمُ كِيرِ

٥ وَهُمْ تَرَكُوا رَئِيسَ بَنِي قُشَيْرٍ شُرَيْحًا لِلضِّبَاعِ وَلِلنُّسُورِ

٦ إِذَا تَمْضِيهِمُ كَرَّتْ عَلَيْهِمْ بِطَعْنٍ مِثْلِ أَفْوَاهِ الخُبُورِ

XIV. **3b.** LA. الرَّوَاهِشُ بِالنَّؤُورِ.—**6.** DM. اذا نفذتهم.

XV

LA. 11, 75. *Sarīʿ.*

١ وَطَائِرٌ أَشْرَفَ ذُو حَزْرَةٍ وَطَائِرٌ لَيْسَ لَهُ وَكْرُ

XV. A marginal gloss in the LA. proposes the reading خُزْرَة instead of حزرة.

XVI

Muḍāhāt, fol. 29r. *Ṭawīl.*

١ لَئِنْ إِضْتَ مَيْتًا لَمْ تُعَمَّرْكَ مُدَّةٌ
لَأَنْتَ الَّذِي يُحْيِيكَ فِي الغَابِرِ الذِّكْرُ

XVII

1.16. Iṣlāḥ, 1, 307.—**2.3.** Yāq. 2, 811.—**4-6.** Yāq. 2, 234.—**7-10.** MSh., fol. 68v f.—**19-22.** MSh., fol. 210v f.—**21.22.** Jīm, 177.—**1.** LA. 7, 105; TA. 3, 31.589; Muḥīt, 2143; Yāq. 1, 498; 4, 672[4] (end of b only); Jauh. 1, 410; Zam. Lex. 147 (b only).—**2.** Asās, 2, 441.—**3.** Bakrī, 409.—**10.** Asās, 2, 5.—**11.** ʻUmda, 1, 203.267, ʻUmda L., fol. 102r; Asās, 1, 182 (anon.).—**12.** LA. 15, 387.—**13.** LA. 2, 90; 11, 130; TA. 1, 381; 6, 185; Jauh. 1, 81; 2, 44; Muḥīt, 1303. 1394.—**14.** LA. 20, 186; TA, 10, 363; Jauh. 2, 555; Asās, 1, 165.—**15.** Prov. 1, 251.—**16.** LA, 6, 332; 11, 185; TA. 3, 452; 6, 218; Jauh. 1, 377; Anb. 625, 18; Muḥīṭ, 1541; Wuḥ., line 514.—**17.** LA. 12, 280; Azmina, 1, 283 (anon.).—**18.** Anb. 760, 18; IKalbī, fol. 55v (b only).—**19.** Anb. 761, 1; MSh., fol. 210v.—**20.** LA. 6, 91; TA. 3, 310; Am. 2, 233; Am. Par., fol. 142r; MSh., fol. 210v.—**21.** MSh., fol. 211r.—**22.** LA. 6, 206; 13, 485; 18, 251; TA. 3, 377; 8, 25; Jauh. 1, 357; 2, 216.469; Mukh. 2, 47.—**23.** LA. 3, 348; TA. 2, 180; Jauh. 1, 183; IKalbī Esc., fol. 203v.—**24.** Asās, 2, 93; MSh., fol. 205v.—**25.** LA. 2, 377; TA. 1, 572; Jauh. 1, 123; Asās, 2, 270 (anon.); Muḥīṭ, 1749; Lane, 2556b, Anb. 340, 17; 584, 14; Alūsī, 2, 317; Shar. 2, 62; Iṣlāḥ, 1, 135; Add. 72 (text) and 65 (transl.).—**26.** LA. 2, 126 (anon.); TA. 1, 402 (anon.); Asās, 2, 151*; Lane, 220bc (anon.); ZDMG. 57, 789. *Ṭawīl.*

١ أَلَيْلَى عَلَى شَحْطِ المَزَارِ تَذَكَّرُ
وَمِنْ دُونِ لَيْلَى ذُو بِحَارٍ وَمَنْوَرُ

* * *

٢ سَبَتْهُ وَلَمْ تَخْشَ الَّذِى فَعَلَتْ بِهِ   مُنَعَّمَةٌ مِنْ نَشْءِ أَسْلَمَ مُعْصِرُ

٣ هِيَ الهَمُّ لَوْ أَنَّ النَوَى أُصْقِبَتْ بِها
وَلٰكِنَّ كَرًّا فى رَكُوبَةَ أَعْسَرُ

٤ فَدَعْ عَنْكَ لَيْلَى إنَّ لَيْلَى وَشَأْنَها
إذا وَعَدَتْكَ الوَعْدَ لا يَتَيَسَّرُ

٥ وَقَدْ أَتَناسَى الهَمَّ عِنْدَ احْتِضارِهِ
إذا لَمْ يَكُنْ عَنْهُ لِذِى اللُبِّ مَعْبَرُ

٦ بِأَدْماءَ مِنْ سِرِّ المَهارِى كَأَنَّها بِحَرْبَةَ مَوْشِىُّ القَوائِمِ مُقْفِرُ

* * *

٧ فأَدَّى إلَيْهِ مَطْلَعُ الشَمْسِ نَبْأَةً
وَقَدْ جَعَلَتْ عَنْهُ الضَبابَةُ تَحْسِرُ

٨ تَمارَى بِها رَأْدَ الضُحَى ثُمَّ رَدَّها
إلى حُرَّتَيْها حافِظُ السَمْعِ مُبْصِرُ

٩ فَجالَ وَلَمّا يَسْتَبِنْ وَفُؤادُهُ بِرَيْبَتِهِ مِمّا تَوَجَّسَ أَوْجَرُ

١٠ فَأَضْحَى وَصِبْيانُ الصَقِيعِ كَأَنَّها
جُمانٌ بِضاحِى جِلْدِهِ يَتَحَدَّرُ

١١ يُثِيرُ وَيُبْدِى عَنْ عُرُوقٍ كَأَنَّها أَعِنَّةُ خَرّازٍ تُحَطُّ وَتُنْشَرُ

١٢ وَباكَرَهُ عِنْدَ الشُرُوقِ مُكَلِّبٌ أَزَلُّ كَسِرْحانِ القَصِيمَةِ أَغْبَرُ

١٣ أَبُو صِبْيَةٍ شُعْثٍ تُطِيفُ بِشَخْصِهِ

كَوَالِحُ أَمْثَالُ اليَعَاسِيبِ ضُمَّرُ

* * *

١٤ وَتِسْعَةُ آلَافٍ بِحُرِّ بِلَادِهِ تَسَفُّ النَّدَى مَلْبُونَةً وَتُضَمَّرُ

١٥ حَبَاكَ بِهَا مَوْلَاكَ عَنْ ظَهْرِ نَغْضَةٍ

وَقَلَّدَهَا طَوْقَ الحَمَامَةِ جَعْفَرُ

* * *

١٦ وَصَعْبٍ يَزِلُّ الغُفْرُ عَنْ قُذُفَاتِهِ

بِحَافَاتِهِ بَانٌ طِوَالٌ وَعَرْعَرُ

* * *

١٧ أَعُلُّ عَلَى الهِنْدِيِّ مَهْلًا وَكَرَّةً

لَدَى بُرَكٍ حَتَّى تَدُورُ الدَّوَائِرُ

* * *

١٨ فَمَنْ يَكُ مِنْ جَارِ ٱبْنِ ضَبَّاءَ سَاخِرًا

فَقَدْ كَانَ فِي جَارِ ٱبْنِ ضَبَّاءَ مَسْخَرُ

١٩ أَجَارَ فَلَمْ يَمْنَعْ مِنَ القَوْمِ جَارَهُ

وَلَا هُوَ إِذْ خَافَ الضِّيَاعَ مُسَيَّرُ

٢٠ فَأَصْبَحَ كَالشَّقْراءِ لَمْ يَعْدُ شَرُّها
سَنابِكَ رِجْلَيْها وَعِرْضُكَ أَوْفَرُ

٢١ دعا مُعْتَبًا جارَ الثُبُورِ وَغَرَّهُ   أَجَمُّ خَدُورٌ يَتْبَعُ الضَأْنَ حَيْدَرُ

٢٢ جَزِيزُ القَفا شَبْعانُ يَرْبِضُ حَجْرَةً
حَدِيثُ الخِصاءِ وارِمُ العَفْلِ مُعْبَرُ

٢٣ رَضِيعَةُ صَفْحٍ بِالجِباهِ مُلِمَّةٌ   لَها بَلَقٌ فَوْقَ الرُؤُوسِ مُشَهَّرُ

٢٠ وَفِي صَدْرِهِ أَظْمَى كَأَنَّ كُعُوبَهُ
نَوَى القَسْبِ عَرّاصُ المَهَزَّةِ أَزْبَرُ

٢ تَظَلُّ مَقالِيتُ النِساءِ يَطَأْنَهُ   يَقُلْنَ أَلا يُلْقَى على المَرْءِ مِئْزَرُ

* * *

٢ وَكادَتْ عِيابُ الوُدِّ مِنّا ومِنْكُمُ
وَإِنْ قِيلَ أَبْناءُ العُمُومَةِ تَصْفَرُ

XVII. 1. TA. in both places شطّ ; Muḥīṭ, لِلَيْلَى عَلَيَّ بُعْدُ المَزارِ تَذَكُّرُ ; Yāq. 1, 498 as Muḥīṭ but for تَذَكَّرُ and, in 1b, فَمَنُورُ ; Yāq. 4, 672 as text ; Jauh. بعد.—11. 'Umda, تخط ; 'Umda L. يشيرى ; Asās, تُثِيرُ وتُبْدِى . . . وَتَبْشُرُ.—13. Jauh. 1, 81, تطيف . . . كوابح ; Muḥīt, شُمُتُ.—14. Asās تُسَفُّ.—

16. LA. 11, 185, تَزِلُّ الطَّيْرُ ; Anb., Wuh. بِأَرْجائِهِ ; Muhīt, قد كان فى صَعْبٌ.—**17.** Azmina, اعن لى على.—**18.** IKalbī, شَأْنَ بْنِ ضَبَّاءَ مُسْخَنُ.—**19.** MSh. الصَّبَاعَ.—**20.** Am., Am. Par. الشَّبُورِ ; MSh. وَعَرْضُكَ.—**21.** MSh. وافر; Am. Par. فأصبحت ; الحَصَاءِ ; MSh. شَعْبَانُ ; **22.** LA , TA. جَيْدَرُ— Jīm, أَحَمُّ ; أَبْحَرُ.—**23.** LA , TA الرُّؤُس , TA., Jauh. بالجباةِ.—**24.** Asās, عَرَّاصُ المَهَزَّةِ أَسْمَرُ.—**25.** Add. يطلن ; ميزرا.

XVIII

3.4.6. Yāq. 3, 656.—**4.5.** MSh., fol. 63r.—**1.** Yāq. 3, 672.—**2.** LA. 11, 344 ; TA. 5, 365 (b only) ; Mukh. 2, 49 ; 7, 50 ; 15, 70.—**7.** MSh., fol. 59r ; Fār., fol. 96v.—**8.** MSh., fol. 69v.—**9.** MSh., fol. 77v.—**10.** TA. 4, 117. *Ṭawīl.*

لِمَنْ دِمْنَةٌ عادِيَّةٌ لَمْ تُؤَنَّسِ
بِسَقْطِ اللِّوَى مِنَ الكَثِيبِ فَعَسْعَسِ

ذَكَرْتُ بِها سَلْمَى فَبِتُّ كَأَنَّنِى
ذَكَرْتُ حَبِيبًا فاقِدًا تَحْتَ مَرْمَسِ

* * *

كَأَنِّى وَأَقْتادِى عَلَى حَمْشَةِ الشَّوَى
بِحَرْبَةَ أَوْ طاوٍ بِعُسْفانَ مُوجِسِ

٤ تَمَكَّثَ شَيْئاً ثُمَّ أَنْحَى ظُلُوفَهُ

يُثِيرُ التُرابَ عَنْ مَبِيتٍ وَمَكْنِسِ

٥ بِرُجٍّ كَأَصْدافِ الصَناعِ قَرائِنٍ

إثارةَ مِعْطاشِ الخَلِيقَةِ مُخْمِسِ

٦ أَطاعَ له مِنْ جَوِّ عِرْنِيْنَ بارِضٌ

وَنَبْذُ خِصالٍ فِى الخَمائِلِ مُخْلِسِ

٧ وَمَرَّ يُبارِى جانِبَيْهِ كَأَنَّهُ

عَلَى البِيدِ وَالأَشْرافِ عُشْوَةُ مِقْبَسِ

٨ وباتَ عَلَى خَدٍّ أَحَمَّ وَمَنْكِبٍ

وَدَائِرَةٍ مِثْلَ الأَسِيرِ المُكَرْدَسِ

٩ . . . .

سَتَحْدُسُهُ فِى العَيْبِ أَقْرَبَ مَحْدِسِ

١٠ عَلَى مِثْلِها آتِى المَهالِكَ واحِدًا

إذا خامَ عَنْ طُولِ السُرَى كُلُّ أَجْبَسِ

XVIII. 4. MSh. أَنْصَى ظُلُوفَها ; مَكْنَسِ.—7. MSh. غُشْوَةُ مُقْبِسِ.—10. TA. أحبس.

XIX

Muḥīṭ, 1428. *Rajaz.*

١ وَبَلْـدَةٍ لَـيْـسَ بِها أَنِـيسُ ٢ إِلَّا اليَعافِيرُ وإِلَّا العِيسُ

XX

2–4. Ḥay. 6, 112.—**1.** Ṭab. Tafs. 2, 160.—**4.** LA. 20, 304; TA. 10, 419; Alūsī, 3, 105; ṮKanz, fol. 70r. *Ṭawīl.*

١ فَقُلْتُ لَها رُدِّي إِلَيْهِ جَنانَـهُ فَرَدَّتْ كَما رَدَّ المُبِيحُ المُـفِيضُ

٢ تَدارَكَ لَحْمِي بَعْدَما حَلَّقَتْ بِهِ مَعَ النَسْرِ فَتْخاءُ الجَناحِ قَبُوضُ

٣ فَإِنْ تَجْعَلِ النَعْماءَ مِنْكَ تَمامَهُ وَنُعْماكَ نُعْمَى لا تَزالُ تُفِيضُ

٤ تَـكُنْ لَكَ فِي قَوْمِي يَدٌ يَشْكُرُونَها

وَأَيْدِي النَدَى فى الصالِحِينَ قُرُوضُ

XX. **4.** Ḥay., Alūsī, فروض; ṮKanz, Alūsī, يكن; ṮKanz, يشكونها.

XXI

Itqān, 1, 137. *Basīṭ.*

١ لامانِـعًـا لِلْيَتِـيمِ نَحلَـتَـهُ وَلا مُـكِبًّـا لِخَلْقِـهِ هَلِعَـا

XXII

Maidānī, 1, 85. *Rajaz.*

١ أَنْتَ الَّذِي تَصنَعُ ما لَمْ يُصْنَـعِ

٢ أَنْتَ حَطَطتَّ مِنْ ذُرا مُقَنَّعٍ

٣ كُلَّ شَبُوبٍ لَهَقٍ مُوَلَّعِ

XXII. 2. Maidānī, درا.

XXIII

1. Yāq. 4, 362; Bakrī, 495; TA. 5, 502.—2. LA. 9, 497. *Wāfir*.

١ عفَا رَسْمٌ بِرامَةَ فالتِلاعِ فَكُثْبانِ الحَفِيرِ إلى لُقاءِ

٢ تَحَمَّلَ أَهْلُها مِنْها فَبانُوا فَأَبْكَتْنِي مَنازِلُ لِلرُّواءِ

XXIII. 1. TA. الجفير الى القاع.

XXIV

1.2. LA. 14, 351; Jauh. 2, 268.—**6-8.** Ḥay. 6, 87.—**11-14.** IShaj. Ḥam. 103.—**2.** TA. 8, 221; Muḥīṭ, 214.—**3.** LA. 10, 253; TA. 5, 559.—**4.** LA. 12, 280; TA. 7, 109.—**5.** Asās, 2, 27.—**9.** LA. 17, 324; TA. 9, 365.—**10.** Bayān, 2, 60; Ḥay. 5, 90. *Ṭawīl*.

١ فَكَلَّفْتُ ما عِنْدِي وإنْ كُنْتُ عامِداً مِنَ الوَجْدِ كَالثَكْلانِ بَلْ أَنا أَوْجَعُ

٢ أُمُونًا كَدُكَّانِ العِبادِيِّ فَوْقَها سَنامٌ كَجُثْمانِ البَنِيَّةِ أَتْلَعُ

* * *

٣ قَطَعْتُ إلى مَعْرُوفِها مُنْكَراتِها بِعَيْهَمَةٍ تَنْسَلُّ والليْلُ هاكِعُ

٤ تَرَاها إذاما الآلُ خَبَّ كَأنّها فَرِيدٌ بِذِي بُرْكانِ طاوٍ مُلَمَّعُ

* * *

٥ تَمَشّى بِها الثِيرانُ تَرْدِي كَأَنَّها
دَهاقِينُ أَنْباطٍ عَلَيْها الصَوامِعُ

٦ فَجَاءَها من أَقْرَبِ الرِيِّ غَدْوَةً
وَلَمّا يُسَكِّنْهُ مِنَ الأَرضِ مَرْتَعُ

٧ بِأَكْلُبَةٍ زُرْقٍ ضَوارٍ كَأَنَّها
خَطاطِيفُ من طُولِ الشَرِيعَةِ تَلْمَعُ

٨ فَجالَ على نَفْرٍ كَما انْقَضَّ كَوْكَبٌ
وَقَدْ حَالَ دُونَ النَقْعِ والنَقْعُ يَسْطَعُ

* * *

٩ لَعَمْرُكَ لَوْ كانَتْ زِنادُكَ هُجْنَةً
لَأَوْرَيْتَ إِنْ خَدِّى لِخَدِّكَ ضارِعُ

* * *

١٠ عَبِيدُ العَصا لَمْ يَتَّقُوكَ بِذِمَّةٍ
سِوَى سَبِّ شِعْرِي إِنَّ سَبَّكَ واسِعُ

* * *

١١ تَدارَكَنِى أَوْسُ بْنُ سُعْدَى بِنِعْمَةٍ
وَعَرَّدَ مَنْ تُخْفِى إِلَيْهِ الأَصابِعُ

١٢ فَتًى مِنْ بَنِى لَأْيٍ أَغَرُّ كَأَنَّهُ
شِهابٌ بَدا فِى ظُلْمَةِ اللَيْلِ ساطِعُ

١٣ وَمُسْتَسْلِمٍ بَيْنَ الرِماحِ أَجَبْتَهُ فَأَنْقَذْتَهُ والسُمْرُ فِيهِ شَوارِعُ

١٤ بِطَعْنَةِ شَزْرٍ أَوْ بِضَرْبَةِ فَيْصَلٍ
إِذا لَمْ يَكُنْ لِلْمَوْتِ فى القَوْمِ دافِعُ

XXIV. **2.** LA. (variant), TA., Muḥīṭ, أَتْلَعا . . . أَمُونٌ.—

10. Bayān, سوى شيب سعد ان شيبك واسع.

XXV

1-3. La'ālī, 567.—**1.2.** Yāq. 3, 257.—**4-7.** Yāq. 2, 351.—**6.8.9.** Yāq. 2, 533.—**9.13.** Bakrī, 336.—**10-12.** La'ālī, 222.—**13.14.** Azmina, 2, 240.—**15.16.** Jīm, 114r.—**18.19.** MSh., fol. 146v.—**1.** LA. 19, 148; TA. 10, 193; Bakrī, 799.—**2.** Asās, 2, 296.—**6.** Asās, 2, 426.—**9.** LA. 2, 377; 10, 98; TA. 5, 435; Mukh. 12, 49.—**10.** LA. 6, 340; 9, 370; TA. 5, 279; Jauh. 1, 379; Fā'iq, 1, 322.—**13.** Yāq. 3, 751.—**16.** TA. 5, 414; Bukh. 256.—**17.** Asās, 2, 423. *Wāfir.*

١ أَلا ظَعَنَ الخَلِيطُ غَداةَ رِيعُوا بِشَبْوَةَ والمَطِىُّ بِها خُضُوعُ

٢ أَجَدُّوا البَيْنَ فَاحْتَمَلُوا سِراعًا فَما بالدارِ إِذْ رَحَلُوا كَتِيعُ

٣ كَأَنَّ حُدُوجَهُمْ لَمَّا ٱسْتَقَلُّوا بِبَطْنِ الوادِيَيْنِ دَمٌ نَجِيعُ

٤ لَعَمْرُكَ ما طِلابُكَ أُمَّ عَمْرٍو وَلا ذِكْراكَها إلّا وُلُوعُ

٥ أَلَيْسَ طِلابُ ما قَدْ فاتَ جَهْلاً وَذِكْرُ المَرْءِ ما لا يَسْتَطِيعُ

٦ أَجِدَّكَ ما تَزالُ تَحِنُّ هَمًّا وصَحْبِى بين أَرْحُلِهِمْ هُجُوعُ

٧ وَسَائِدُهُمْ مَرافِقُ يَعْمَلاتٍ عَلَيْها دُونَ أَرْجُلِهِمْ قُطُوعُ

٨ فهَلْ تَقْضِى لُباناتِها إلَيْنا بِحَيْثُ أَنْتابَنا مِنّا سَرِيعُ

٩ سَمِعْتُ بِدارَةِ القَلْتَيْنِ صَوْتًا لِحَنْتَمَةَ الفُؤَادُ بِهِ مَضُوعُ

١٠ فَمَدِّ طِلابَها وَتَعَدَّ عَنْها بِحَرْفٍ قَدْ تُغِيرُ إذا تَبُوعُ

١١ عُذافِرَةٍ تَخَيَّلُ فى سُراها لَها قَمَعٌ وطَلّاعٌ رَفِيعُ

١٢ كَأَنَّ الرَحْلَ مِنْها فَوْقَ جَأْبٍ
شَنُونٍ حِينَ يَقْرَعُها القَطِيعُ

١٣ وَقَدْ جاوَزْتُ من عَيْدانَ أَرْضًا لِأَبْوالِ البِغالِ بِها وَقِيعُ

١٤ يَطَأْنَ بِها فُرُوثَ مُقَصَّراتٍ بَقَايَاهَا الجَماجِمُ والضُلُوعُ

١٥ وَشُعْثٍ قَدْ هَدَيْتُ بِمُدْلَهِمٍّ فى المَوْماتِ لَيْسَ بِهِ كَتِيعُ

١٦ تَرَى وَدَكَ السَدِيفِ عَلَى لِحاهُمْ
كَلَوْنِ الراذِ لَبَّدَهُ الصَقِيعُ

* * *

١٧ إذاما الحَرْبُ أَبْدَتْ ناجِذَيْها غَداةَ الرَّوْعِ وَٱلْتَقَتِ الجُمُوعُ

١٨ سَمَوْنا بالنِسارِ بِذِي ذُرُوءٍ عَلَى أَرْكانِهِ شَذَبٌ مَنِيعُ

١٩ إذاما قُلْتَ أَقْصَرَ أَوْ تَنَاهَى بِهِ الأَضْواءُ لَجَّ بِهِ الطُلُوعُ

XXV. 1. Bakrī, بنا.—2. Yāq. أَجَدَّ; La'ālī, واحتملوا.—4. Yāq. وُلُوعُ.—6. Yāq. 2, 533, أَلَمَّ خِيالُها بِلِوَى حُبَيٍّ; Yāq. 2, 351, ارجلهم; أَجِدَّكَ following Yāq. 5, 163; Asās reads the verse أجدَّك ما تزال نجيَّ همٍّ تبيت الليلَ أنت له ضجيعُ.—7. *a* according to Wüstenfeld's emendation, 5, 163; Yāq. القطوع.—10. TA. فدع هذا وسل النفس عنها; Fā'iq, وتعز عنها.—13. Bakrī, جاوزن; Azmina, فَقَدْ جاوَزْنَ مِنْ غُمْدانَ.—16. TA., Jīm, الراء.—19. MSh. أَقْصِرْ.

XXVI [1]

Yāq. 1, 236; Aṣnām, 29. *Wāfir*.

١ عَلَيْهِ الطَيْرُ ما يَدْنُونَ مِنْهُ مُقاماتِ العَوارِكِ مِنْ إسافِ

[1] Possibly belonging to the poem Mukht. 75 sqq.

XXVII

2.3. MSh., fol. 47r.—**7.8.** Agh. 15, 87; Sīb. Der. 1, 189; Olinder, 49; MFO. 1, 288.—**1.** Bakrī, 180.—**4.** Bakrī, 234.—**5.** TA. 6, 141.—**6.** Jīm, 66r.—**7.** LA. 11, 30; TA. 6, 124.—**9.** LA. 11, 271; TA. 6, 266; Asās, 2, 499; Jauh. 2, 499; Fā'iq, 2, 303. *Kāmil.*

١ فَجِمادُ ذِي بَهْدَى فَجَوُّ ظُلامَةٍ   عُرِّينَ لَيْسَ بِهِنَّ عَيْنٌ تَطْرِفُ

٢ إِلّا الجآذِرَ تَمْتَرِى بِأُنُوفِها   عُوذًا إِذا تَلَعَ النَّهارُ تَعَطَّفُ

٣ حُمَّ القَوادِمِ يَعْرُ ضُرُوعَها
حَلَبُ الأَكُفِّ لَها قَرارٌ مُؤْنِفُ

٤ فَكَأَنَّ أَطْلالاً وَباقِيَ دِمْنَةٍ   بِجُدُودَ أَلْواحٌ عَلَيها الزُّخْرُفُ

*   *   *

٥ يَبْرِى لَها ضَرْبُ المُشاشِ مُصَلَّمٌ
صَعْلٌ هِبَلٌّ ذُو مَناسِمَ أَسْقَفُ

٦ أَكَّالُ تَنُّومِ البِقاعِ كَأَنَّهُ   حَبَشِيُّ حازِقَةٍ عَلَيْهِ القَرْطَفُ

٧ فَإِلَى ابْنِ أُمِّ إِياسٍ أُعْمِلُ ناقَتِي
عَمْرٍو فَتَنْجَحُ حاجَتِي أَوْ تَزْجَفُ

٨ مَلِكٍ إِذا نَزَلَ الوُفُودُ بِبابِهِ   عَرَفُوا غَوارِبَ مُزْبِدٍ ما يُنْزَفُ

٩ يُعْطِي النَّجائِبَ بِالرِّحالِ كَأَنَّها   بَقَرُ الصَّرائِمِ والجِيادَ تَوَذَّفُ

XXVII. **7.** Agh., LA., TA. قال ; Sīb. Der. أناس ; LA., TA., Sīb. Der. تزحف ; LA. عمر; Olinder, أعمل.—**8.** Agh. . . . ملك ينزف ; Sīb. Der. لا تنزف . . . عوارف.

XXVIII

1-3. Yāq. 4, 895.—**1.2.** Yāq. 2, 724.—**4.5.** Muḥibbī, 295.—**7-10.** MSh., fol. 146v f.—**3.** LA. 2, 305; TA. 1, 509; Yāq. 2, 260.724; Bakrī, 848.—**4.** Howell, 1, 298.—**6.** LA. 7, 318; TA. 4, 105.—**7.** LA. 11, 41; TA. 6, 132; Yāq. 3, 289. *Basīṭ.*

١ أَيَّ المَنازِلِ بَعْدَ الحَيِّ تَعْتَرِفُ
أَمْ هَلْ صِبَاكَ وَقَدْ حُكِّمْتَ مُطَّرَفُ

٢ أَمْ ما بُكاؤُكَ فى أَرْضٍ عَهِدتَّ بِها
عَهْدًا فَأَخْلَفَ أَمْ فى أَيِّها تَقِفُ

٣ كَأَنَّها بَعْدَ عَهْدِ العاهِدِينَ بِها
بَيْنَ الذَنُوبِ وَحَزْمَىْ واهِبٍ صُحُفُ

٤ أَضْحَتْ خَلاءً قِفاراً لا أَنِيسَ بِها
إِلَّا الجَآذِرَ والظِلْمانَ تَخْتَلِفُ

٥ وَقَفْتُ بِها قَلُوصِى كَىْ تُجاوِبَنِى
أَوْ يُخْبِرَ الرَسْمُ عَنْهُمْ أَيَّةَ صَرَفُوا

٦ فَأَصْبَحُوا بَعْدَ نُعْمَاهُم بِمَبْأَسَةٍ
وَالدَّهْرُ يَخْدَعُ أَحْيَانًا فَيَنْصَرِفُ

* * *

٧ سائِلْ نُمَيْرًا غَدَاةَ النَعْفِ مِنْ شَطِبٍ
إِذْ فُضَّتِ الخَيْلُ من ثَهْلانَ ما ٱزْدَهَفُوا

٨ لَمَّا رَأَيْتُمْ رِماحَ القَوْمِ حَطَّ بِكُمْ
إِلَى مَرَابِطِها المُقْوَرَّةُ الخُنُفُ

٩ إِذْ تَتَّقِي بِبَنِي بَدْرٍ وَأَرْدَفَهُمْ   فَوْقَ العَمَايَةِ مِنَّا عائِذٌ عَكِفُ

١٠ تَبْكِي لَهُمْ أَعْيُنٌ مِنْ شَجْوِ غَيْرِهِمْ
وَإِنْ يَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ باكٍ فَقَدْ لَهِفُوا

XXVIII. **2.** بكاءك following Yāq. 5, 484, against يَكادُكَ of the text; ibid. دارِ instead of ارض.—**3.** TA. مرّ.—**4.** Muhibbī, إِلّا الجَوَازِئَ.—**7.** Yāq. 3, 289, اذ رهفوا; id., 5, 269, records the reading او for اذ.

XXIX

9.10. 'Ainī, 2, 272; Khiz. 4, 316; Alūsī, 3, 15.—**1.** Khiz. 4, 316.—**2.** LA. 12, 72; TA. 6, 410.—**3.** LA. 9, 340; 12, 259; TA. 5, 262; 7, 88; Jauh. 1, 573.—**4.** Asās, 2, 237.535; MSh., fol. 91v; Anb. 39 (anon.).—**5.** Bakrī, 842.—**6.** Anb. 293, 10.—**7.** LA. 11, 410; 17, 124; Jauh. 2, 85; Lane, 1126;

Mukh. 13, 129; Jīm, 114v; Khiz. 4, 316; Ḥay. 1, 172; MFO. 1, 289, n. 1.—**8.** Khiz. 4, 316.—**9.** Sīb. Jahn. i, 2.291, n. 1.—**10.** Khiz. 4, 315.318; Sīb. Der. 1, 250; Howell, 2, 408.—**11.** LA. 3, 249; Jauh. 1, 172; MFO. 1, 289, n. 2.—**12.** Fār., fol. 96v. *Wāfir.*

١ أَهَمَّتْ منكَ سَلْمى بِانْطِلاقِ وَلَيْسَ وِصالُ غانِيَةٍ بِباقِ

* * *

٢ مُذَكَّرَةٌ كَأَنَّ الرَحْلَ مِنْها عَلَى ذِي عانَةٍ وافِى الصِفاقِ

٣ أَلَظَّ بِهِنَّ يَحْدُوهُنَّ حَتَّى تَبَيَّنَتِ الحِيالُ مِنَ الوِساقِ

* * *

٤ إذاما شِئْتُ نالَكَ هاجِراتِى وَلَمْ يُعْمَلْ إِلَيْكَ بِهِنَّ ساقِ

٥ قَوافٍ عُرَّمٌ لَنْ يَسْبِقُوها وَإِنْ حَلُّوا بِسَلْمَى فَالوِراقِ

٦ أُجَهِّزُها وَيَحْمِلُها إِلَيْكُمْ ذَوُو الحاجاتِ والقُلُصُ المَناقِى

٧ فَإِنَّكَ والشَكاةَ مِنْ آلِ لَأْمٍ

كَذاتِ الضِغْنِ تَمْشِى فى الرِفاقِ

٨ وَسَوْفَ أَخُصُّ بِالكَلِماتِ أَوْساً

فَيَلْقاهُ بِما قَدْ قُلْتُ لاقِ

* * *

٩ إذا جُزَّتْ نَواصِى آلِ بَدْرٍ فَأَدُّوها وأَسْرَى فى الوِثاقِ

١٠ وَإِلّا فَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّا وَأَنْتُمْ بُغاةٌ ما بَقِينا فى شِقاقِ

* * *

١١ وَمِلْنا بِالجِفَارِ إلى تَمِيمٍ عَلَى شُعْثٍ مُجَلِّحَةٍ عِتَاقِ

١٢ وَنَحْنُ أُلَى ضَرَبْنا رَأْسَ حُجْرٍ بِأَسْيافٍ مُهَنَّدَةٍ دِقاقِ.

XXIX. 1. Khiz. سملى.—4. Asās, 2, 535, تَعْمَلْ ; Asās, 2, 237, reads the verse

اذاما شئت جاءكَ مُقْذِعاتٌ وَلم تعمل بهنّ اليك ساقى

Anb. has *a* as text and *b* as Asās, 2, 237.—6. Anb. has in addition the reading مَشاقى.—7. Khiz., Lane, فإنّى ; Ḥay., Lane, لآلِ.—9. Khiz. فإذْ ; Alūsī, وإذْ.

XXX

Agh. 16, 98 ; MFO. 1, 285, n. 5. *Rajaz.*

١ ما إنْ رَأَيْتُ كَابْنِ سَعْدٍ رَجُلَا

٢ فى النَّاسِ أَنْدَى رَاحَةً وَأَكْمَلَا

٣ فَتًى إذاما قالَ شَيْئًا فَعَلَا

XXXI

'Ainī, 3, 560 ; Howell, 1, 1628. *Ṭawīl.*

١ اذا فاقِدٌ خَطْباءُ فَرْخَيْنِ رَجَّعَتْ ذَكَرْتُ سُلَيْمَى فى الخَلِيطِ المُزايِلِ

XXXI. 1. 'Ainī, too, presents the reading المُبايِنِ instead of المزايل.

XXXII[1]

TA. 7, 203. *Kāmil.*

١ فَشِرَاجُ رِيمَةَ قَدْ تَقَادَمَ عَهْدُهَا بِالسَّفْحِ بَيْنَ أُثَيِّلَ فَبَعَالِ

XXXII. 1. TA. دمة ; فيعال.

XXXIII

3.4. DM. 1, 139.—1. MSh., vol. 1, fol. 344.—2. LA. 4, 364; 12, 87; TA. 6, 419.—5. Asās, 2, 149. *Wāfir.*

١ تَجُرُّ نِعَالَهَا وَلَهَا نَفِيٌّ نَفِيُّ الْحَبِّ تَطْحَرُهُ الْمِلَالُ

٢ تَرَى الطَّرَقَ الْمُعَبَّدَ فِي يَدَيْهَا لِكَذَّانِ الْإِكَامِ بِهِ ٱنْتِضَالُ

* * *

٣ وَمُنْتَظِرٌ سُؤَالَكَ بِالْعَطَايَا وَأَفْضَلُ مَنْ عَطَايَاهُ السُّؤَالُ

٤ إِذَا لَمْ يَأْتِكَ الْمَعْرُوفُ طَوْعًا فَدَعْهُ فَالتَّنَزُّهُ عَنْهُ مَالُ

* * *

٥ وَلَوْ جَارَاكَ أَخْضَرُ مُتْلَئِبٌّ قُرَى نَبَطِ الْعِرَاقِ لَهُ عِيَالُ

XXXIV

'Iqd, 1, 319 sq. *Basīṭ.*

١ وَلَّى الشَّبَابُ فَخَلَّى الدَّمْعَ يَنْهَمِلُ
فَقْدُ الشَّبَابِ بِفَقْدِ الرُّوحِ مُتَّصِلُ

٢ لَا تَكْذِبَنَّ فَمَا الدُّنْيَا بِأَجْمَعِهَا مِنَ الشَّبَابِ بِيَوْمٍ وَاحِدٍ بَدَلُ

[1] Yāq. 1, 121, ascribes the verse to Kuthayyir 'Azza and it appears in Pérès' edition of Kuthayyir's poems as 118, 2.

XXXV

Mukht. 73. *Rajaz.*

١ أَما تَرَى الطَيْرَ إلى جَنْبِ النِعَمْ

٢ والعَيْرُ وَالِعانَةُ فى وادِى سَلَمْ

٣ سَلامَةٌ وَنِعْمَةٌ مِنَ النِعَمْ

XXXVI

Muḍāhāt, fol. 37v. *Ṭawīl.*

صَفَحْتَ وَأَهْلاً لِيَوْمٍ واحِدٍ قَبلُ قُمْتُهُ
عَنِ الدَهرِ مِنِّى كانَ دَمًا مُحَرَّما

فَكُنْتَ وَأَهْلاً لِلْجَمِيلِ وَلَمْ تزَلْ
مِنَ الحاقِدِ المُبْغِضِ أَوْفَى وَأَكْرَما

XXXVI. The reading of these two verses is highly problematical as the manuscript shows no diacritical marks. For the emendation of محرما and المعص I am indebted to Professor Krenkow.

XXXVII[1]

1. LA. 1, 334; TA. 1, 229.—2. LA. 1, 344. *Ṭawīl.*

. . . . عَلَى خَدِبِ الأَنْيابِ لَمْ يَتَثَلَّمِ

كَأَنَّ عَلَى أَنْسائِها عِذْقَ خَصْبَةٍ
تَدَلَّى مِنَ الكافُورِ غَيْرَ مُكَمَّمِ

[1] Verse 2 is also ascribed to al-Mutalammis. Cf. Vollers' edition, 38, 3.

XXXVIII

Shar. 2, 98. *Wāfir.*

١ فَبَاتَتْ لَيْلَةً وَأَدِيمَ يَوْمٍ عَلَى البُهْمَى يُجَزِّلُهَا الثَّغَامَا

XXXIX [1]

LA. 15, 79.259; TA. 8, 282.379; Anb. 802; Bakrī, 315; MSh., fol. 146ᵛ; MFO. 1, 297. *Mutaqārib.*

١ نَعَامًا بِخَطْمَةَ صُعْرَ الخُدُو دِ لا تَطْعَمُ المَاءَ إِلَّا صِيَامَا

XXXIX. LA., TA. لا تَرِدُ; Anb. قِيامًا.

XL [2]

Yāq. 3, 113. *Ṭawīl.*

١ تُداعِينَ بِاسْمِ الشَّيْبِ فى مُتَثَلِّمٍ
جَوانِبُهُ مِنْ بَصْرَةٍ وَسَلامِ

XLI

1.2. MM. 180; MFO. 1, 295, n. 4.—**3.** LA. 17, 403; TA. 9, 395; MFO. 1, 296. *Wāfir.*

١ أَتُوعِدُنِى بِقَوْمِكَ يا ابْنَ سُعْدَى
وَما بَيْنِى وبَيْنَكَ مِنْ زِمامِ.

٢ مَتَى ما أَدْعُ فى أَسَدٍ تُجِبْنِى عَلَى خَيْلٍ مُسَوَّمَةٍ صِيامِ

* * *

[1] This verse represents the conclusion of the poem Mukht. 69 sqq.

[2] This verse is also ascribed to Dhū'r-Rumma. Cf. Macartney's edition, 78, 46, where another reading has been adopted. (K.)

٣ وَأَفْلَتَ حاجِبٌ تَحْتَ العَوالِى عَلَى شَوْهاءَ تَجْمَعُ فى اللِجامِ

XLI. 3. Cf. iii, 5.

XLII

'Iqd, 1, 105 sq., 243; Mustaṭraf, 1, 153. *Wāfir.*

١ وَقالُوا لَوْ مدَحْتَ فَتًى كَرِيمًا فَقُلْتُ وَكَيْفَ لِى بِفَتًى كَرِيمِ

٢ بَلَوْتُ وَمَرَّ بِى خَمْسُونَ حَوْلاً وَحَسْبُكَ بالمُجَرَّبِ مِنْ عَلِيمِ

٣ فَلا أَحَدٌ يُعِدُّ لِيَوْمِ حَوْلٍ وَلا أَحَدٌ يَعُودُ على عَدِيمِ

XLII. 2. 'Iqd, 1, 243, بليت.—3. 'Iqd, خول.

XLIII

'Iqd, 1, 388 sq. *Ṭawīl.*

١ ومُنْتَظِرٍ لِلْمَوْتِ فى كُلِّ ساعَةٍ يَشِيدُ وَيَبْنِى دائِبًا وَيُحَصِّنُ

٢ لَهُ حِينَ تَبْلُوهُ حَقِيقَةُ مُوقِنٍ وَأَفْعالُهُ أَفْعالُ مَنْ لَيْسَ يُوقِنُ

٣ عِيانٌ كَإِنْكارٍ وَكَالجَهْلِ عِلْمُهُ يَشُكُّ بِهِ فى كُلِّ ما يَتَيَقَّنُ

XLIII. 1. 'Iqd, بشيد.

XLIV

MSh., fol. 106r. *Ṭawīl.*

١ وَبالأُدْمِ يَنْظُرْنَ العَلِيلَ . . . .

Early References to Music in the Western Sūdān

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

(PLATE XI)

"The inhabitants . . . spend a great part of the night in singing and dancing through all the streets of the city."

LEO AFRICANUS (fifteenth century).

A GLANCE at the recently published *African Native Music: An Annotated Bibliography* (London, 1936), will reveal the fact that early references to the music of negro and negroid peoples are rare. Indeed, in this very useful bibliography no work earlier than the seventeenth century is quoted. The truth is that many early references have been neglected.[1] It may be admitted that these neglected references occur in Arabic works, but most of these have been translated into European languages, so that they are available to the general musicographer.

In one region in particular, the Western Sūdān, the omissions are flagrant because of the cultural importance of this territory. Owing to the influence of Islām, the Western Sūdān, often called the land of the Sunghai, possessed a culture far in advance of neighbouring negro regions. Indeed the testimony of Al-Bakrī (d. 1094), Al-Idrīsī (d. 1154), Al-ʿUmarī (d. 1348), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1352), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406), and Leo Africanus (late fifteenth century), show quite clearly that the Western Sūdān was holding aloft a torch of cultural light to negro peoples in what was otherwise a "Dark Continent".

[1] The author, D. H. Varley, appears to be unacquainted with my contributions to the *Encyclopædia of Islām* and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, especially an article in the latter entitled "A North African Folk Instrument" (*JRAS.*, 1928), and reprinted in my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, ser. i (1931). An earlier article on the subject, from my pen, appeared in the *Musical Standard* (November, 1924), entitled "The Arab Influence on Music in the Western Soudan."

§ 1

One of the founders of the Sunghai people is claimed to have constructed, or perhaps invented, a tambourine (*duff*),[1] whilst the geographer Al-Bakrī (d. 1094) says that the name of the famous Sunghai town Gau-gau or Gā'ū was of onomotopoetic origin, it being due to the fact that the drums of the people of this town made this sound.[2] This same writer informs us that when the ruler of Gau-gau sat at table the drum (*ṭabl*) was sounded.[3] He also records that audience with the Sunghai ruler at Ghāna was announced by the sound of drum (*ṭabl*), the particular instrument being called the *dabdaba*, at the sound of which the "whole world assembled".[4] The unpointed text of Quatremère has دبى for this latter instrument, which De Slane turns into دَبَى (*dabā*).[5] It is highly probable, however, that دبدب (*dabdab*) or دبدبة (*dabdaba*) is intended. This is the name of a drum of the negroes mentioned by al-Shaqundī, Ibn Khaldūn, and by several modern writers.[6]

Al-Shaqundī (d. 1231), the oft quoted historian of the Arabs of Spain, tells us that Seville was famed as a centre for the manufacture of instruments of music, and it would appear that it had an export trade, supplying even the Sūdān with such instruments as the recorder (*yarā'*), the large horn (*abū qurūn*), and the drum (*dabdaba*).[7]

[1] *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh* (*Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, ser. v, vol. 9, Paris, 1913), p. 30. Wrongly called a *tambour* by the translator.

[2] *Notices et Extraits*, xii, 656.

[3] Ibid., loc. cit.

[4] Ibid., xii, 644.

[5] *Kitāb al-masālik*, Algiers, 1857. See translation in *Journal Asiatique*, ser. v, tome 13, p. 508.

[6] One of these, G. F. Lyon, *Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa* . . ., London, 1820, p. 234, calls the instrument the *dubdaba* although his Arabic text has طبطبة.

[7] *Analectes sur l'histoire at la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden, 1855–1861, ii, p. 143.

Al-Shaqundī's work has not been spared the hand of time, but it is quoted freely by Al-Maqqarī (d. 1632), whose *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* has been partly translated by Pascual de Gayangos under the title of *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* (London, 1840–3). In this latter work, the first named instrument, the recorder, is named the *barā*,[1] but the authoritative text of Dozy and his assessors has *yarā'*,[2] which is, obviously, the correct form, although *yarā* (without the *'ain*) appears to have had acceptance in the West.[3]

Dr. Curt Sachs, the author of the *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente* (Berlin, 1913), says that the *abū qurūn* was " eine altarabische Trommel ",[4] but there is not the slightest authority for this statement. The words mean literally the " father of horns ", and such a typical Arabic expression immediately suggests a huge horn of elephant's tusk, such as has been used by the people of the Western Sūdān for centuries.

In the fourteenth century, Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī (d. 1348) speaks of the royal entourage of the ruler of Mālli being preceded by drums (*ṭabl*), pandores (*gunībrī*), and horns (*būq*)[5] very artistically made of animal horns. Like Al-Bakrī, this author tells us that the drum heralded the royal audience.[6]

The same century took the intrepid Arab traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to North Africa. He journeyed first of all to the Eastern Sūdān from Aden, visiting its chief town, Maqdashaw. Here he saw a royal procession headed by a military band of drums (*ṭabl*), horns (*būq*), and trumpets (*nafīr*). At the sulṭān's palace he listened to the royal military band (*ṭabl khāna*), the bandsmen of which played on the instruments

[1] Op. cit., i, 59, 366.

[2] *Analectes*, as cited.

[3] *Vocabulista in Arabico*, ed. C. Schiaparelli, Florence, 1871, pp. 216, 392.

[4] *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, p. 2, sub " abu karun ".

[5] The singular is used for the instruments rather than confuse non-Orientalists with the dual or plural forms.

[6] *Masālik al-abṣār*, by Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī, translated into French by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris, 1927, pp. 65, 69.

mentioned above with the addition of oboes or reed-pipes (*surnāy*). During the performance of this band "nobody stirred or moved".[1] The custom of observing silence during the playing of the *nauba* or military band *suite de pièces* was doubtless borrowed from Egypt.[2]

Whether the *surnāy* mentioned above was an oboe or a reed-pipe is not easy to determine. As explained more than once in these pages,[3] the oboe has a conical tube whilst that of the reed-pipe is cylindrical, an important acoustical difference which cannot be discussed here. The *surnāy* in the Near and Middle East has ever been an oboe. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa himself, in describing the military band of the Īlkhān Abū Sa'īd (d. 1355) at Baghdād, says that it included the *surnāy* among the instruments, and he explains that it was similar to the instrument known in the Maghrib as the *ghaiṭa*.[4] Unfortunately, this identification is of little value since the term *ghaiṭa* is applied in the Maghrib indifferently to both the oboe and reed-pipe. At the same time it seems highly probable that the *surnāy* which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa heard at Maqdashaw was a reed-pipe.

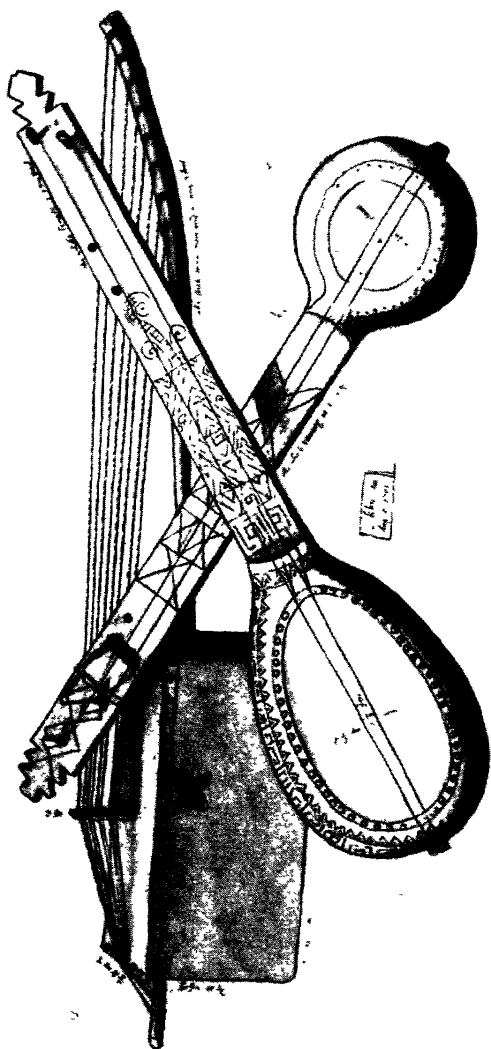
In 1352–3 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa travelled, via Morocco, to the Western Sūdān, visiting Mālli, the capital of the Mandingo empire, as well as Timbuktu and other towns. At Mālli he heard the military band of the sulṭān, Sulaimān Kaita, which consisted of drums and horns. The military chiefs also had this music, the horns being made of the tusks of elephants.

The author also gives some information about the chamber music which he heard at Mālli. When the sulṭān gave audience he was attended by singers (*mughannūn*) who accompanied themselves on pandores (*gunībrī*) which were

[1] *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, Paris, 1853–8, ii, 108.

[2] See my article "Ṭabl Khāna" in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, Suppl. vol., p. 217.

[3] *JRAS.*, 1936, p. 24. Strictly speaking a reed-pipe is a wind instrument played by means of a reed, but I have defined the instrument with a cylindrical bore a reed-pipe and that with a conical bore an oboe.

[4] *Voyages*, ii, 126.

(By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum)

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS FROM WESTERN SŪDĀN.

[To face p. 572.

ornamented with gold and silver.[1] Another instrument which he saw was made of reeds (*qaṣab*) and gourds (*qara'*), and was played by means of a beating rod (*saṭṭā'a*).[2] Such an instrument could very well be identified as the xylophone, called by the Mandingo people the *bala* or *balak*,[3] although if we may suppose that *qaṣab* قصب is a copyist's error for *quḍub* قضب meaning "bars of wood", the description would be clearer. On the other hand, the instrument described may be the *rabāb* or viol, because the passage may refer to a gut string (*quṣb*) and a gourd (*qar'*) played with a bow (*saṭṭā'a*), the latter term, like *miḍrāb*, being used, possibly, for any implement which made the string of a musical instrument sound. There would be nothing incongruous in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's "gut and gourd" definition of the *rabāb* or viol, since the old English traveller Thomas Shaw calls it the "bladder and string".[4]

Under the Sunghai rulers instruments were in demand for almost every phase of social life. We read of the drum (*ṭabl*) being used by a messenger in making announcements under the great Sunghai ruler Shī 'Alī (1468–1492),[5] whilst under his successor, Muḥammad Tura (1493–1528), it is mentioned as a means of assembling troops.[6] During this period the instruments of the people were the tambourine (*duff*)[7] and the flute or reed-pipe (*mizmār*).[8] About the year 1500–1, the cavalry of the Sunghai adopted a large horn called *kakaki*.[9]

The next ruler, the *askia* Mūsā (1528–1531) employed a

[1] *Voyages*, iv, 403–6. The translators give the singular as *gunbarā*, but see my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, 39 seq.

[2] The translators read *saṭṭā'a* as a plural. In the eleventh century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (Berlin, 1900), *saṭṭā'a* equates with *plectrum*. Cf. *Archives Marocaines*, viii, 189.

[3] Curt Sachs, as cited, and *Anthropos*, i, 689.

[4] *Pinkerton's Voyages* (1808–1814), xv, 643.

[5] *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh*, 49.

[6] Ibid., 54–6.

[7] The translator writes *tambour*.

[8] *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh*, 56.

[9] Ibid., 70.

"Royal Singer" who sang before the royal cavalcade, probably a borrowing from the Arab custom, as described by Ibn Khaldūn, where the *manshīd* rode at the head of the contingents.[1]

In the days of the *askia* Muḥammad Bunkan (1531–8) another horn called the *futurifa* was adopted. It had been invented by this *askia*, as was also a species of drum known as the *gabtanda*. Both of these instruments were popular with the people of Gā'ū, but only the former was used at Agades.[2] The custom of having the music of tambourines (*duff*) during the royal travels appears to have been introduced by this ruler. At his court all sorts of instruments of music (*ālāt al-ṭarab*) were in evidence as well as singing-boys and singing-girls.[3]

Under *askia* Dā'ūd (1549–1583) we again read of tambourines during the royal travels,[4] whilst under his successor, the *askia* Al-Ḥājj (1583–6), we read of wind instrumentalists (*zammārūn*) at court, who would play either the flute or reed-pipe.[5] Mention is made of the royal drum (*ṭabl al-sulṭāna*) of *askia* Isḥāq II (1588–1591) and of his fourteen female wind-instrumentalists (*zāmirāt*).[6]

In the year 1591 the sultān of Morocco conquered the greater part of the Western Sūdān and a *pāshā* was appointed governor. From this date we read but rarely of the music of the conquered people, but at the opening of the eighteenth century the military music of the Bambara people consisted of horns (*būq*) and tambourines (*duff*), whilst a Bambara chief is shown to have large horns (*būq al-kabīr*) as tall as a man.[7]

[1] *Notices et Extraits*, xvii, 360.

[2] *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh*, 84.

[3] *Ta'rīkh al-sūdān* (*Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, ser. v, vols. 12, 13, Paris, 1898–1900), text, p. 87.

[4] *Ta'rīkh al-fattāsh*, 95. Wrongly called a *tambour* by the translator.

[5] Ibid., 120.

[6] Ibid., 137, 153.

[7] *Ta'rīkh al-nisyān* (*Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, ser. iv, vols. 19, 20, Paris, 1899–1901), text, p. 45.

§ 2

These few references establish that the instruments known in the Western Sūdān between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries were the pandore (*gunbrī, gunībrī*), the recorder (*yarā'*), the flute, oboe or/and reed-pipe (*zamr, zammāra, mizmār, surnāy, ghaiṭa*), the trumpet (*kakaki, nafīr* ?), the horn (*būq, būq al-kabīr, abū qurūn, futurifa*), the tambourine (*duff*), and the drum (*ṭabl, ṭabl al-sulṭāna, dabdaba, gabtanda*). Another instrument described, but not named, was either the xylophone (*bala, balak*), or the viol (*gogo*).[1]

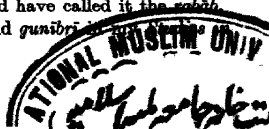
It will be seen that most of the names of the instruments are Arabic, but we must remember that Arabic was the language in which the works quoted were written. In four instances only are non-Arabic names used for instruments, viz. *gunbrī* or *gunībrī*, *kakaki*, *futurifa*, and *gabtanda*.

Gunbrī, and its diminutive *gunībrī*, may very well be the native pronunciation of the Arabic *ṭunbūra*. The word has assumed many phonetic shapes among the negroes of Northern and Central Africa, the most alien being that of the Wolof speech, in which it has become the *chalam*.[2] The *kakaki* still survives with the Hausa and the Tibbu. It is a long, straight metal trumpet to-day.

Of the *futurifa* and *gabtanda* we do not appear to have any trace to-day. The names may, of course, have been wrongly written by the scribes. Both graphically and phonetically, *futurifa* فترفه is akin to the Sōsō *burifa* برفه specimens of which may be seen in the Gewerbemuseum at Markneukirchen, Nos. 448, 449, 1039. In the language of the Fulbe there is a horn called the *fufe-fufédji*, as phoneticized by Sachs.[3]

[1] It is more likely that the xylophone is intended. This instrument was not used by the Arabs and there is no special word for it in Arabic. For this reason Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was unable to give it a name. If it had been a viol it is highly probable that the author would have called it the [illegible].

[2] I have devoted a chapter to the *gunbrī* and *gunībrī* [illegible] *Oriental Musical Instruments*, ser. i, pp. 39–49.

[3] Sachs, op. cit., p. 148.

Alice Werner registers a wind instrument named the *fufuriya* ففريه [1] and *futurifa* may easily be a slip for *fufuriya*.

Most of the African horns are of the transverse type, i.e. the mouthpiece is at the side.[2] The present writer possesses a beautifully carved specimen from Timbuktu,[3] where the instrument is said to be called the *tasīnfak*.[4]

The name *gabtanda* قبتنده may be an error for *gonga*ʿ قنقع, a drum used by the Tibbu.[5] It is the Moroccan and Hausa *ganga*, the Tamāheq *aganga*, and the *agongo* of the Togo. In Morocco it is a kettledrum,[6] but elsewhere it is a cylindrical drum. Its size is mentioned by G. F. Lyon, who says that the large drum of the Tibbu was the *ṭabl* used by the shaikhs. Next in size was the *gonga*ʿ, whilst the smallest was the *dabdaba*.[7] The drums which the present writer has seen from the Western Sūdān are upright cylindrical drums with one membrane over the upper aperture, the lower end being open. They stand on legs carved out of the cylinder itself.[8]

§ 3

There is no mention of the harp, psaltery, bells, or castanets in any of these references. All of these instruments have been in use for a century at least in the Western Sūdān and are common to the negro and negroid peoples of neighbouring territories. The absence of any reference to the harp

[1] *Journal of the African Society*, xiii, pp. 102–3.

[2] For method of playing see Carl Engel, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, London, 1874, p. 153.

[3] Now on loan to the Museum of the Scottish National Academy of Music.

[4] Carl Engel, loc. cit.

[5] G. F. Lyon, op. cit., p. 234. Cf. also the Galla قنقمه *gunguma*.

[6] G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i, 745.

[7] Loc. cit.

[8] See the example in Heinz Wieschhoff, *De afrikanischen Trommeln*, Stuttgart, 1933, tafel iv, No. 2.

is particularly noticeable because one species of this instrument, that with a vertical bridge, seems to be indigenous to the Mandingo people.[1]

In the specimens preserved in the various museums,[2] the sound-chest is a half gourd (Arabic *qar'*), hence, perhaps, the origin of the name *kora* which is given to this harp.[3] It is the *ekorro* mentioned by Mungo Park (d. 1806).[4] Unfortunately in some museums,[5] and in Curt Sachs' *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*,[6] this instrument is wrongly labelled a *kasso*, which is quite a different species of harp.

Neither is there any definite mention of the viol, although the instrument, as the *rabāb*, is frequently mentioned in the music of the Moroccan governors of the Western Sūdān during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[7] Whether this *rabāb* was the familiar boat-shaped viol of the Moors, or the bowl-shaped viol called the *ghugha* in Morocco and *gogo* in the Western Sūdān, we have no knowledge. It is the latter type which is used nowadays in the Western Sūdān and it is delineated in Felix Dubois' *Timbuctoo the Mysterious*, London, 1897.[8]

§ 4

It was through the portals of the Western Sūdān that some of the musical instruments of the Arabs and Moors passed into use among the negro and negroid peoples of the south. The *tabella* of Mungo Park, and the *atabule* of Sierra Leone are names which had their origin in the *ṭabl* of the

[1] *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, v, 3224.

[2] Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique de Paris, Nos. 812–14. Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles, No. 387. Musée Ethnographique de Genève, Nos. X, 26, 28.

[3] *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v, 3224.

[4] *Pinkerton's Voyages*, xvi, 878.

[5] Paris and Brussels.

[6] p. 204.

[7] *Ta'rīkh al-nisyān*, pp. 93, 154, 156 of text.

[8] p. 274. It is, however, a poor folk instrument which is shown.

Arabs. The *embuchi* of the Congo and the *bushe-bushe* of the Hausa may also be verbal borrowings from the Arabic *buq*. The *buro* of the Gold Coast is evidently the *būrū* or clarion of the Turkish corsairs. The *algaita* and *gogo* of the Hausa are obviously derived from the Algerian and Moroccan *ghaiṭa* and *ghugha*, although both of these instruments, or at least their names, may have come originally from Europe,[1] as did the *ṭarunbaṭa* (Ital. *trombetta*, Span. *trompeta*) used in the military band of the Sa'dian Dynasty of Morocco.[2]

On the other hand, there would appear to be some evidence of Moorish indebtedness to the Western Sūdān. We see the *gonga'* of these parts being adopted in Morocco as the *ganga*, whilst the tambourine of the Sūdānese *askias* was to be found in the band of one of the Moroccan governors of the eighteenth century.[3]

One might hazard a suggestion that the modern musical term *jazz* may be of African origin, being derived from the Arabic *jaz'*, and that it passed through the Western Sūdān into the negro or negroid lands from whence the supply of slaves for America came. The *banjo* was obtained by America in very much the same way. It was the *bania* of Senegambia which, carried in mind by the slaves to America, was the parent of the *banjo*, just as the *sakasaka* or rattle of the negroes of the West Indies carries the mark of its Arabo-African origin in the *shaqshaq* of the Arabs and Moors. In Arabic, the term for apocopation in both music and prosody is *jaz'*, and apocopation was one of the distinctive features of the early form of *jazz* which originated among the negro population of America.

[1] See my *Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, pp. 142–4.

[2] *Nuzhat al-ḥādī* (*Publ. de l'École de Langues Orientales Vivantes*), p. 117 of text.

[3] *Ta'rīkh al-nisyān*, text, 93. Indeed the cylindrical single membrane drum of the *darabukka* class, called in Morocco the *agwāl*, may be of negro origin. It is mentioned, however, as early as Al-Shaqundī (d. 1231) among the instruments of the Moors of Spain.

§ 5

The plate given herewith is taken from a manuscript in the British Museum, dated 1701 (Add. 5324, fol. 75). It shows excellent delineations of three African string instruments, a harp and two pandores, all of which, I believe, belong to the Western Sūdān. Even if they do not all belong to this region they are still of sufficient interest to be given publicity, not only because of the precise measurements with which each instrument is accompanied but because they are probably the earliest examples of African musical instruments which have been delineated.[1]

The harp, the *kora* of the Western Sūdān, is different from the specimens in our museums where the sound-chest is a hemi-spherical gourd. In the example given herewith the sound-chest is a rectangular box of wood with a leather or parchment belly. This sound-chest is 10 inches in length, 3¾ inches in width, and 4½ inches in depth. The vertical bridge which supports eight strings is 3 inches in height. The total length of the instrument is 36 inches.

The pandore, the *gunībrī* (dim. of *gunbrī*) of the Western Sūdān, with a hemi-oval sound-chest, is 23½ inches in length, whilst the width of the sound-chest is 5⅓ inches. The pandore with the hemi-spherical sound-chest is 21½ inches in length, whilst the sound-chest is 5 inches in width.

[1] The earliest printed book containing delineations of African instruments of music is the *Gabinetto armonico piena d'istromenti sonori indicati, e spiegati*, Rome, 1722, by Filippo Bonanni.

The Jenks Collection of Syriac Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge

By A. E. GOODMAN

THE following article is based on a paper that was read to the Christian Orient Section of the Twentieth Congress of Orientalists in Brussels, September, 1938.

In 1935, the University Library, Cambridge, acquired a number of Syriac Manuscripts which had been collected by the Reverend David Jenks, M.A., S.S.M., formerly of Pembroke College, Cambridge, for the most part between the years 1892–9, during which period he was a member of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Assyrian Christians in Urmia, Persia. Jenks died in March, 1935, and in pursuance of a wish which he had expressed, his manuscripts, together with a considerable amount of his own notes and correspondence, were presented by the Society of the Sacred Mission to Pembroke College. The College decided, with the approval of the Society, to transfer the gift to the University Library, keeping one manuscript for itself as a souvenir of its alumnus.[1]

The manuscripts fall into two categories, the first consisting of manuscripts proper, ranging from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, and the second of modern transcripts, made for the most part during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The following descriptions, though in part abridged, are intended to provide a convenient summary of the contents of these manuscripts.[2]

[1] A description of this MS. is given on p. 600.

[2] A more comprehensive catalogue may be consulted in the University Library; see *Syriac MSS. (Jenks Collection), described by the Rev. A. E. Goodman, University Library, Cambridge,* 1937.

Or. 1292

Lectionary from the Gospels for the Sundays, Festivals, etc., of the Year.

Paper, about 12½ in. by 8½ in; 124 leaves, much soiled (ff. 17*b*, 18*a*, and 124*b* being in places illegible); 14 quires, signed with letters (the lettering passing from ܝܒ to ܝܕ), of ten leaves, except ܐ which has now only two, ܝܒ, ܝܕ, ܝܗ, ܝܘ eight. A leaf is missing between ff. 109 and 110; f. 98 has been cut longitudinally in half, and f. 53 is badly mutilated; two columns, 20 lines. Written in Estrangelo by Zechariah (f. 108*b*), and dated Shebat 2, A. Gr. 1875 = 2nd February, A.D. 1564.[1] Watermark, an anchor within a circle surmounted by a star.[2] No binding remains.[3]

The lection for Good Friday (f. 67*a*) is as follows: S. Matt. xxvii, 1–43; S. Luke xxiii, 39–43; S. Mark xv, 33–38; S. John xix, 34–35a; S. Matt. xxvii, 51–61.

Or. 1293

Lectionary from the Gospels for the Sundays, Festivals, etc., of the Year, according to the use of the Church of Mosul.

Thick, coarse Oriental paper without watermark, 11¾ in. by 7¾ in.; 112 leaves and 3 binder's leaves of modern paper at the beginning and end; 12 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves, except ܐ of 8 and ܝܒ of 4; two columns, 22 lines. Written in a Nestorian hand by Ōshāʻnā of Ḥanērē at Arqē on Friday, 3rd Tammuz, A. Gr. 1977 = 3rd July, 1666.[4] Binding, leather on wooden boards.

[1] See R. Schram, *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908. I have computed the Julian era here and elsewhere.

[2] An Italian mark of the early sixteenth century. See C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes, Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, Paris, 1907, vol. i, pp. 345 ff.

[3] This and some of the other MSS. are now being rebound.

[4] According to Schram, op. cit., this would have been *Tuesday*.

The following lections deserve notice :—

"When SS. Peter and Paul and the Evangelists are commemorated on the same Friday" (f. 16*b*), S. Matt. x, 1–4; xvi, 13*b*–19; x, 5*b*–15. Then follows a combination of S. Mark vi, 12, 13, and xvi, 20,

ܘܢܦܩܘ ܗܘܘ ܘܐܟܪܙܘ ܕܢܬܘܒܘܢ ܘܫܐܕܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܡܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܫܚܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܡܫܚܐ. ܟܪܝܗܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܘܡܐܣܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܡܪܢ ܡܥܕܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܡܫܪܪ ܡܠܠܝܗܘܢ (*sic*) ܒܐܬܘܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ.

S. Mark vi, 30, 31*a*; S. John xxi, 15–25.

The Eve of the Friday of the Passion, f. 58*a*.

S. Matt. xxvi, 31–44; S. Luke xxii, 43–45*a*; S. Matt. xxvi, 45–75.

The Friday of the Passion, f. 60*a*.

S. Luke xxii, 63–xxiii, 12; S. Matt. xxvii, 3–10, 19; S. Luke xxiii, 13–23; S. Matt. xxvii, 24, 25; S. Luke xxiii, 24, 25; S. John xix, 16*b*, 17; S. Luke xxiii, 26–45; S. Matt. xxvii, 51*b*–54; S. John xix, 23–42.

S. Matt. xxvii, 60*b* (with verbs in the plural),

ܘܥܓܠܘ ܟܐܦܐ ܪܒܬܐ . ܘܣܡܘܗ ܥܠ ܬܪܥܐ . ܕܒܝܬ ܩܒܘܪܐ ܘܐܙܠܘ

S. Luke xxiii, 54–56.

On f. 111*b* is a note in Syriac by a later hand, stating that the Sanctuary of Mār Paulē was renovated, A. Gr. 2014 (= A.D. 1702–3) by the inhabitants of the village of Ḥarghil.

Or. 1294

ܚܘܕܪܐ *Ḥudhrā* or Services for the Sundays, Festivals, and ferial days of the year.

Paper, about 17½ in. by 11¼ in.; 124 lines, two columns, 33 lines to a page. The MS. is in a very damaged condition; of quires ܐ to ܝܒ three leaves only remain, ܝܓ is missing, of ܝܕ there are only mutilated fragments. There remain 13 quires signed with letters, commencing with ܝܗ (f. 4*a*) and passing

curiously from ܡܝ to ܠܣ, ff. 111–121 being a later supply. The leaves are much stained and their margins mutilated. Written in a Nestorian hand by the priest Joseph, partly in Alqosh, and partly in the Monastery of Mar Hormizd; dated Saturday, Latter Teshri 6, A. Gr. 2048 (= 6th November, A.D. 1736), and "of the Ascension of Christ, Our Lord and God", 1706. Binding, thick wooden boards, no doubt originally covered with leather. Watermark, sun with eight rays.[1]

Dating from the Ascension is rare in Syriac MSS., but not unique here. It is noteworthy that the year of the Ascension is reckoned as being A.D. 30; the same is the case in Cambr. Add. 1988 (f. 167*a*),[2] Mosul 55, Pontifical.[3] According to the colophon in Diarbekir 59 the year of the Ascension would be A.D. 31.[4]

Or. 1295

ܥܘܢܝܬܐ ܕܟܡܝܣ *The ʿŌnyāthā of Khāmīs bar Kardāḥē.*[5]

Paper, about 12 in. by 8¼ in.; 138 leaves; 15 quires, signed with letters, mostly of 10 leaves (ܐ has 6, ܒ 7, ܝ 13, ܡ 9, ܝܗ 3). The leaves, particularly at the beginning of the book, are much soiled and damaged. F. 65 is missing save for one corner, and a leaf is missing between ff. 133 and 134; one or more leaves are wanting at the end of the book. One column, 25 lines. Written in a Nestorian hand at Gāzartā Zabhdāitā, and dated Saturday, Latter Kanun 24, A. Gr. 1996 = 24th January, A.D. 1685. Watermark, 3 crescents in horizontal line. F. 1*a* contains the note: "Duplicate

[1] Briquet, op. cit., vol iv, pp. 685 ff.

[2] W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in Univ. of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1901.

[3] *Notice sur les MSS., syriaques conservés dans la bibl. du patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul, Revue des bibliothèques, Oct.–Déc.*, 1907.

[4] This MS., described by Addo Scher in the *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. x, t. 10, is now in Mosul. (See J. M. Vosté, O.P., *Notes sur les Manuscrits Syriaques, de Diarbekr et autres localités d'Orient. Le Muséon*, t. 50, 1937, pp. 348–393). I am indebted to Fr. J. M. Vosté, O.P., for this information and for other valuable assistance in the compilation of this catalogue.

[5] This MS. closely resembles Cambridge Add. 1991.

Mission Library, Oroomiah 37." [1] Binding, leather on wood boards, much damaged.

Or. 1296

ܟܘܢܝܬܐ ܕܘܪܕܐ The *Wardā*, containing a total of 150 hymns for the Festivals of the Church, composed by George Wardā and others.

Paper, about 11¾ in. by 8 in.; 303 leaves, of which ff. 1–18 are a later supply; 31 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves, except ܟ which has now only 5, ܝ 9, and ܦܐ 8; two columns, 25–6 lines. The corners of several leaves have been repaired and the text restored. Written in a Nestorian hand at Derband in Tergawer and dated Friday, Adar 16, A. Gr. 2060 = 16th March, A.D. 1749. [2] Watermark, 3 crescents in horizontal line. Binding, Oriental full leather.

Or. 1297

Psalter, according to the Nestorian use.

Paper, 9⅛ in. by 6½ in.; 187 leaves; 19 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves (except ܐ, which has now only 7); there are leaves missing at the end and no colophon remains. One column, 19 lines; written in a regular Nestorian hand, with points, possibly in the second half of the eighteenth century. There is abundant rubrication and ornamental designing in red and yellow. The book has been extensively repaired and rebound. Watermark, GERVINO.

Or. 1298

ܟܫܟܘܠ *Kash kôl*, or Services for the ferial days, according to the use of the Monastery of Mar Gabriel and Mar Abraham at Mosul.

[1] (?) The Library of the Museum Association of Oroomiah College. This MS. does not correspond with No. 37 in Sarau and Shedd's Catalogue (see footnote, p. 587).

[2] According to Schram, op. cit., this would have been *Thursday*.

Paper, about 11½ in. by 8⅜ in.; 134 leaves. Fourteen quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves, except ܐ which has 9, and ܡ which has now only 5; one column, 27 lines. Written in a Nestorian hand of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. The copyist has made a number of errors, some of which are corrected. Watermark, 3 crescents in horizontal line. Binding, Oriental full leather.

Or. 1299

ܬܐܓܘܪܬ ܬܐܓܘܖ̈ܬܐ *Mercatura Mercaturarum*, by Barhebraeus.

Paper, 9 in. by 6½ in.; 114 leaves; 12 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves, except ܝ of 8, and ܝܒ of 6; 24 lines to a page. Written in a Nestorian hand of the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Watermark, 3 crescents in horizontal line. The binding is made up of alternate layers of canvas and paper.

On f. 111*b*, the following note has been written by a later hand.—

هذا الكتاب مال الدير : دير الشهير مار هرمز دير الكلدان ودلك

سنة ١٨٣١. اشياطر

☆ كمل ☆

"This book is the property of the monastery, the monastery of the famous Mār Hormizd, the monastery of the Chaldaeans, and that was in the year 1831. . . . It is finished."

The inexplicable اشياطر[1] is no doubt carelessly written for اشباط, cf. Neo Syriac ܫܒܛ, February.

Or. 1300

ܟܬܒܐ ܕܨܡܚ̈ܐ. *The smaller metrical Grammar of Barhebraeus*, with glosses and annotations, some of them, on the later supply of leaves, being in Arabic. F. 2*a* contains a

[1] So it appears to be. However, the "*rā*" is no doubt merely an extravagant flourish at the end of the *ṭā*.

dedication in Syriac and English to David Jenks. Section 5, "De Vocibus Æquivocis," is included in this MS.

Paper, 8½ in. by 6 in.; 113 leaves; 11 quires, signed with letters, mostly of 10 leaves (ܐ and ܛ of 12, ܐ of 9, ܝܐ of 8). There is also a binder's leaf at the beginning and end; two columns, the text being always in the inside column; 14 to 16 lines in a page. The book has been extensively restored and ff. 1–15, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 43, 44, 53, 64, 72, 81, 112, 113 are a later supply. The original MS. was completed Sunday, Ab 10, A. Gr. 1996, and A.H. 1906 = 10th August, A.D. 1685.[1] The book was restored and rebound by Abraham, son of Simeon of Alqosh, in the year A.D. 1886.[2]

The second group is that of modern transcripts, referred to already in this article. It was Jenks' custom to have copies made of any manuscripts which he considered to be of importance either in Urmia or elsewhere. Many such transcripts were collected by the Church of England Mission Station at Urmia, but unfortunately the whole of this library was looted in 1917.[3] The same fate befell the English Mission Library at Qudshanis and the Library of the American Presbyterian Mission at Urmia.[4] The originals from which four of Jenks' transcripts were copied can be readily identified as belonging to the latter collection.[5]

With one or two exceptions the calligraphy in these transcripts is of an exceedingly high standard. The aim of the scribe in each case has been to reproduce in its essential

[1] According to Schram, op. cit., this would be *Monday*.

[2] Fr. Vosté tells me that the writing of this scribe has served as a model for the Nestorian fount of the Dominican Press at Mosul.

[3] Canon F. N. Heazell tells me that some 100 to 150 Syriac MSS., chiefly modern copies, were lost. I have been unable to discover any catalogue of this collection.

[4] This collection, containing a total of 232 Syriac MSS., was made through the efforts of Dr. J. H. Shedd. See Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the library of the Museum Association of Oroomiah College, Oshana Sarau, and W. A. Shedd, Oroomiah, Persia, 1898. On the vicissitudes of other Syriac libraries in the Near East see J. M. Vosté, op. cit., pp. 345–351.

[5] Or. 1312, Or. 1317, Or. 1320, Or. 1341.

details the manuscript before him. Whenever a lacuna is encountered a blank space is left, save for the margins and pagination which are usually inserted. In this way it is intended that the reader may be enabled to calculate to the nearest line and fraction of a line how much has been omitted. Most of these transcripts were made expressly for Jenks as the colophons frequently testify. The name of the scribe and the name of the place where he wrote the manuscript are usually given, but it is a rare thing to find any reference to the original from which the copy was taken. However, as far as can be judged from internal evidence, these transcripts are trustworthy witnesses to many an older manuscript, trace of which has now disappeared.

Or. 1301

ܟܫܟܘܠ *Kash Kôl* or Services for the ferial days.

Paper, 13⅝ in. by 8½ in.; 126 leaves in all, the pages (1–248) are numbered (the numeration passing from 118 to 120); 13 quires, unsigned, generally of 10 leaves, one column, 29 lines to a page. Written in a Nestorian hand by Joḥanan b. Bādāl at Gugtāpā and dated A D. 1885. Binding, buckram (modern).

Or. 1302

Office Book for Recluse Monks.

Paper, 6⅛ in. by 4¾ in.; 203 leaves; 21 quires, signed with letters, mostly of 10 leaves (ܝ has 8, and ܟܐ 4), and a binder's leaf at beginning and end; one column, 16 lines to a page. Written in a Nestorian hand by Abraham of Mār Bē-'īshō' at Māwānā, and dated A. Gr. 2004 (= A.D. 1892–3). Binding, half-calf (modern).

(1) The Psalms and Anthems at Vespers, Compline and Nocturns, for the days of the week (f. 4*a*).

(2) Homily by Mar Ephraim, on retiring to sleep, (f. 121*a*) beginning: ܗܘ ܠܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܘܕܐ ܐܢܐ.

(3) Hymns for the Departed ܥܘܢܝܬܐ ܕܥܢܝܕܐ (f. 122*a*).

(4) The Order of reading the New Testament ܛܟܣܐ ܕܚܕܬܐ (f. 134*b*).

(5) The Order of going to the Martyrium ܛܟܣܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ (f. 139*a*).

(6) The Order for replenishing the anointing oil ܛܟܣܐ ܕܪܘܫܡܐ ܕܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡܐ ܕܡܫܚܬܐ (f. 143*a*).

(7) Hymns for Martyrs ܩܠܐ ܕܣܗܕܐ (f. 148*a*).

(8) Hymn by Elias of Nisibis, (f. 194*a*) beginning : ܩܘ: ܟܠܢ ܐܠܗܐ (thrice repeated).

Or. 1303

John B. Zō'bī's collection of Grammatical Tracts.[1]

Paper, about 12¾ in. by 9¾ in. ; 144 leaves ; 14 quire numbered with letters, of 10 leaves, and 4 extra leaves beginning ; one column, 28 lines. Written in a Nestoria hand by Abiqam b. Sabru at Urmia, dated Ab 12, A. G 2206 = A.D. 1895. Binding, Oriental full leather on wo boards.

Or. 1304

Liber de Unione of Babhai the Elder.[2]

Paper, about 10 in. by 6¼ in. ; 290 leaves ; 29 quir numbered with letters, of 10 leaves each ; one colum 20 lines. Written in a Nestorian hand for Jenks by Jose b. Elias at Urmia and dated Khaziran 10, A. Gr. 2207 A.D. 1896. Binding, Oriental full leather.

Or. 1305

ܡܘܡܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܫܬܐ ܝܘ̈ܡܐ The *Hexaëmeron* of Emmanu b. Shabhāre.[3]

Paper, about 12¾ in. by 9¾ in. ; 172 leaves ; 17 quire numbered with letters, of 10 leaves (except ܝܐ which has

[1] Cf. Cambr. Add. 2013.

[2] See *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Series secun tom. lxi.

[3] The second discourse is wanting. Cf. Cambr. Add. 1994.

and 4 binder's leaves at beginning and end; one column, 30 lines. Written in a Nestorian hand by David b. 'Abhd-'ishō' at Urmia, and dated Ab 4, A. Gr. 2207 = A.D. 1896. Binding, Oriental full leather on boards.

Or. 1306

ܥܠܬ ܟܠ ܥܠܠ̈ܢ *Causa Omnium Causarum.*

Paper, about $12\frac{9}{10}$ in. by $8\frac{7}{8}$ in.; 221 leaves; 22 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves, and an extra leaf at the beginning; one column, 24 lines. Written in a Nestorian hand by Abraham, son of Simeon, at Alqosh and dated Tammuz 9, A.D. 1887. Binding, Oriental full leather.

F. 1*a* contains a dedication in Syriac, followed by another in English, to Jenks.

On f. 220*a* a name has been erased—possibly that of Pope Leo XIII.

Or. 1307

ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܣܟܘܠܝܘܢ *The Book of Scholia* of Theodore bar Khuni.

Paper, about $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $9\frac{3}{4}$ in.; 308 leaves; 29 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves, and ܟܦ of 12; 8 blank leaves at beginning and end; two columns, 30 lines in a page. Written in a Nestorian hand by Abiqam b. Sabru at Urmia for Jenks, and dated 2nd Adar, A. Gr. 2207 = A.D. 1896. Binding, Oriental full leather.

Or. 1308

(i) ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ *The Book of the Pearl*, by 'Abhd-'ishō' bar Berīkhā (ff. 3*b*–41*a*).

(ii) ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܥܕܬܢܝܐ *The Catalogue of Books*, by the same author (ff. 43*a*–59*b*).

Paper, about $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 6 in.; 140 leaves, of which the last 81 are blank; 14 quires, signed with letters; one column, 23 lines in a page. Written in a Nestorian hand by Abiqam

b. Sabru at ܣܥܪܐ in Azerbaijan for Jenks during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Binding, Oriental full leather.

Or. 1309

(i) ܙܩܘܪܐ ܡܟܠܠܬܐ *The well-woven Web*,[1] by John bar Zō'bī (ff. 4*b*–161*a*).

(ii) ܦܘܫܩ ܐܪ̈ܙܐ *Commentary on the Holy Eucharist*,[2] by the same author.

Paper, about 10 in. by 6½ in.; 208 leaves; 21 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves (except ܛ which has 8); 20 lines in a page. Written in a Nestorian hand by Joseph bar Elias of Bēisho' at Reçapa and dated 15th Latter Kanun, A. Gr. 2209 = A.D. 1898. Binding, Oriental full leather.

Or. 1310

(i) ܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܬܫܡܫܬܐ. Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiæ[3] (ff. 7*b*–134*b*).

(ii) ܡܩܪ̈ܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܗܢܐ ܦܪ̈ܝܨܐ *Prayers for dissolute priests* (f. 135*a*).

(iii) *A homily against heretics* (f. 135*b*). ܠܡܡܠܠ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܡܪܢ ܕܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܐ ܟܝܢܐ by Sabhr-ishō' V Catholicos, bar Meshiḥaya.[4]

Paper, about 12¾ in. by 9¾ in.; 140 leaves; 13 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves, with binders' leaves at beginning and end; 30 lines in a page. Written in a Nestorian hand by David bar 'Abhd-'ishō' of Urmia and

[1] A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 311. (See also Or. 1313.) Jenks has noted a large number of variant readings in this transcript under the following symbols: 116 = MS. 116 in the Library of the American Missionary College, Urmia (see Sarau and Shedd, op. cit.); 156 = MS. 156 *ibidem*; 212 = MS. 212 *ibidem*; MB = MS. belonging to the Church of Mar Bēisho', containing also the ܦܘܫܩ ܐܪ̈ܙܐ, written in Derband of Tergawer in the days of Mar Shem'ōn Patr. of the East and of Mar Ḥananishu', Metr. of Rustaqa, by the priest Werda; Q = Volume in the possession of Shamasha Qumbar of Iyal, written in Derband; TK = an undated MS. of Tell Keif.

[2] A. Baumstark, op. cit., p. 311.

[3] v. *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, tom. xci, xcii.

[4] A. Baumstark, op. cit., p. 306.

dated 26th Nisan, A. Gr. 2207 = A.D. 1896. Binding, Oriental full leather on boards.

Or. 1311

The Lexicon of Bar Bahlūl in Syriac and Arabic.

Paper, 420 leaves, the first 270 measuring about 21 in. by 13 in., the remainder $19\frac{4}{5}$ in. by $12\frac{5}{8}$ in.; 42 quires of 10 leaves, signed with letters; two columns, 32 to 34 lines in a page; written in Nestorian and Arabic by Abiqam bar Sabru at Bē-ishō' and finished on the last day of the former Teshri, A.D. 1894. Unbound.

There is an extra leaf containing a duplicate of f. 201*a*.

Or. 1312

ܬܐܓܘܪܬܐ ܕܗܪܩܠܝܕܘܣ *The Bazaar of Heraclides.*[1]

Paper, $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $9\frac{7}{8}$ in.; 190 leaves, signed with letters; 19 quires of 10 leaves; 2 columns, 28 lines to a page. Written in a Nestorian hand by Daniel, son of Saul, at Urmia for Jenks, and dated 22nd Āb, A. Gr. 2209 = A.D. 1898. Unbound. Blank spaces and pages have been left to correspond with the manuscript from which this copy was taken,[2] and notes

[1] This copy was used by Dr. J. F. Bethune-Baker in the preparation of his monograph, *Nestorius and his Teaching*, Cambridge, 1908, and was sent by him to the University Library as its rightful destination. A number of variant readings have been collected from it by P. Bedjan in his edition of the text of this work, *Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas*, Paris 1910. See also G. R. Driver and L. Hodgson, *Nestorius, the Bazaar of Heracleides*, Oxford, 1925, pp. ix–xii.

[2] That this transcript is a copy of Urmia MS. 147 (American Collection) is evident from the copyist's note on f. 190*a*: "I took this copy from a copy which was written by Ōsha'nā Sarau in the year of Our Lord 1889 which he took from another copy which was spoiled by the armies of Badr Khan Beg" (see Sarau and Shedd, op. cit.). The following MSS. of this work are still extant: Strasbourg 4119 (v. *Catalogue Général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, t. xlvii, Strasbourg). British Museum, Or. 9046 (v. *Manuscript list of Accessions for 1922*, British Museum, London). The latter MS. was acquired from Bishop Parry in 1922. It is dated A.D. 1906. I can find no trace of the existence either of Bedjan's transcript or of the Patriarchal MS. from which all the modern copies are directly or indirectly derived.

have been added by the copyist to indicate that the MS. was defective in these places.

Or. 1313

(i) ܡܣܪܩܐ ܡܟܠܣܬܐ. *The well-woven Web*, by John bar Zō'bī [1] (ff. 4*b*–198*b*).

(ii) *A treatise against heretics* (ff. 199*a*–219*b*).

(*a*) Against the Sabbatici (ܣܒܛܝܩܐ ܕܡܠܦܢܐ [Marg. ܦܠܓܝܐ ܐܘ] ܦܠܓܝܐ ܣܪܝܛܝܠ [2]), who say that the Eucharist ought to be offered on Saturday and not Sunday (f. 202*a*).

(*b*) The Ishmaelites (ܐܫܡܥܠܝܐ) who say, "How can I worship Jesus whom Mary bore ?" (f. 202*b*).

(*c*) On the distinction between ܟܝܢܐ, ܩܢܘܡܐ, and ܦܪܨܘܦܐ (f. 204*b*).

(*d*) Those who confess one Nature and two Hypostases (f. 206*a*).

(*e*) Against that which is said, "God suffered in the flesh and died in the flesh" (f. 208*a*).

(*f*) Against those who say, "Did the holy Virgin bear God or did she bear man" (f. 210*a*).

(*g*) Against those who accuse us of holding to the error of Quarternity [ܪܒܝܥܝܘܬܐ [3]] (f. 212*a*).

(*h*) Against those who falsely accuse us of acknowledging two Sons (f. 213*b*).

Paper, about 8½ in. by 6½ in.; 225 leaves; 23 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves (except ܛ and ܟܒ of 8, and ܟܓ of 9); 17 lines in a page. Written in a Nestorian hand, by Abraham at Alqosh, and dated 9th Elul, A. Gr. 2211 = A.D. 1900. Unbound. The colophon states that the "Well-woven Web" was copied from three MSS., one of which, a very old one, had been written in Mansuria.

[1] See also Or. 1309.

[2] v. R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 4049.

[3] Payne-Smith, op. cit., col. 3798.

Or. 1314

(i) *The Chronological Treatise* [ܟܪܘܢܝܩܘܢ] *of Simeon Shankelāwī* (ff. 3*b*–129*b*).

(ii) *Selections from Theological Works*—

(*a*) From Dadishō' (f. 131*a*). ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܟܠܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܚܐ ܡܩܪܝܢܢ.

(*b*) From the Commentary of Isho'dad[1] on Jeremiah (f. 145*a*).

(*c*) A Mēmrā of Narsai (f. 147*a*).

(*d*) From the Scholia of Theodore bar Khuni (ff. 147*a*, 149*a*).

(*e*) From Eliyá ܒܪ ܓܡܝܗ (ff. 148*a*, 149*b*).

Paper, about 9⅞ in. by 6⅜ in.; 190 leaves; 19 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves; 21 lines in a page. Written in a Nestorian hand by Abiqam b. Sabru at Urmia and dated 12th of the Latter Teshri, A. Gr. 2209 = A.D. 1897. Unbound.

Or. 1315

The history of Joseph Busnaya, by Johanan bar Kaldun.

Paper, about 9¼ in. by 7 in.; 140 leaves; 14 quires numbered from ܗ to ܝܚ (the first 4 quires are missing), of 10 leaves each; 21 lines to a page. Written in a Nestorian hand of the late nineteenth century. The colophon, f. 140*b*, states that the story was written, A. Gr. 1911 = A.D. 1599/1600. Unbound.

Or. 1316

The history of Bar-'Idta.

Paper, about 8⅝ in. by 6¼ in.; 98 leaves; 10 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves (except ܝ which has 8); 17 lines in a page. Written in a Nestorian hand by Abraham at Alqosh for Jenks and dated 28th of the Former Teshri, A. Gr. 2211 = A.D. 1899. Unbound.

[1] Bishop of Hed(h)atta (v. A. Baumstark, op. cit., p. 234).

Or. 1317

Treatise on the Incarnation by Simeon the "Persecuted".[1]

Paper, about 12¾ in. by 10 in.; 240 leaves; 24 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves; two columns, 27 lines in a page. Written in a Nestorian hand of the late nineteenth century. Unbound. Pages and spaces have been left blank to correspond with the original from which the copy was taken.

Or. 1318

(i) *The Book of the Cause of the Psalms of Blessed David*[2] (ff. 4*b*–155*b*).

(ii) A Commentary on: the 1st Song of Moses, the Song of Elisha, the 2nd and 3rd Songs of Moses (ff. 156*a*–159*a*).

(iii) From the History of the World of Joḥanan bar Penkayē (ff. 161*a*–176*b*).

(iv) From the Commentary of Theodorus Rabba on the Psalms (ff. 176*b*–218*b*).

(v) A hymn by George Warda on S. Mary (f. 218*b*).

(vi) From the Commentary of Joḥanan bar Penkayē on the Psalms. The text comes suddenly to an end in the middle of f. 235*b*, the remaining folios being blank.

Paper, about 12⅝ in. by 9$\frac{9}{10}$ in.; 238 leaves; 24 quires,

[1] v. A. Baumstark, op. cit., p. 210. This transcript shows every sign of having been copied from Urmia 32 (not 31 as in Baumstark). According to the catalogue of Sarau and Shedd the Urmia manuscript was between 600 and 800 years old (i.e. it was written somewhere between A.D. 1100 and A.D. 1300). A lacuna of eight leaves, noted by Sarau, is faithfully reproduced in our manuscript. Another manuscript containing this work is Mingana 544 in the Selly Oak Collection (v. A. Mingana, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the Library of the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham*).

[2] Other MSS. containing this work are: N.D. des Semences XXXV, XXXVI = 28 and 20 in Addaï Scher's Catalogue [*Journal Asiatique*, Ser. x, t. 7, 479–512], v. J. M. Vosté, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Syro-Chaldéene du Couvent de Notre-Dame des Semences*, Rome, 1929; Mosul 20 (*Révue des bibliothèques*, Oct., Déc., 1907); Selly Oak 58 (v. A. Mingana, op. cit.). See also A. Baumstark, op. cit., p. 132. Our MS. commences with extracts from the Scholia of Theodore bar Khūnī (f. 4*b*), and the Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiæ (f. 6*b*). On f. 12*b* begins the treatise by Aḥob Ḳatraya common to all the MSS.

signed with letters, of 10 leaves (except ܦ̈ of 8); 27 to 28 lines in a page. Written in a Nestorian hand of the late nineteenth century. Unbound.

Or. 1319

A *Catena Patrum*, consisting of extracts from the Fathers of the Church in support of the Nestorian Christology.

Modern foolscap paper; 112 leaves; 10 quires, signed with letters, mostly of 12 leaves (ܐ and ܗ have 10, ܝ has 8); 23 lines in a page. Written in a Nestorian hand of the late nineteenth century. Unbound.

On f. 1*a* are two inscriptions in Syriac from which it appears that the MS. from which this copy was made was formerly the property of Sabhr-ishōʿ, Metropolitan of Ḥiṣn-Kēf (ܚܨܢ ܟܐܦܐ), and that in A. Gr. 1645 (= A.D. 1333–4) it was presented by Rabban Cyriacus, to whom it then belonged, to a subsequent owner.

(i) From *Sahdost of Tirhan*, concerning the separation of the Easterns, and why they are called Nestorians (f. 1*b*).

(ii) From *Eustathius of Tirhan*, against those who claim that the Synod of the 318 [1] anathematized Nestorius (f. 18*a*).

(iii) From *Isaac of Nineveh* against the appellation "God-bearer" and the belief in the "One Hypostasis" and the "Natural Union" (ܚܝܕܝܘܬܐ ܟܝܢܝܬܐ) (f. 30*a*).

(iv) From the same, against those who accept the Council of Chalcedon (f. 31*a*).

(v) From the same, against those who say "Bearer of God", and not "Mother of Christ" (f. 32*b*).

(vi) From the same, against the Cyrillians who confess two natures and one hypostasis (f. 35*b*).

(vii) From *Mar Michael Malpana*.[2]

Against the "Hypostatic Union" and the "Confusion" (ܡܒܠܒܠܬܐ) which Cyril preaches (f. 54*a*).

[1] The Council of Nicaea, at which, acc. to Athanasius, *Ad Afros*, 2, 318 bishops were present.

[2] Michael Bad(h)ōqā, cf. f. 57*b* (v. Baumstark, op. cit., p. 129).

(viii) From the same, against the Julianists[1] (f. 56*a*).

(ix) Anon., against those who confess one Nature and one Hypostasis (f. 57*b*).

(x) Concerning the οἰκονομία (ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ) in Christ (f. 59*b*).

(xi) The twelve anathematisms of Cyril, refuted from the Fathers of the Church (f. 66*a*).

The following are quoted: Eustathius of Antioch (ff. 66*b*, 69*a*, 70*a*, 73*a*), Athanasius (ff. 66*b*, 69*a*, 70*a*, 70*b*, 71*a*, 71*b*, 72*a*), Gregory Nazianzen (ff. 66*b*, 72*a*), John Chrysostom (ff. 67*a*, 70*a*, 74*a*), Gregory of Nyssa (ff. 68*a*, 73*b*), Antiochus (f. 68*b*), Basil (ff. 69*a*, 73*b*), Ambrose (ff. 69*b*, 74*a*), Theophilus (f. 69*b*), Arius (f. 71*a*), Clement of Rome (f. 73*a*), Cyril of Jerusalem (f. 73*b*), Amphilocius of Iconium (ff. 68*b*, 73*b*), Damasus of Rome (f. 73*b*), Flavian (ff. 71*a*, 74*a*), Gelasius of Caesarea (f. 74*a*), Epiphanius of Constantinople (f. 74*a*), Severian of Gabala (f. 74*a*).

(xii) The Confession of Faith which the Bishops of Persia made in obedience to Kosroes (f. 76*a*).

(xiii) Disputations which the Fathers made a part of the Faith (f. 79*b*).

(xiv) Against those who accuse us of acknowledging four Persons (f. 81*a*).

(xv) Against those who accuse us of acknowledging two Sons (f. 82*a*).

(xvi) Against those who say God suffered and died in the flesh (84*a*).

(xvii) Questions which Kosroes asked of the Bishops (f. 85*a*).

(xviii) By Rabban Ḥnanishōʿ the Recluse. Against those

[1] ܠܘܠܝܢܝܣܛܐ = ܝܘܠܝܢܝܣܛܐ, *Ἰουλιανισταί*, Julianists, the followers of Julian, Bishop of Halicarnassus (v. R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 1575). The interchange of ܝ and ܠ is a rarity in Syriac (v. sub ܠܘܠܝܢܐ Payne-Smith, col. 1910). It is quite common, however, to find לוליינוס in Talmud and Midrash. See S. Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, Berlin, 1899. *s.v.*

who profess the Union of the Structure (ܚܕܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܟܒܐ)[1] in Christ (f. 86*a*).

(xix) From the κεφάλαια of Nestorius (f. 90*b*).[2]

(xx) From Babhai the Great (f. 104*b*).

(xxi) The twelve anathematisms of Cyril (f. 106*b*).

(xxii) The twelve anathematisms of Nestorius[3] (f. 108*a*).

(xxiii) From the Memrē of Mar Ephraim against Bar Daisan (f. 110*b*).

Or. 1320

Historia Fundatorum Monasteriorum, by Mar Ishō'-denaḥ.[4]

Two manuscript books, about 9 in. by 7 in., of 54 and 90 leaves respectively; written on the verso side only in pointed Nestorian, by Joseph of Beishō' for Jenks and dated 25th of the Latter Kanun, A.D. 1898. The colophon states that the copy was made from a manuscript which had been written in Estrangelo, dated the 14th of the Latter Kanun, A. Gr. 2202 = A.D. 1891. A note on the inside of the first volume reads, "Copied from American Library, Vol. 226."[5]

Or. 1341

ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܝ ܡܪܝܡ *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary.*

A manuscript book, 46 leaves, about 7¾ in. by 6 in. Written in pointed Nestorian by Joseph b. Elias at Urmia, and dated 22nd Nisan, A.D. 1899. The colophon also states that the copy was taken from a manuscript which was written by the priest George, and dated 6th Khaziran, A. Gr. 2124 = A.D. 1813. This manuscript, as Sarau's Catalogue shows,[5]

[1] v. Cyr. de Incar. ed. Pusey, vii, 52, 5.

[2] There are thirty-six chapters numbered from ܐ to ܠܘ. Nos. ܟܘ, ܝܐ, ܟܛ, respectively, correspond to the three κεφάλαια contained in Fragment Nr. 205 Cod. Vat. syr. 179, f. 104 r. and v. See F. Loofs, *Nestoriana*, p. 371.

[3] v. J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, iii, 2, p. cio–cciii.

[4] See P. Bedjan, *Lib. Superiorum*, pp. 437–517.

[5] See Sarau and Shedd, op. cit.

was Urmia No. 43. It belongs to the same recension as the manuscript containing this work in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.[1]

Or. 1342

Native Syriac Glossary, occupying 51 leaves of a manuscript book, 8½ in. by 7 in., numbered with Syriac letters from ܐ to ܢܐ. Written in Nestorian with points, by Thomas b. Joḥanan of Mar Bēishō', for Jenks, and dated 3rd of the Former Kanun, A.D. 1895.

The dictionary is arranged in two columns: on the right is a selection of verbal roots from the Old Syriac arranged alphabetically, and on the left are the corresponding equivalents in the modern dialect of Urmia. This MS. is a copy of a Chaldean dictionary which served in the Anglican College at Urmia.[2]

Or. 1343

English-Syriac Dictionary.

Modern manuscript book, 7 in. by 9 in., 23 lines to a page; contains English words in alphabetical order with their equivalents in the modern Syriac dialect of Urmia. The first leaf is inscribed "David Jenks, Urmi, Persia. Written by Siad of Guktapa".

Or. 1344

Syriac-Latin Dictionary.

The right-hand column contains words in the Old Syriac arranged alphabetically, and the left their equivalents in Latin.

[1] Miscellaneous MSS., No. 3. Variant readings from this MS. were collected by E. A. W. Budge in his edition of this work: *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary, etc.*, London, 1899.

[2] I am indebted for this information to l'Abbé S. Sayegh who writes, per J. M. Vosté, that he was shown two MSS. resembling this in Mosul by the Rev. Joseph de Kelaita.

Paper, 7¾ in. by $9\frac{9}{10}$ in., 239 leaves and a binder's leaf at beginning and end, 23 lines to a page. Nestorian handwriting. Binding, European full calf. Date (?) nineteenth century. Watermark: An anchor surmounted by a flower, and underneath, the initial F.

Pembroke College Library, MS. No. 311.

(i) ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܢܣܛܘܪܝܣ *The History of Mar Nestorius* [1] (f. 5*b*).

(ii) ܦܘܫܩ ܐܪ̈ܙܐ *Commentary on the Holy Eucharist*, by Narsai (f. 22*b*).

(iii) *Commentary on the Holy Eucharist*, by John Bar Zō'bī (f. 51*b*).

(iv) *On Baptism and the Mystery of the Holy Leaven* (f. 83*a*).

(v) ܡܪܓܢܝܬܐ *The Book of the Pearl*, by Abhd-'isho' bar Berikha (f. 92*b*).

(vi) ܡܟܣܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܥܕ̈ܬܢܐ *The Catalogue of Books*, by the same author (f. 136*a*).

Paper, 10 in. by 6¼ in.; 161 leaves; 17 quires, signed with letters, of 10 leaves (except ܝܘ of 9 and ܝܙ of 4); one column, 23 lines to a page. Written in a Nestorian hand by Abiqam, son of Sabru, for Jenks, in Urmia, during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Binding, Oriental full leather.

[1] A. Baumstark, op. cit., p. 117.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

ON THE IRANIAN PAPER CURRENCY الچاو OF THE MONGOL PERIOD

K. Jahn[1] has made a welcome contribution to the problem of the introduction of a paper currency—the so-called "Chao"—into Persia during the time of the Mongol Il-Khān Gaikhātu (in the year 693/1294)—a problem of medieval Persian economic history that has long merited treatment based on all the sources available.

Although this issue of paper money was only in the nature of an experiment and of but short duration, it nevertheless represented the first attempt made in Persia to issue paper money similar to that already existent in China, and to withdraw silver and gold coins from circulation as a means of saving the state's economy from complete financial collapse.

Jahn bases his investigations chiefly on Persian authorities such as Waṣṣāf and Rashīd al-Dīn, the latter's successors such as Khwāndamīr, Mīrkhwānd and others, and on the "Continuation of the Chronicle by Bar Hebraeus", tracing the course and development of this financial reform in detail.

But he left one most important Arabic-Islamic source quite untouched—a source that must be mentioned not only for the sake of completeness, but because it provides us with further details on this phenomenon of "Chao". The source referred to is the Arabic "Chronicle of 'Abd ar-Razzāq b. al Fuwaṭī", which under the title of الحوادث الجامعة والتجارب النافعة في المائة السابعة (The comprehensive events and useful experiences in the seventh century) was published by Muṣṭafā Jawād in Baghdād 1351/1932.[2]

[1] Das iranische Papiergeld. Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Iran's in der Mongolenzeit. *Archiv Orientalni*, vol. x, No. 1–2, June, 1938. Prague, S. 308/340.

[2] For the life and work of this Baghdadian historian, see the editor's preface, and also F. Wuestenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, Goettingen, 1881/82, S. 155, No. 387.

This work,[1] which deals chronologically with events in ʿIrāq during the years 626–700 (1230–1300), is in regard to the period in question all the more important and authentic, since Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, in contrast to other Arab writers on that particular period, lived and worked within the Mongolian sphere of influence, and consequently his reliability and familiarity with events cannot be doubted.

Jahn's view—that "the 'Continuation of the Chronicle by Bar Hebraeus'[2] is the only Near Eastern source—apart from Waṣṣāf—to which we are indebted for some details on this subject" can therefore no longer be admitted.[3]

To round off the valuable paper of K. Jahn, the relevant passages of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī[4] are here given in translation.

Under the year 629/1293 we read in the Chronicle of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, p. 474 :—

> "... In this year the Sultān Gaikhātu appointed Ṣadr al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Khālidī Ṣāḥib of the State Dīwān and charged him with the administration of his possessions."

Then under the year 693/1294, p. 477, the Chronicle continues :—

> "... In this year Ṣadr al-Dīn, the Ṣāḥib of the State Dīwān in Tabrīz, issued the 'Chao'—a paper with the Sulṭān's

[1] Extracts from the manuscript were published in *al-Mashriq* (Beyrouth) in 1902, 1907, 1913, 1920, 1921, and 1927, and in *Lughat al-ʿArab* (Baghdād), 1927, p. 218 et seq. See also H. Zayat in *al-Mashriq*, 1937, p. 497, and ʿAbbās ʿAzzāwi, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāq*, Baghdād, 1935, vol. i, pp. 358, 359, 379.

[2] *Archiv Orientalni* (ibid.), pp. 329–330.

[3] B. Spuler in his "Quellenkritik zur Mongolengeschichte Irans", *ZDMG.*, 1938, vol. 92, pp. 219–243, where the most important Persian, Syrian, Armenian, Georgian, Mongolian, Chinese, Arabic, and other sources on Mongolian history are cited, also omits to mention the Ibn al-Fuwaṭī Chronicle.

[4] See also my book "Jews in the economic and political life of mediaeval Islam", *Royal Asiatic Society Monographs*, vol. xxii, London, 1937, p. 119, where I deal briefly with this issue of paper currency. I mention the Ibn al-Fuwaṭī Chronicle in another connection too. See *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, Rome, 1938, p. 592, where, however, owing to a misprint Ibn al-Fuwaṭī is spelt Ibn al-Furāt.

seal in place of the die stamp on gold and silver coins. And he ordered the population to use this paper money, of which there existed notes of 10 dīnārs and downwards to a whole, a half, and a quarter of a dirham.[1]

"The people of Tabrīz used it under compulsion, involuntarily, and against their will. Their businesses were disorganized through it, and this caused them and others great harm, so much so that food and other articles became scarce and stocks of all kinds exhausted. When, however, a dirham was placed in his hand under the 'Chao', the baker, the butcher and the others supplied what was required, and he (the buyer) took what he needed, in fear of the Sulṭān's guards. A large load of the paper money was then sent to Baghdād through the agency of the Emīr Lekezi b. Arghūn Āghā.[2]

"When this became known to the people of Baghdād, they made preparations with regard to food and other things, since they had found out what had occurred in Tabrīz.[3]

"When this was reported to the Sultān, he ordered it (the 'Chao') to be abolished, and abolished it was—even before Lekezi arrived in Baghdād."

With regard to the end of Ṣadr al-Dīn in the time of Ghazzān, we read under the year 697/1297, p. 495:—

"... Sultān Ghazzān ordered Ṣadr al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Khālidī to be executed, since the wickedness of his action ... in issuing the 'Chao' and compelling the people to use it was realized. By doing so, he had caused them harm, their livelihood had been brought to an end and their business to a standstill—until Allāh in his goodness had inspired the Sulṭān to abolish the 'Chao' ...

"And when he (Ṣadr al-Dīn) was executed, he (the Sulṭān) ordered the execution of his (Ṣadr al-Dīn's) brother, Quṭb al-Dīn—which was also carried out—and then looked for his other brother Zain al-Dīn, who was chief justice in Baghdād ..."[4]

440. WALTER J. FISCHEL.

[1] Thus here, notes of a quarter of a dirham are expressly mentioned; this is not done by all authorities, however.

[2] Lekezi or Legzi; cf. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, pp. 359–373.

[3] This passage throws light on the hitherto unobserved effect of the "Chao" on conditions in Baghdād.

[4] Other authorities inform us that it was Quṭb al-Dīn who was chief justice in Baghdād.

AN IMPORTANT ARMENIAN MS. FROM A.D. 1330

(PLATES XII–XIII)

During 1937 I was in New Djulfa (the Armenian section of the city of Isfahān, Īrān), studying the collection of over 625 rare and important Armenian MSS. in the library of All-Saviour's Monastery. Among these MSS. I especially noticed the Gospel MS. No. 481, written in Armenian "polorkīr" on paper.

According to the colophon this Armenian MS. Gospel was written in the village of Lāngshen in the church of Sōurp Hovāness (St. John) in the year of our Lord 1330, by a clerical scribe Khātchādour, for an Armenian squire Constant and his wife Lady Avac (Avac dikin), who had a son, Hovāness, and a daughter, Lady Khūānt (Khūānt khātūn). The colophon informs us that the scribe Khatchādour completed his work during the days of Katholikos Zakaria, and during the reign of "Pūssaid".

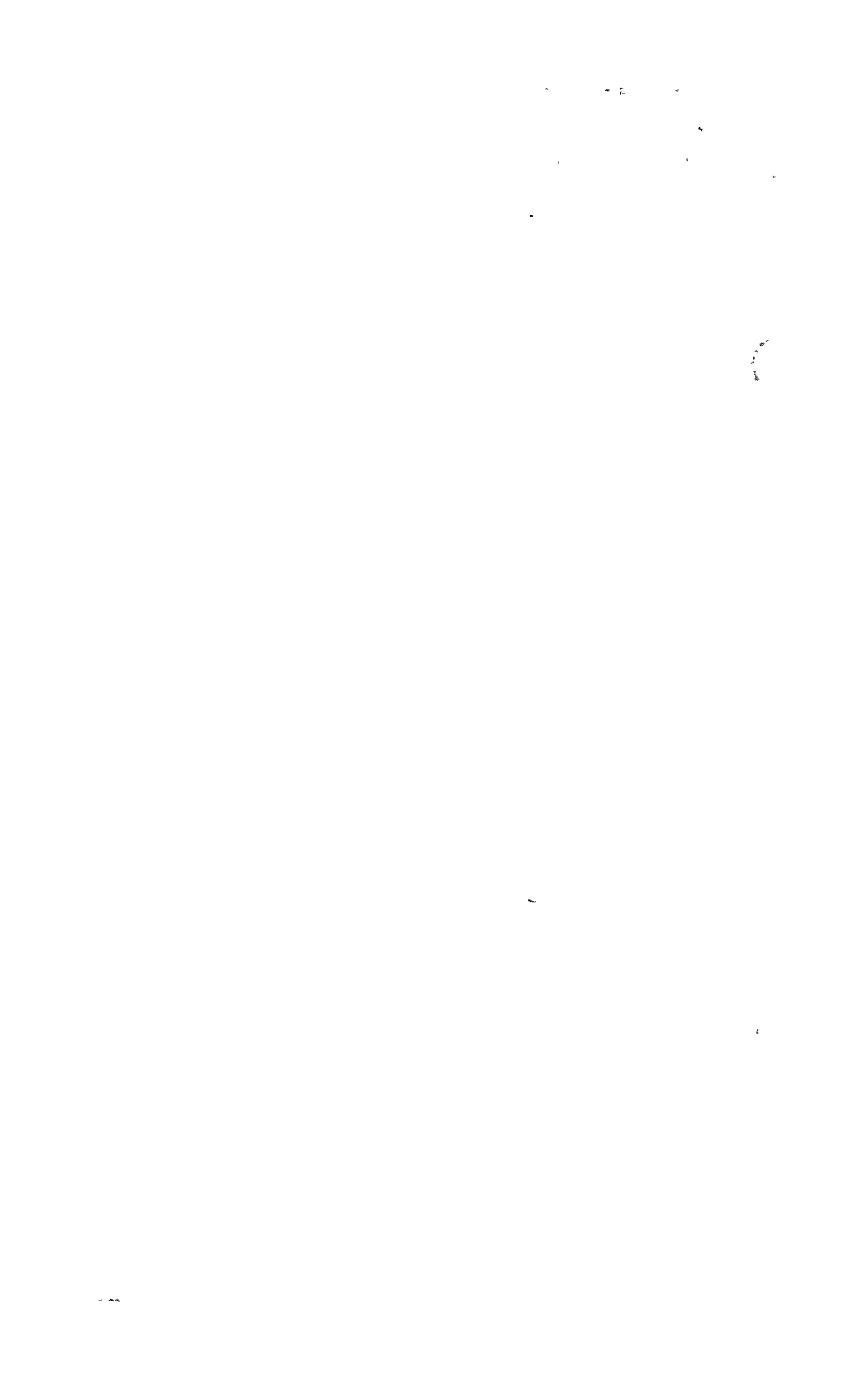
Among the Armenian katholikoses we find one at Āghtāmar named Katholikos Zakaria I Sēfetınian, who officiated from 1296 until 1336. The name "Pūssaid" is the medieval Armenian name for the Persian Īl-Khān Abu Sā'īd (1312–1335), the son of Khudabanda. He was known as a feeble ruler, and it is evident from the colophon remarks of the scribe Khātchādour that during his reign the Christians (Armenians) did not fare very well, and were taxed heavily.

The importance of this MS. is in the unusual and fine illuminations that adorn its pages. It contains throughout the MS. seventeen full-page miniatures or ornaments. The style of these miniatures is not of the orthodox art of illuminating Armenian Gospels of the period.

Although the scribe in his colophon does not give us the name of the illuminator, fortunately under the bases of the columns of the two calendar pages (all of which are finely illuminated) we find the name of the artist in simple decorative letters, "The illuminator Giragos remember Christ and God

The baptism of Christ in the river Jordan. Left, John the Baptist, over his head the blessing hand of God. Right, Christ, over his head dove-shaped Holy Spirit, and the angel with the oil, anointing.

This miniature represents "son Hovaness" according to the writing at the top of the miniature.
One can plainly see the Arabic writing on the armband of the Armenian prince. Arabic writing in Armenian gospel illuminations is most unusual.

[To face p. 604.

This miniature represents the Virgin Mary with the Child Christ; an unusual arrangement for Armenian iconography of the period.

This miniature, according to the writing, represents, on the left Anifa, wife of Hovaness, and on the right Khuant, sister of Hovaness with her firstborn Boghos (Paul) in her arms.

will remember you." Thus it is revealed to us that this master Armenian illuminator was named Giragos. Beside this little else can be gleaned. The place of writing, the village of Lāngshen, was perhaps also the site of the work. Unfortunately it has been impossible for me to find the correct location of Lāngshen on the maps; however, we know that it was in the jurisdiction of Katholikos Zakaria of Āghtāmar,[1] whose see had very limited boundaries in the present vilāyat of Van in Turkish Armenia.

Although little is said and is known about Armenian illuminations (a very fertile and virgin ground for study with its 20,000 MSS.), nevertheless we know that orthodox Armenian illuminating art was entirely free from any Muhammadan or Islamic influence up to the fifteenth century. Armenian book illumination remained a purely religious art without any secularism, and even when Armenian MSS. contain miniature portraits of contemporary men or women (owners, scribes, or illuminators of MSS.), they are executed in the same style of religious art, except that the subjects are dressed in the costumes of the time.

The miniatures (religious or secular portraiture) of this No. 481 MS. are executed with great ability and touch, but decidedly in a style of Islamic art throughout, which is known as the school of Baghdād, and which flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in that famous capital.[2] This departure from the usual and accepted style of Armenian Gospel illumination shows our illuminator, Giragos, as a

[1] Armenians at various times had three katholikos sees: one in Sīs (Cilicia), a second in Āghtāmar (island in Lake Van, Turkish Armenia), and the third in Etchmiadzin (in the present republic of Armenia, U.S.S.R.). Of these, the first two had only limited local jurisdiction, but the last one had control of all Armenians. A katholikos is the head of the Armenian Church, a "pope" only for Armenians.

[2] There are perfect, almost detailed, resemblances in the miniatures of this Armenian Gospel, a few of which are reproduced here, and the miniatures reproduced in Gaston Migeon's *Les Arts Plastiques et Industriels*, Paris, 1907, on pp. 2–5. Also Armenag Sakisian's *La Miniature Persan*, Paris, 1929, figs. 18, 19, 20, 22.

very courageous artist in daring to attempt something like sacrilege. His work, which is simple in colour, design, and arrangement, and faithful to the Islamic style of the School of Baghdād, evidently was accepted by other and later Armenian illuminators. Thus he was the founder of a new style of Armenian illumination that eventually became very popular among the illuminators of Armenian MSS. written and illuminated in or about Van, Pāghesh, Khizān, etc., all of which were part of the see of the katholikos of Āghtāmar, and every one of them famous and important schools and centres for writing and illuminating Armenian MSS. in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, when the mass deportations of Armenians from these provinces by Shah ʻAbbās I, in the year 1603, and the eventual settlement of the deported Armenians in Isfahān, transferred among other arts and crafts this style of illuminating to that famous art capital in the seventeenth century. There, at that period hundreds of Armenian MSS. were written and illuminated.

438. H. KURDIAN.

TWO UNEXPLAINED NAMES IN THE MILINDAPAÑHA

The names of the four counsellors of the king in the prelude to the second dialogue of the Milindapañha, viz., Devamantiya, Anantakāya, Maṅkura, and Sabbadinna, have been discussed more than once. Greek originals have been suggested for all of them (Theomantis and Demetrios, Antiochos, Menekles, Sarapodotos and Pasidotos), though with some likelihood only for the first two which are now generally believed to be Demetrios and Antiochos. An attempt to explain the other two names has been recently made by Dr. W. W. Tarn in his admirable work *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938, pp. 422 ff.). For him, " what is material is not so much the names, whether real or fictitious, as the nationalities." Relying on Professor Pelliot's identification of the Chinese name Man-kʻiu (for Maṅkura) with that of Pakor II in the

Hou-han-shu, he thinks it "certain that the third name is Pacor (Pacorus)". "Pacorus," he goes on, "was a common Parthian name, occurring in India as Pacores, but Mankura can hardly have been a Parthian and must have been some other north Iranian, Bactrian or Sogdian," etc. And he further suggests that Sabbadinna is Sabbadotos, the presumably real name of "a more or less hellenized Anatolian". For, "Menander, it seems, had some Anatolian troops." I do not think that this explanation of the two names is more plausible than the one I venture to offer in the following lines.

To begin with Sabbadinna, this name is hardly an enigma at all. It has remained one only for those who are looking for a Greek or other non-Indian original and, on the other hand, because *sabba* is not known from the lexicon except as the Pāli form of Sanskrit *sarva*, "all." But Pāli *sabba* may just as well represent Sanskrit *Śarva*, a name of the god Śiva (cf. Ardhamāgadhī *savvarī* = Sanskrit *śarvarī*), and Śarvadatta is actually known to us from the Vamśa-Brāhmaṇa as the name of a teacher (see Mo. Wi., s.v.) and, from the grants of Jayanātha, as that of a royal official (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii, pp. 119 ff.). Compare also Bhava-, Rudra-, Śaṁkara-, Śiva-, Hara-datta, and, on the other hand (loc. cit., pp. 337–8), Śarva-nāga, -rātha, -svāmin, -varman, and note the interchange of names in *-dinna* (*-diṇṇa*) and *-datta* in the Prākrits (Pischel, §§ 566, 474) and, occasionally, even in the Sanskrit (as Varāhadinna by the side of Śarvadatta in the second of the grants referred to above). There is, therefore, no reason to doubt that both Sabbadatta in the Jātaka (ed., vol. iv, pp. 119 ff.) and Sabbadinna in the Milindapañha represent the one Sanskrit name Śarvadatta. There does exist a Viśvadatta (though apparently only in the Kathāsaritsāgara), and, both *viśva* and *sarva* being among the names of the supreme deity (Śiva, Viṣṇu), the name Śarvadatta would be quite intelligible; but it does not seem to occur anywhere.

Maṅkura also need not be a substitute for a foreign name.

At any rate it cannot stand for Pakor. No Indo-Aryan, whatever be his dialect, could have changed Pakores or the like to Maṅkura. The change of initial *p* to *m* is unknown in Pāli and Prākrit, which do know a change in the opposite direction only, as shown by *mañjara* > *vaṃjara*, *manmatha* > *vammaha*, *mīmāṃsā* > *vīmaṃsā* (see Pischel). Now, *maṅkura*, *makura* is said to mean "mirror", and this, indeed, is not known as a proper name. But there are so many strange names in India that a counterpart of the German (Jewish) name Spiegel would not seem to be impossible there, the less so as *ādarśa* and *darpaṇa* are known as proper names, though from mythology only (son of a Manu; name of Śiva). On the other hand, *mankura* may be a nasalized variant[1] of *makura* which (like *mukura*) besides meaning "mirror" is said to mean also "bud", i.e. *mukula*; and the latter at least is actually found in literature as a proper name of various persons (author, king, etc.). Since in Pāli (as in Prākrit) *r* often becomes *l*, I think that the name Maṅkura is also contained in Maṅkulapabbata and Maṅkulārāma (see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, s.v.).

In my opinion, then, the Council of Menander, as imagined by the author of the "Questions", consisted of two Greeks and two Indians.

435. F. OTTO SCHRADER.

THE ARABIC VERSION OF TATIAN'S DIATESSARON

The discovery some years ago of a new manuscript of the Arabic version of Tatian's Diatessaron gave occasion to father A. S. Marmardji to publish a new edition of the text (*Diatessaron de Tatien*, Beyrouth, Imprimerie Catholique 1935). As basis of this he used the new manuscript (which he calls E), though the Vatican manuscripts A, B, used by Ciasca, contribute also to the text.

[1] The tendency to nasalization is probably much older than its written evidence in the Pāli MSS. noticed by Geiger in his grammar, p. 43, n. 3.

I think it may be of interest to make it known that there is in existence a further manuscript of this work, recently acquired by the Bodleian Library at Oxford (pressmark Ms. Arab. e 163, ff. 140–288). A collation of the first chapter which I have made reveals that this manuscript closely resembles E. In the first chapter there are only four instances where it agrees with A or B against E, and it has the readings particularly characteristic of E, for example جيش for the جنس of A, B in xv, 35 (see p. xvi of Marmardji's introduction). The date of this manuscript is A.D. 1806, that is, pretty well contemporaneous with E. But what gives it particular interest and value is the following colophon:—

واما النسخة الذى [*sic*] نقل منها هذا الكتاب فانها بخط العلماء الابرار اولاد العسال نيح الله نفوسهم مع جماعة الاطهار تاريخها ١٨ شهر رجب سنة خمساية للهجرة العربية

" the copy from which this book was transcribed is in the handwriting of the Aulâd al-'Assâl, and dated the 18. Rajab 500 A.H." (= A.D. 1107). It must be admitted that there is an inconsistency in the colophon as it stands, since, though the history of the three Aulâd al-'Assâl brothers is very obscure, it seems that their floruit was about a century later than this (see *JA.*, sér. x, vol. 6, p. 519 sq.). It is possible, however, that the copyist of the Bodleian manuscript has omitted two digits after the hundreds digit, either accidentally or through their having been effaced in the original, and that the date should be, for example, 590 odd. If the colophon is at all events genuine in so far as relates to the mention of the Aulâd al-'Assâl, it gives a considerable added weight to the E tradition.

A further point which may be mentioned is the connection between Abû 'l-Faraj 'Abd Allah b. al-Ṭayyib and the Arabic Diatessaron. The common attribution of this version to him is considered to be false by Marmardji, mainly on the ground

of its bad Arabic style. And this view is approved by Margoliouth and Benoit in their reviews of this edition (*Journal of Theol. Studies*, 1937, p. 76, and *Révue Biblique*, 1937, p. 127 respectively). As a supporting argument, however, Marmardji has used a statement prefaced to another Arabic Diatessaron, by an anonymous Copt, preserved in the library of father Sbath. This Copt refers to Abû 'l-Faraj as having compiled (*jama'a*), not translated (*tarjama*), an Arabic Diatessaron. From this Marmardji seems to conclude that Abû 'l-Faraj did indeed *compile* an Arabic Diatessaron, now presumably lost, but was not the author of the extant translation of Tatian. But this assumption is vitiated by the silence of those ancient authorities, who give lists of the works of Abû 'l-Faraj, concerning *any* Diatessaric work: a silence which Marmardji, overlooking apparently the contradiction involved, had already pointed out and used as his initial argument against the attribution of this version to Abû 'l-Faraj.

What seems to me more probable is simply that the real translator, whoever he was, attempted to give currency to his work by passing it off as the work of the well-known savant. That the attribution to Abû 'l-Faraj was at any rate familiar already in the time of the Aulâd al-'Assâl (early 13th century), appears from the fact that it is found in the usual form (نقله من السريانى الى العربى القس الخ) at the beginning of the Bodleian manuscript.

428. A. F. L. Beeston.

THE TALKING FRUIT

An interesting article, entitled "The Talking Tree", was published in the *Bulletin* of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology (vol. iv, No. 2, December, 1935, pp. 66–72) by Dr. Phyllis Ackerman. The name of the author is well known in the field of Oriental art, and because of that, it is quite natural that the theme was treated mostly from the point of view of art. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the contents of this article must be divided into two parts. The first question is that of the origin of the image of queen-virgin-goddess, the second is the geographical situation of the "legendary" country where this tree grows.

The analysis of the first question is given very well and a great number of facts are collected. This shows the good knowledge of the author in the bibliography which was necessary for such a study. But in this brief note I wish to call to the attention of Mrs. Ackerman the fact that in the second question the most important work for the solution of our problem remained unknown to her. This article is "Le Wakwak est-il le Japon ?", and was written by the late French Orientalist, Gabriel Ferrand (*Journal Asiatique*, vol. ccxx, No. 2, Avril–Juin, 1932, pp. 193–243).

In this work the distinguished scholar reviewed again all the Oriental (as well as the European) material accessible to us. The title of his article can be explained by the fact that some Orientalists, while the question of the mysterious island with the "Wakwak" tree was discussed, accepted the opinion that it must be Japan.

At the beginning he quoted Near and Far Eastern ancient authors who distinguished between the Southern Wakwak or African, the Eastern or Chinese, and the third called simply Wak, instead of Wakwak. Here we find the data concerning the flora and fauna of the Wakwak land and even the name of its king. It seems to me it will be not without interest for the author of "The Talking Tree" to know that the gold

of Wakwak is often mentioned (see in her article " gold ", " golden ", etc.).

One passage of Ferrand's work is especially important for us. He indicates that many ancient authors say that the famous tree has fruit " similar to human heads ", which being ripe and falling down on the earth makes a noise like " wak-wak ". Thus, this fruit was not so legendary as we thought earlier.

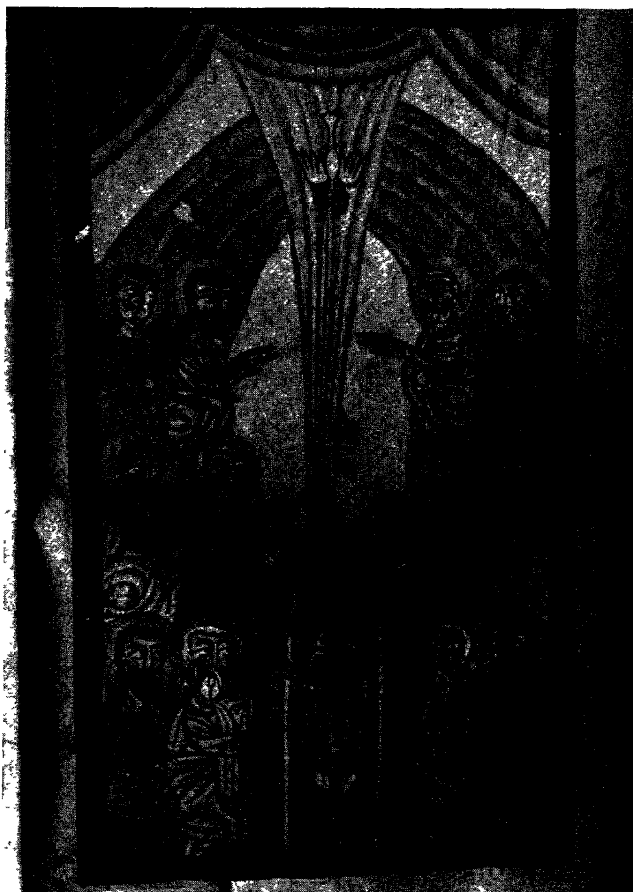
Now, about the geographical place of this also " legendary " country or island. Ferrand criticized the theory of Japan, the creator of which was the great Dutch Orientalist, de Goeje, and other theories about India, China, and so on. As far as I can judge, Ferrand quite logically and positively proved that not one of these theories was correct. And his own conclusion is that there were two Wakwaks: the Southern, which he places in Madagascar and on the eastern coast of Africa, and the Eastern, which he places in Sumatra. This is the final solution of the problem, and I think it is incontestable.

But reading carefully the work of Ferrand, I was exceedingly astonished by two facts. I cannot understand why in his description of the " Janissaries tree " in Constantinople, as a parallel to the Wakwak, he used the French translation of the well-known *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, by Joseph Hammer-Purgstall. In the German original text (Pest, 1829, vol. 5, pp. 640, 721) he could find more material, the date of the event—March, 1656, and two poems with one epigram. Besides, there is another striking piece of information, to which the author paid no attention. In the French translation quoted by Ferrand (vol. 10, p. 456), Hammer says that in a " History of America ", printed in Constantinople (no title, no date), it is mentioned that the fruit like our Wakwak is " a product of the West Indies ". This very interesting detail is, unfortunately, out of my field, and I put my discovery into the hands of Americanists.

420. NICHOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH.

THE PENTECOST, FROM A LECTIONARY IN SYRIAC.
ISTANBUL, PRIVATE COLLECTION.

[*To face p.*

THE PENTECOST, FROM AN ICON IN THE PINACOTECA VATICANA, ROME.

THE PENTECOST, FROM AN ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPT WITH TITLES IN SYRIAC (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. syr. 344, fol. 7).

A MINIATURE OF THE PENTECOST

From a Lectionary in Syriac

(PLATES XIV–XVI)

I am very much indebted to Mr. Lutfik Arman, of Istanbul, who kindly allowed me to reproduce for the first time a miniature in his possession representing the Pentecost (Pl. XIV), which at one time was part of a lectionary of the Gospels in Syriac. The text underneath, which is continued on the other side of the page, is the story of the Samaritan Woman at the Well (John iv, 13). This passage forms the third pericope of Whit-Sunday, and was read in the evening in the Service of Genuflection.[1] In similar lectionaries, in Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 7170 or in MS. Vat. Syr. 559, for example, this passage is more adequately illustrated by the scene of Christ meeting the Woman at the Well,[2] the miniature of the Pentecost being reserved for the first pericope of that day; from the fact that here it accompanies the third Whitsun pericope, we may conclude that it was the only miniature illustrating Whit-Sunday service, and that the illustration of the manuscript in general was less abundant than that of the two lectionaries mentioned above.

The miniature, which is of good artistic quality, dates from the twelfth century: its purely Byzantine style is derived from contemporary Greek illuminations to be found in Gospel and other biblical manuscripts.[3] The fact that this miniature is a copy of a middle Byzantine illustration, is indicated, moreover, by the decorated frame, a common feature of Greek full-page illumination.[4]

[1] Cf. O. H. E. Burmester, "The Office of Genuflection on Whit-Sunday," in *Le Muséon*, 47, 1934, pp. 205 ff. I am indebted to Mr C Moss, of the Department of Oriental Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum, for his help in reading the Syriac text.

[2] Cf. H. Buchthal, "The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its relations to Byzantine and Islamic Art," in Syria, 1939 (in the press).

[3] Cf., e g., Athens, National Library, MS. 7 (P. Buberl, *Die Miniaturenhandschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Athen*, pl. 17 ff.), or the well-known "Homélies du moine Jacques", in Paris (Gr. 1208) and Rome (Gr. 1162).

[4] Cf. H Buchthal, op. cit.

The iconography of the miniature is interesting. It follows the Byzantine scheme usual for this scene,[1] but instead of the closed gate or the representatives of the "peoples", in the lower register we see two persons, a king and a human figure with an animal's head. There seems to exist no exact parallel to these peculiar features in Byzantine iconography; but similar, though somewhat more elaborate, types in contemporary and later East Christian representations of this scene may help us towards an explanation.

On Greek and Russian paintings and icons from the twelfth century onwards, this place is sometimes occupied by a seated king holding in his lap twelve rotuli symbolical of the twelve apostolic commissions to the peoples of the world (Pl. XV). In many instances this royal figure is described as "Kosmos".[2] It was probably this symbolical conception of the universe which the Syrian artist had in mind when he represented the first of the two figures of the "peoples" with the traits of a crowned king.

The second figure is clearly an allusion to those miraculous peoples of the East whose existence had so much impressed the medieval mind, and who are an outstanding feature of the Romance of Alexander and of medieval encyclopædias and histories of the world. The most striking parallels to this representation are found in Armenian Pentecost miniatures of a later date: the "peoples" are symbolized by two figures, one of which has two heads, one human and one animal,[3] or even by a single figure with three heads (Pl. XVI).

Thus the chief interest which our miniature represents

[1] Cf. A. Grabar, "Le schéma iconographique de la Pentecôte," in *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 2, 1928, p. 238 (in Russian, French résumé).

[2] Cf. A. Muñoz, *L'art byzantin à l'exposition de Grottaferrata*, 1906, pp. 52 ff.; G. L. Bertolini, "Della Rosa dei Venti nell'Exultet di Bari, e di una figurazione geografica degli Atti degli Apostoli," in *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, 4 s., 12, 1911, pp. 85–97; I Quadri bizantini della Pinacoteca Vaticana, con intr. di A. Muñoz, 1928 (Coll. arch . . . dei Palazzi Vaticani, 10), pl .25 and 37, 2.

[3] Cf. A. Grabar, op. cit., fig. 2, and F. Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, 1913, figs. 43, 94, etc.

consists in the fact that it is an early instance of that process of simplification which the formulae of Greek iconography had to undergo during the later stages of East Christian art. Students of Greek and Armenian iconography in the late Middle Ages, the origins and development of which are still much discussed, will be glad to refer to this miniature as an early example of a conception familiar to them from a later age.

416. HUGO BUCHTHAL.

TWO SUMERIAN LETTERS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

ABBREVIATIONS

Some of the abbreviations used in this article will be found listed in *JRAS.*, January, 1939, p. 29. The following are new —

Forbes, BP. :	*Bitumen and Petroleum in Antiquity*, Leiden, 1936.
Kraus, AB.	"Altbabylonische Briefe," *MVAG.*, 35 Band, 2 Heft 1931.
OECT :	*Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts.*
Pohl, RVU :	*Rechts und Verwaltungsurkunden der III Dynastie von Ur*, Leipzig, 1937.
Schneider, DDA. :	*Das Drehem- und Djokhaarchiv.*
Schneider, DDU. :	*Die Drehem- und Djokha-Urkunden*, Rome, 1931.

I am indebted to Mr. Sidney Smith for permission to publish the two British Museum tablets which form the basis of this article; to Dr. H. Pfeiffer, of the Harvard Semitic Museum, for permission to make public any material I hav collected from the unpublished tablets there; and to Mr. C. J Gadd, of the British Museum, with whom I have had very helpful discussions concerning the letters here translated.

(1) B.M. 88140

Al-la-ra
ù-na-a-dug$_4$
lal-ni é-^{d}Ba-bà$_6$-ka
šu-ḫa-ab-bar-ri
(Rev.) ù lú-níg
ḫa-na-zi-zi

Notes

(i) The verb *šu-bar* occurs elsewhere in Sumerian letters of Ur III in the following forms :—

šu-ḫe-ba-ri. Keiser, STD. 136, 139, 146.

šu-ḫe-bar-ri. Boson, TCS. 357 ; Fish, JR. 532 ; ITT. iii, 6510 ; Pohl, RVU. 352.

šu-ḫa-bar-ri. ITT. v, 6743.

" *šu-bar* = *uššuru,* freilassen " (Deimel, Sum. Lex. 354, 120) ; cf. *ú-ši-ra-aš-šu* (Kraus, AB. 10, 10).

In the letters the phrase is used of persons in all letters except two, e.g. *Lugal-á-zi-da, ù-na-a-dug*$_4$, *dumu-Ur-*[d]*Šul-pa-è, šu-ḫe-ba-ri* (Keiser, STD. 136), which means: "To Lugalazida say: mayest thou release the son of Ur-Šulpae." A letter of the First Babylonian Dynasty published by Lutz, reads *aš-šum A-pil-(il) Ba-ba*$_6$ . . . *ša i-ka-lu* . . . *la tu-wa-aš-ši-ru-šu* which Driver (OECT., vol. iii, no. 63) translates, "Concerning Apil-Baba . . . whom they have imprisoned . . . thou shalt not have him released." Perhaps the letters quoted from Ur III relate to the release of prisoners. But it must be confessed that the meaning "herschicken" given by Kraus, loc. cit., 93, 27, for *wašârum,* II, i, would suit the contexts just as well.

In the remaining instances quoted *šu-bar* is used of *su*,,*-lum,* dates (Pohl, RVU. 352), and oxen (Keiser, STD. 139), and must mean " send here ".

(ii) *ḫa-na-zi-zi* only B.M. 88140.

ḫa-na-ab-zi-zi. ITT. ii, 4126 ; iii, 5247, 5607.

ḫe-na-ab-zi-zi. ITT. iv, 7651, 7723, 7747 ; v, 8220.

ḫe-na-ab-zi. Keiser, STD. 139.

ḫa-ab-da-ab-zi-zi. ITT. iii, 5247.

A tablet published by Ungnad (Archiv. Or., 1935, p. 8, BJ. 74), has the phrase *á Lugal-kù-za-ta zi-zi-dam* which Ungnad translates "den Lohn wird er von L abziehen" and equates with the Akkadian *išdam ištu L inasaḫ* (or *inaši, iṣabat*).

In the following Sumerian letters *zi-zi* = *našû*, to deliver, to take, suits the contexts :—

1. *PA-al-ra*, *ù-na-a-dug₄*, 10 *še gur-lugal*, *Lú-ᵈNina-ra*, *ḫe-na-ab-zi-zi*, (Reverse) *a-ka-Šeš-šeš-dam-qar-ka*, *ḫe-gá-gá* (ITT. iv, 7651).

Translation.—To the PA AL say: let ten royal *gur* of barley be delivered to Lu-Nina; let it be put down to the credit of Šeššeš the merchant.

2. *Lul-a-mu*, *ù-na-a-dug₄*, 17 *gud* 4 *anše-nita*, *giš-a ba-an-si*, *sangu-ᵈNin-mar-ki-ka-ra*, (Reverse) *ḫe-na-ab-zi-zi* (ITT. iv, 7747)

Note.—*giš-a ba-an-si*. *giš* = *giš-apin*, plough; cf. *gud* . . . *ki-N-ta apin-na ba-an-si₄*, ITT. iv, 7178; and an unpublished tablet in the British Museum, B.M. 100434: *gud*, *udu*(?), *kù-bi* ½ *ma-na*, *apin-a ba-an-si*.

apin . . . *si* = *smd epenna* "festfugen Pflug" (Bezold, Bab-Ass. Glossar, S. 238).

Perhaps Dossin's note on sheep in agricultural work (RA. xxx, 1933, pp. 83 seq.) is relevant in connection with B.M. 100434.

Translation.—To Lulamu say: let seventeen oxen (and) four male asses which have been yoked to the plough be delivered to the *sangu* of Ninmarki.

3. *Na-ni*, *ù-na-a-dug₄*, *x zíd-bulug-dùg-gur*, *ki-Urᵈ En-líl-ta*, *ba-zi*, (Reverse) *ḫe-na-ab-zi-zi* (ITT. v, 8220).

Translation.—To Nani say: let x gur of good *bulug*-meal, expended by Ur-Enlil, be delivered to him.

4. *Ur-ᵈGal-alim-ra*, *ù-na-a-dug₄*, *im é-dub-ba-ka-da*, *ḫa-ab-da-ab-zi-zi*, *Lú-ᵈNin-šubur-ra*, *ḫe-na-ab-zi-zi*, *ka-gal-la-ta* . . . (ITT. iii, 5247, *reverse*).

Translation.—To Ur-Galim say: let clay be delivered at the record-house; let it be delivered to Lu-Ninšubur. . . .

5. *Na-ni*, *ù-na-a-dug₄*, *dub-lú-NÍG.KU-gé-ne*, *Ù-ma-ni*, (Reverse) *Šeš-kal-la*, *in-na-sum-mu*, *šu-ḫa-ba-ši-ib-ti*, *ḫa-na-ab-zi-zi* (ITT. ii, 4126).

Note.—*NÍG.KU* certainly a cult term. For references see

Schneider, DDA., Heft 2, Teil I, S. 67–8; and Fish, *JRAS.*, January, 1939, p. 36. I propose to read *nì-díb* and equate it with the Semitic *nidbû*, *nindabû*, freewill offering, the opposite of *sá-dug*$_4$, Semitic *sattukku*. In confirmation of this suggestion is the following Umma text (Contenau, UDU. 19): 2 2/5 *zíz-gur*, *sá-dug*$_4$ *itu-še-sag-kud*, 2/5 (*gur*) 4 *silá še* 1/5.1/30 (*gur*) 2 *sila zíz NÍG.KU itu-še-sag-kud é-ḫar-ta*, where the two cult terms *sá-dug*$_4$ and *NÍG.KU* are distinguished in successive lines. Cf. also Chiera, STA. 3, iii, 23 ff., and Schneider, GDD. 396, 6.

Translation.—To Nani say: the tablets of the man in charge of the freewill offerings to Umani Šeškalla has handed over; let them be got hold of and delivered to him (i.e. to the *nì-díb* man).

6. *Lugal-mu, ù-na-a-dug*$_4$, 431 + 1/5 *še-gur, dub-lú-nì-díb-bi-ne-bi, ki-Ur-*^{d}*Ba-ba*$_6$*-ta*, (Reverse) *šu-ba-ti, Ur-*^{d}*Ba-ba*$_6$*-ra, ḫe-na-ab-zi-zi* (ITT. iv, 7723).

Translation.—To Lugalmu say: 431 + x *gur* of barley has been received from Ur-Baba. . . . Let it be delivered (*perhaps* "restored") to Ur-Baba.

dub-lú-nì-díb-bi-ne-bi is difficult. It seems to convey that the receipt of the barley is attested by the records of the *nì-díb* men.

7. *Ur-*^{d}*Gal-alim-ra, ù-na-a-dug*$_4$*, še-níg-gál-la ù maš-a-šà-ga-bi, Ur-*^{d}*Utu ḫa-za-núm, ì-in-gá-gar-ra, a-šà En-nu-núm-ma-ka*(?), (Reverse), *še-níg-gál-la ù maš-a-šà-ga-bi, Šeš-gi-na ù Nam-maḫ, sib-*^{d}*En-zu-dug*$_4$*-gá-ne, x-x-*^{d}*Innana-ka, En-ni-ki-ág-ra, ḫa-na-ab-zi-zi*, (Edge) *mu-*^{d}*Ibi-Sin-lugal* (ITT. iii, 5607).

Note.—*maš* for *máš* = *ṣibtu*, as elsewhere on Ur III tablets.

Translation.—To Ur-Galalim say: concerning the barley property and the interest on its field (i.e. the field in which the barley was grown), Ur-Utu the *hazanum* has laid down: the field belongs to Ennunumma; the barley property and the interest of its field let Šešgina and Nammah, shepherds of Enzudugga (and) xx-Innana have it delivered to Ennikiag. First year of Ibi-Sin.

In the light of the above tablets and discussion, the British Museum tablet 88140 transliterated above, may now be translated as follows: "To Alla say: mayest thou let go the balance belonging to the temple of Baba and deliver it to the owner" (*lú-nig* = *bêl namkurim*).

(2) B.M. 105563

I silá esir-é-a
ḫe-na-ab-sum-mu
5 gú PA.KUD giš-a-tu
ḫe-na-ab-sum-mu
na-mi-gur-ri
gú-na-kam

NOTES

(i) *esir-é-a* not to be confused with *esir-è-a*, which does not, I think, occur on Ur III tablets. The former is measured in *sila* and *gur*, which suggests a moist bitumen. The latter is translated "dry bitumen" (Thompson, *Dict.*, p. 42), and is written *esir-UD.DU-a* which, perhaps, is the Ur III *esir-UD* which was measured in shekel and mina.

esir-é-a is, literally, "house-bitumen." This, according to Forbes (BP., p. 51, and *Ambix*, vi, l. 2, p. 82) is mastic. But Forrer suggests (OLZ., 1937, 675), "Petroleum das in Lampen zu Beleuchtungszwecken diente." But why not bitumen used as mortar in building of houses? Woolley (*Antiq. Journal*, 1927, p. 390) says that bitumen was used as mortar "only in important public buildings" at Ur. An Ur III tablet (Schneider, DDT. 146) records *esir-é-a* for the house of libations for Ur-Nammu, the first king of the dynasty. Another (Schneider, GDD., 202) makes mention of bitumen of the *é-a* and other sorts in connection with the building of a temple *é-dìr*.

(ii) *PA.KUD giš a-tu*; so also Schneider, DDU. 148, 3. On use of *giš a-tu* logs for fuel, cf. Thompson, *Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians*, pp. 57, 131, l. 10, and *Dict.*, p. xxvi.

(iii) *na-mi-gur-ri*. The phrase is discussed by G. Dossin in RA., 1936, pp. 7 ff. He concludes that it is the equivalent of the Akkadian *la tutâr* which he translates "Ne refuse pas". In addition to the forms of the phrase which Dossin cites, there is an unpublished letter in the Sumerian Collection in the Harvard Semitic Museum which has the variant *ka-bi na-mi-ib-gur-ri*. Nowhere else, to my knowledge, is the phrase *na-mi-gur* preceded by *ka-bi*.

Now *gur* = *târu*, as Dossin says. But the Akkadian *târu* does not immediately suggest the meaning "refuse" which Dossin gives to it in the Letters. It is not unlikely that the Harvard tablet gives the full form of the formula of which *na-mi-gur-ri* is an abbreviation. The complex *ka . . . gur* suggests *turru, šuteru amatam*, "to reply," which would give sense in this context: "don't answer this word."

(iv) *gú-na-kam*. The phrase occurs on another letter of this period: *X-dùg-ga, ù-na-a-dug*$_4$, 40 *kal ud-I-àm, a-šà* 20 *iku a-ba, gi-ḫe-gur-e*, (Reverse) *ù gi-ḫa-šer-e, gú-na-kam, a-ma-ru-kam* (Keiser, STD. 120), i.e. "To X say: let 40 men for one day in the (*or* a) field of twenty *iku* cut reeds and bind them; *gú-na-kam*; be not remiss." From this and the B.M. letters it would appear that *gú-na-kam* has, perhaps, a meaning very similar to that of *a-ma-ru-kam*. Is *gú* here *aḫu*, and the phrase the Sumerian equivalent of the common Akkadian *a-aḫ-ka la ta-na-di*?

(v) B.M. 105563 may, therefore, be translated: "Let one *sila* of house-bitumen be handed over; let five talents of cut boughs of the *a-tu* tree be given. Do not reply (but) don't take it easy!"

The tablet is unique in that not a single name, not even that of the addressee, is given.

434. T. Fish.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

THE BEKTASHI ORDER OF DERVISHES. By JOHN KINGSLEY BIRGE, PH.D., Istanbul, Turkey. Luzac's Orienta Religions Series, Vol. VII. 10 × 6, pp. 291, ills. 32. Hartford: Hartford Seminary Press, Conn., U.S.A. London: Luzac, 1937. 17*s*. 6*d*.

The history and doctrines of the Bektashis have been treate by G. Jacob in his essay *Die Bektaschijje in ihrem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen* (*Abhandlungen der K. Bayer. Akademie, I Kl., XXIV. Bd., III. Abt.*), and by F. W. Hasluck in his work *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. Dr. Birge' account of their opinions and activities is on the whole in agreement with Hasluck's, but he has had access to much more of their literature than was accessible to Hasluck, has associated with members of the Order, and furnished no fewer than 32 photographs of " original charts actually used on the walls of Bektashi Tekkes and of symbols used in their ritual or with their costume." On all these he provides an authoritative commentary, and he has besides given a minute account of their liturgies and translated some of their poems. Expelled from Turkey which was for a long time their stronghold, they still exist in Albania, and, like Hasluck, he has occasionally to introduce Albanian words into his text or notes; his Glossary of Technical terms, some of which ar common to the Sufi sects, is much more copious than Hasluck's. The modern Turkish orthography, in which the borrowings from Arabic are often seriously disguised, is adopted throughout.

Dr. Birge's researches render necessary a good deal of modification in Jacob's statements. To begin with, whereas Jacob traces the name Bektash no earlier than the middle of

the fifteenth century, Dr. Birge finds mention of it as early as 1295 and 1296. Further, Jacob's assertion *von einem historischen Haddschy Bektasch wissen wir so gut wie garnichts* is too emphatic; it is now demonstrated that the founder of the Order died not many years before 1297, and not a few of the stories told about him are rendered credible by synchronisms. His dealing with its doctrines under the heading *Islamischer Kryptochristianismus* is also shown to be an exaggeration. In the authoritative accounts of Bektashi beliefs and rites which Dr. Birge produces there is very little which is traceable to Christianity. What he says of the Bektashi Trinity is as follows:

"Following the above described belief in God as the one Reality there are in the mind of the Bektashis special manifestations of this Reality in Muhammad and Ali. The identification of these three, in fact, is so close that it amounts to a doctrine of Trinity; *Hak* or Reality and Muhammad and Ali."

The sources of this doctrine would seem to be pantheistic and Islamic; 'Ali is one of the Qur'anic epithets of Allah, which probably led to his deification by the Nusairis. (Dr. Birge's statement, p. 135, that 'Ali was killed with a poisoned arrow, is surprising; the Arabic historians make his assassin use a sword.)

The author's special qualifications for handling this theme have been stated above. To these I may add sympathy which does not degenerate into partisanship, and a high standard of accuracy.

B. 72. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MUALLIM M. CEVDETIN HAYATI, ESERLERI VE KUTUPHANESI (The life, works, and library of Professor M. Jevdet). By OSMAN ERGIN, Secretary of the Istanbul Vilayet. 10 × 6½, pp. 748. Istanbul: Bozkurt Press, 1937.

This is an interesting but somewhat prolix work. M. Jevdet, of whom it is a biography, died in 1935 at the age of 5?, h vi r

been a teacher at four different colleges, and for rather more than two years at the end of his life head of a commission for the examination of historical documents. It is of interest to read that only at Robert College, an American institution, did he see the kindly welcome and smiling faces which he had not seen at the Government colleges (*resmi mekteplerden*). His scholastic career was not unchequered; on two occasions it was officially reported that his lectures were not up to the required standard, a charge which both he and his biographer do their best to refute. Some trouble is taken to show that though a pious Muslim he was not a fanatic, and incidentally at considerable length that a large percentage of European men of science and learning were religious. Some of their names are not easily recognized in the Latinized Turkish; Pikt Hol is comparatively easy. (An ideal name for a critic.)

His attitude to the change of alphabet is described as one of very moderate approval. He could not pardon those enthusiasts who, when it was introduced, hastened to destroy old books and efface inscriptions on buildings; when an old friend said that the tablets in Aya Sofia containing the names *Allāh*, *Muḥammad*, *Abū Bakr*, *'Uthmān*, *'Alī*, in Arabic script must be removed, Jevdet would never mention the man's name again. His most important literary production appears to have been a supplement to Ibn Baṭūṭa's Travels, written in Arabic. One of his services to Turkish antiquities consisted in his rescuing deeds and records which had been accumulating in public offices and mosques and in the year 1931 were being sold at the rate of 3 piastres 10 paras the okka (about a halfpenny a pound).

The usefulness of this biography would have been increased by an index of subjects; there is only one of proper names, and a very imperfect table of *corrigenda*. Apparently it is so easy to guess that *eaerleri kakkinda* stand for *eserleri hakkinda* (p. 356) that the author did not think it worth while calling attention to it.

A. 998. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

CINQUANTE SIÈCLES D'ÉVOLUTION ETHNIQUE AUTOUR DE LA MER NOIRE. By ALEXANDRE BASCHMAKOFF. Études d'Ethnographie de Sociologie et d'Ethnologie, Tome I. 10 × 6½, pp. x + 177, pls. 4, maps 3. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1937.

Fifty centuries offer wide opportunities for research and for speculation, in an area so wide and so discontinuous as the countries bordering on the Black Sea; and this book does not specialize even on these, but ranges over parts of peninsular Europe and much of the Mediterranean region.

The three principal regions adjacent to the Pontic basin are the Caucasus, Asia Minor, and the South Russian steppe; so the first three chapters survey the actual populations of these regions, analyse them into their constituents, and indicate the survival, in varying degree, of "primordial" race-elements. The result is to make possible a general discussion (Chapter IV) of the ethnic stratification of Pontic and Mediterranean lands, with the parallel methods of linguistics, anthropometry, and archæology. Of the last, M. Baschmakoff has little to say; of anthropological material, he rightly emphasizes the scantiness, while making the most of the general indications which seem to him established; on linguistic matters, he relies on the methods, and still more on the far-reaching conclusions of the "japhetic school" elaborated by the late Dr. Marr, on foundations laid long ago, by men so different as Wilhelm von Humboldt, D'Arbois de Jubainville, Sir William Hunter, Sergi, and Ripley. For many readers, this will seem to be the climax of the argument. But the remaining chapters are interesting; Ch. V, on the ethnology of the Cimmerians and Scythians, whom M. Baschmakoff regards as respectively "Circassian", and "Iranian", re-writing their history after challenging the chronological scheme inherited from Herodotus; Ch. VI, on the origin of the Khazars, and Ch. VII on the Caraïtes and Pseudo-Tatars of Yalta, who are presented as a residual

concentration of primordial elements into their highland citadel from a wider area overflowed by later-comers, indo-european, and mongoloid.

B. 98. J. L. MYRES.

THE MUSIC OF THE SUMERIANS AND THEIR IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS. By FRANCIS W. GALPIN. 11 × 8½, pp. xvi + 110, pls. 12. Cambridge: The University Press, 1937. 25*s*. net.

A work on the instruments of music of the Sumerians and their Semitic successors has been long overdue. Now that it has appeared we may say that it is fortunate for both the subject and for the readers that the task should have fallen to Canon Galpin, who is probably the best known authority on the history of instruments of music in this country. He has described and illustrated them from original sources.

Strictly speaking, the Canon's excellent book treats of the instruments of music of these peoples rather than with their music, for, truth to tell, we know practically nothing of this music *per se*, although our author has managed to devote three chapters to the subject. It is certainly true that we have the famous music tablet at Berlin, of which Canon Galpin gives a fresh reading from that attempted by Dr. Ebeling (1915) and Dr. Curt Sachs (1924), although Professor Landsberger has recently (1933) poured out the vials of his wrath on these "assumptions". The present writer does not attempt to question the scheme by which these various savants have determined the melodic outline. All that he wishes to say is that the "Sumerian Hymn on the Creation of Man" has nothing in common with oriental music as it is now known and practised in the Near and Middle East.

Where we are on much safer ground is in the sphere of instruments of music. Here we have a definitely valuable contribution to the subject, more so because, on the linguistic side, the author has had the benefit of the assistance of

some of our leading Assyriologists. Of course, as the author himself admits, " dubious points still exist," but the future is always with us, and when further texts are elucidated and more excavations reveal their hidden treasures, we may be able to solve many a baffling problem of to-day.

Our author speaks of " dancing sticks " (p. 1). The term seems to me to be a misnomer because these instruments could not have been used for the dance alone. Why not use the more conventional term " rhythmic wands ? "

The name *BALAG* (Sum.) or *balaggu* (Assyr.) was given to the horizontal drum, but, says our author, it was also the name of an altar (p. 4). He asserts that the Agade seal impression (pl. ii, fig. 3) shows this " drum-like altar " in a vertical position, but I believe that this represents an actual drum played in this position. With the Arabs of the Middle Ages this type of drum was sometimes played in this way.

The *LILIS* (Sum.) or *lilissu* (Assyr.) is recognized as " a true kettledrum " like the Arabian *darabukka* and the Persian *dunbak* (p. 7), but it must be pointed out that neither the Arabian nor the Persian instrument was a kettledrum, since they were, and are, open at the bottom. The egg-shape foot or stand of the Sumerian instruments was doubtless distinct from the kettle or bowl over which the membrane was stretched.

We do not know the Sumerian or Assyrian name for the cymbal (if I may use the singular form) as Canon Galpin admits (p. 11), but surely the Assyrian verb *sanaqu* (" to push or press together ") must have given a substantive which in Arabic produced *ṣanj* (cymbal).

Then there is the suggestion that the Arabic-Turkish *ghaiṭa*, *ghaida* (oboe), is derived from the Sumerian *GI-DI*. There is only the slightest justification for the assumption. The Arabic word was loaned, via Andalus, from the European *guaite*, *wayghte*, *wait*, etc.

I do not know why our erudite author still continues, like the older musicographers, to assign the musical bow to India

(p. 26). As I have demonstrated more than once, we have no literary reference to this implement earlier than Arabic sources.

The Sumerian names for the harps are most interesting. Our author doubts whether *BALAG* (Sum.) was used for a harp because this was certainly the name for a drum. On the other hand, we have instances elsewhere of the same name being used for different instruments. The Greek *σαμβύκη* was both a harp and a wood-wind instrument. The Arabic *ṣanj* was both a harp and a cymbal. I believe that the Sumerian *BALAG* may have been the parent of the Greek *φοίνιξ* and the Arabic *wanaj*, which were harps.

The Canon fails to find any Sumerian or Assyrian equivalent to the harp called in ancient Egypt the *ban* or *bain*, a name which reappears in the Siamese *p'in*, and the Sanscrit *vīṇā*. He might have lengthened the list by including the Pahlavi *vūn* or *vōn*, the Persian *van*, and the Arabic *wann*.

Among the important features of Canon Galpin's excellent book are the plates, of which there are twelve, nine being actual photographs of specimens, sculptures, seals, etc. Of especial interest are his reconstructed instruments, notably the harp with a lower sound-chest, pl. v, fig. 3, where the lower part of the sound-chest, as given in the British Museum exhibit, has been dispensed with entirely, an alteration which I suggested to Canon Galpin some years ago. Then there is the harp with an upper sound-chest, pl. vi, fig. 3, which is displayed in its proper position, not as delineated by some savants, *upside down*.

On the whole, Canon Galpin's book is a contribution of importance to the study of instruments of music of the past, and these criticisms are not intended to detract in the slightest way from my appreciation of his work. They are introduced merely as themes for further discussion should this very welcome book call for a reissue.

A. 974. HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

Far East

MARCO POLO: THE DESCRIPTION OF THE WORLD. By A. C. MOULE and PAUL PELLIOT. 11 × 8½. Vol. I: pp. 595, frontispiece, genealogical tree. Vol. II: pp. cxxxi, pl. 1. London: George Routledge, 1938.

Note.—This review has been printed as received, in Italian, so as to avoid the risk of any unintentional misrepresentation of the writer's meaning on any point through translation into English.

Una nuova suntuosa edizione del libro di Marco Polo, in 4 volumi, è attualmente in corso di pubblicazione presso la casa Routledge di Londra. Ne costituisce la principale attrattiva l'ampio commento dell'insigne orientalista del Collegio di Francia, Paul Pelliot: 400 o 500 pagine di *Notes on the proper names and oriental words* (la maggior parte del prossimo terzo volume). Sono usciti per ora i primi due volumi soltanto. Essi riguardano, nella loro parte sostanziale ed originale, il testo dell'opera poliana: forniscono cioè la base di riferimento necessaria per la trattazione del Pelliot.

L'opera era attesa vivamente da tutti i marcopolisti e particolarmente da chi scrive queste linee. Non solo è una grande soddisfazione per noi che scriviamo queste linee il veder compiersi l'augurio con cui chiudevamo, undici anni or sono, l'edizione di Marco Polo da noi curata per il Comitato Geografico Nazionale Italiano, e cioè che quella prima edizione integrale dell'opera di Marco servisse di punto di partenza a nuove più profonde ricerche e segnasse per gli studi marcopoliani il principio di un nuovo fervore.[1] Ma ci è grato ricordare che quattro anni più tardi, congedando la traduzione italiana del nuovo testo poliano uscito dai nostri studi e dalle nostre scoperte, formulavamo espressamente il voto che si pensasse a provvedere il libro di Marco, ormai saldamente ricostituito ed autenticato dal punto di vista del testo, di un nuovo degno commento, che sostituisse, secondo i risultati più recenti e più seri delle varie discipline che Marco Polo interessa, il

[1] Marco Polo, *Il Milione, prima edizione integrale a cura di Luigi Foscolo Benedetto* (Firenze, Olschki, 1928), p. CCXXI.

classico lavoro del Yule, e indicavamo nel Pelliot, già tanto benemerito degli studi poliani, l'uomo che avrebbe dovuto accingersi alla meritoria fatica.[1]

I primi due volumi sinora apparsi sono opera particolare del Rev. A. C. Moule, ben noto agli studiosi di Marco Polo e specialmente ai lettori di questo *Journal.* Ci apprende egli stesso, nelle pagine proemiali del I° volume, che da anni veniva preparando, prima ancora che uscisse la mia edizione del 1928, una traduzione inglese, il più possibile letterale e completa, del cosiddetto Testo Geografico, cioè del ms. francese 1116 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi (il testo F della mia classifica), il più importante senza dubbio dei manoscritti poliani a noi giunti. La mia edizione confermò l'importanza *di quel manoscritto, ma ne dimostrò in pari tempo lo stato di* corruzione e d'incompletezza. Lo studio in pieno del problema del testo e la conseguente rivalutazione di redazioni rimaste fino allora trascurate o ignorate, il trovamento soprattutto del ms. ambrosiano Y 160 P. S. e l'individuazione della redazione da me chiamata Z, mi avevano portato alla conclusione che un editore di Marco Polo deve bensì adottare F come testo-base, ma deve colmare la distanza già notevole che lo separa dall'originale perduto. Il mio libro mostrava come la cosa fosse possibile. Una buona parte dei manoscritti oggi noti si lasciavano raggruppare in tre grandi famiglie risalenti rispettivamente a un archetipo fratello di F: la ricostruzione dei tre archetipi poteva servire al controllo e al restauro di F e alla ricostruzione della fase da lui attestata. Ma esisteva anche—ed era quella la maggiore novità del mio lavoro—un gruppo di codici che ci permetteva di risalire ad una fase anteriore. Avevo la gioia di rivelare una quantità notevolissima di passi, di pagine inedite, mancanti ad F e alle famiglie derivate da codici a lui fratelli, e di rivendicare con sicurezza alla stesura originaria molte pagine della cui paternità si era incerti o che

[1] Marco Polo, *Il libro di Messer Marco Polo cittadino di Venezia detto Milione dove si raccontano le meraviglie del mondo* (Milano, Treves, 1932), pp. XXIII–XXIV.

si ritenevano aggiunte recenziori del viaggiatore. Il Moule non fu punto scosso dalle mie ricerche nella sua fede al Testo Geografico e nel suo proposito di rispettarne rigorosamente la lettera. Gli parve d'altra parte accettabile, nel suo insieme, la soluzione ch'io davo del problema del testo poliano; studiò direttamente le redazioni di cui segnalai l'importanza; sentì l'appassionante interesse dei testi emananti da una fase anteriore ad F, particolarmente di Z e del Ramusio, per i passi che questi ha in comune con Z o ch'egli solo conserva. Nel suo entusiasmo per Z egli giunse anzi a superarmi: al punto da darcene—ed è tutto il suo secondo volume—l'edizione integrale, mentre io mi ero limitato a pubblicare i passi che costituivano una novità e servivano al completamento di F.[1] Volendo restare fedele al suo primo progetto di una traduzione completa e letterale di F e non osando d'altra parte non far tesoro delle risorse che la tradizione del testo, da me tanto allargata e ravvalorata, gli poteva fornire, il M. si decise a inserire nella sua traduzione di F, distinguendolo col corsivo e segnandone in margine la provenienza, tutto ciò che gli offriva di aggiungibile ad F un certo numero di testi da lui ritenuti particolarmente rappresentativi, colla sola avvertenza che

[1] Il M. ha avuto la buona sorte di poterci dare la sua edizione di sul codice della Biblioteca capitolare di Toledo su cui fu esemplata la copia ambrosiana da me adoperata, codice che io ritenevo disperso non figurando come avrebbe dovuto nel catalogo a stampa dei mss. zeladiani di quella biblioteca ed avendo i canonici possessori del codice stesso, come avvertivo nel mio libro, lasciate senza risposta le mie richieste in proposito. In fatto di critica testuale gli originali sono sempre preferibili, non c'è dubbio, alle copie, anche se fatte egregiamente. Ma dal punto di vista pratico il trovamento del codice di Toledo è lungi dall'avere l'importanza che gli fu attribuita e dal meritare il chiasso oltremodo ingenuo che ha suscitato. Gli dobbiamo un solo apporto utile. Mentre la copia milanese ha *Icoguristan*, esso ci dà la lezione esatta, intuita subito dagli orientalisti: *Iuguristan*. I pochi errori della copia erano di per sè facilmente sanabili ed ho avuto il piacere di vedere confermate le correzioni da me proposte nei passi da me editi o adottate nella mia traduzione italiana. È risultata assolutamente fededegna la garanzia di fedeltà, quanto a trascrizione, apposta sulla copia milanese dal Toaldo, il marcopolista che essa copia fece eseguire. Avevo del resto confrontate coi rispettivi modelli le altre copie di testi poliani che il Toaldo fece levare: la fedeltà è in tutte assoluta.

l'aggiunta o l'inserzione potesse farsi senza alterare menomamente la traduzione di F. In nota, a piè di pagina, le cose aggiungibili che non quadrassero col testo di F e che avessero qualche importanza.

Il sistema adottato dal M. è in sè stesso eccellente e l'opera dà, a primo aspetto, per il suo felice impianto esteriore, per l'ingente ricchezza dei suoi corsivi e dei suoi rinvii marginali, per la meticolosità delle sue chiose, anche a chi non sia digiuno di materia marcopoliana, l'impressione di uno sforzo imponente in cui si sieno saggiamente contemperati le esigenze scientifiche dello specialista e il buon senso pratico del divulgatore onesto, determinato a non uscire dalla realtà positiva, controllata e controllabile. Sono continui i segni di una tenace diligenza e di una informazione sicura. Ma evidente sopratutto è il proposito di darci qualcosa di solido, di documentario, di concreto. Il M. si preclude volontariamente, esplicitamente, il campo della critica soggettiva. Avverte il lettore: "Little or no attempt has been made to exercise a critical discrimination and to accept or reject additional matter as it may seem more or less certainly to represent the original or to have been added by a copyist." Lascia che decida nei casi dubbi il lettore. Aspira evidentemente anche lui, come tutti i maggiori editori di Marco Polo, a meritare l'elogio che diffatti i critici che si sono pronunciati finora non hanno esitato a concedergli, di "produce a text much nearer to the original manuscript compiled by Rustichello the Pisan in the prison of Genoa than has ever been attempted before".[1] A questo scopo egli conglomera col testo di F quanti più può materiali di altra origine. Gli pare che la scomponibilità del suo mosaico e l'indicazione delle singole fonti gli diano il diritto di largheggiare nelle addizioni e lo dispensino da una cernita personale severa.

Diciamo subito che c'è in questa concezione un equivoco molto grave, di cui tutta l'opera si risente e che fa dell'opera

[1] Si veda *The Times Literary Supplement* del 4 febbraio di quest'anno, p. 77.

stessa, a nostro avviso, nonostante le sue frequenti *réussites* di dettaglio, un'opera nel suo insieme praticamente pericolosa e tecnicamente infelice.

L'obbiettività a-critica del M. sarebbe più che legittima s'egli ci desse soltanto da scegliere tra due o più varianti che possono essere tutte di Marco Polo. È ovvio e sottinteso che un editore di Marco Polo deve almeno e per prima cosa fare lo sforzo critico di eliminare tutto ciò che non può essere in nessun modo di provenienza poliana. Il M. è stato a questo riguardo di una singolare ἀκριβία. Ha rimpinzato il testo di F di una infinità di elementi che non possono assolutamente considerarsi poliani e che era più che ovvio lasciare da parte. Non basta a renderli innocui il fatto che sieno distinti con il corsivo. L'edizione in questione ha tanta imponenza esteriore, ha apparenze così vistosamente scientifiche e sono d'altra parte così difficili da parte del lettore la particolare mentalità critica e la particolarissima documentazione occorrenti a un controllo diretto, che c'è da temere entrino in circolazione un'altra volta delle pericolose od inutili assurdità pseudo-poliane e finiscano col soffrirne, nel concetto degli studiosi, Marco Polo e la sua opera. È naturalmente impossibile in questa rivista rendere conto particolareggiatamente del modo con cui il M. ha eseguito il suo lavoro d'integrazione, e cioè come si sia comportato di fronte alle diverse redazioni per estrarne i succhi utili. Mi limiterò, a titolo di esempio, ad esaminare il suo contegno di fronte ad una di esse. Sceglierò Z: non solo perchè una delle più importanti, mà perchè di Z il secondo volume ci dà il testo e c'è quindi per ogni lettore la massima facilità di controllo.

Mi si consenta, per maggiore chiarezza, un po' di statistica. Sono 1527, se ho contato bene, le volte che il M. inietta al Testo Geografico delle cose desunte da Z.[1] Ci sono natural-

[1] Il numero poteva essere maggiore. Il M. dà qualche volta da altra fonte delle cose che avrebbe potuto prendere da Z. Gli è sfuggito, nonostante la sua grande minuziosità, un *multi* degnissimo, secondo i suoi criteri, di essere inserito. Z (p. XVIII): "per eam discurit quoddam flumen in quo lapides inveniuntur *multi*," dove F ha soltanto "il hi a flum que i se treuvent

mente nel numero i passi oramai ben noti che hanno costituito la fortunata novità della mia edizione e che hanno di tanto arricchito la materia del testo poliano (225); ci sono quelli che ho riprodotti nel mio apparato come fondamento a supplementi e a correzioni di F (57); non mancano, beninteso, e sono presentati come supplementi desunti da Z, una trentina d'integrazioni che anch'io ho praticate senza rinviare a nessuna fonte, trattandosi di cose ovvie, assolutamente sicure, spontaneamente suggerite dal buon senso, spesso confermate da molti altri testi, tali che il traduttore cui devesi Z, se ha avuto dinanzi un modello in quei punti uguale ad F, non può avere esitato a integrarlo come noi facciamo. Sarebbero sempre più di 1200 le novità che il M. avrebbe il merito di avere estratte dal famoso codice zeladiano.

Ho voluto esaminare uno per uno gli Z di cui è infarcita la traduzione del M. L'improba fatica non è stata fortunatamente del tutto vana. Sono una ventina i dettagli che mi sono sfuggiti e che non esiterei a inserire in una nuova edizione.[1] Parlo di dettagli concreti, chè per il testo di Marco Polo è ancora utile l'atteggiamento paradossale che ho adottato nella mia prima edizione, di tenere cioè distinti materia e

pieres." Il M. dimentica pure di sottolineare, sì che figura come desunto da F, un *red* che ha la sua sola giustificazione in Z (p. 267 della trad. del M. e p. XXVIII di Z).

[1] Già nelle mie edizioni popolari del libro di Marco, e cioè nella mia traduzione italiana e nella sua sorella inglese (Routledge, 1931), avevo aggiunti alcuni nuovi apporti da Z omessi nel Marco Polo maggiore (" multi luci *dactulos producentes* ", " falcones laneri *et sacri*," " CCX thoman *sadiorum aureorum*," " faciunt vinum *de datalis*," etc.). Ma solo esaminando la traduzione del M. mi sono accorto di queste altre omissioni: Z, p. IX, sibi oculum *dextrum* effodit—XV, *et multa alia*—XVII, *inter levantem et grecum* (F por grec)—XX, *et illi sunt plures*—XVIII, *terra fertilis est* [*et*] *fecunda necessariis quibuscumque* (nel mio apparato ho dato questa novità come da R senza notare che c'era anche in Z)—XXXI, christiani *turchi*—XXXI, *set principales sunt* ydola adorantes—XLVII, *pecuniam*—L, *monetam habent de cartis*—ibid., *monetam habent de cartis*—ibid., *respondent civitati Qinsai gentes adorant idola et sunt sub dominio magni can*—ibid., *monetam habent de cartis*—LI, *diverse maneries specierum*—LI, *cuius gentes adorant ydola . . . et respondent civitati Fugiu*—LXIV, *in pluribus locis*—LXVII, *et loquelam*—LXXIII, *suximan*—XCI, *syricum*—CXXIII: *et Ulau cum suis gentibus obviam eis iverunt*—CXXIX, *habent ceram multam.*

stile. Quanto alla forma, ho dovuto riconoscere, in due o tre luoghi, che ho tralasciato a torto di restaurare F sul modello di Z.[1] Si aggiunga una cinquantina di casi in cui chi voglia essere oltremodo indulgente ad ogni parvenza di polianità può rimanere esitante. Tutto il resto—più di 1100 interpolazioni—è un inutile ingombro.

Non sempre si riesce a spiegare altrimenti che come una svista l'appella a Z.[2] Ma quasi sempre la ragione si scorge ed è per tutti i casi una sola : il M. tratta Z come se non si sapesse in modo sicuro che Z è, per parlare grossamente, e per le parti che ha in comune con F, una traduzione di F. Bisognava tener presente che Z è una traduzione: una traduzione medievale, in latino, colle sue costanti formali, colle sue particolari tendenze psicologiche. Erano necessari uno studio preliminare della traduzione come tale e un qualche tentativo per giungere alla personalità del traduttore. Perchè il M. proceda ad una inserzione da Z, basta che l'autore di Z si valga dei suoi diritti di traduttore e ci dia qualcosa che non è più francese ma latino, non più il particolare francese di F, ma il latino suo proprio ; basta ch'egli si attenga al senso e che per meglio renderlo innovi in qualche misura anche minima

[1] Mi paiono oggi supplementi più che probabili · F CLXXV 155, " ne le recevent [*a tesmognie*] ne ne vaut sa tesmognie," conformemente a Z (p. LXXIV), " *in testem* non assumunt nec testimonium suum valet "—F CLXXVI, 7, " elle ne vost prendre [autre] baron "—conformemente a Z (p. LXXVIII) " noluit *alium* virum accipere " (supplemento già da me adottato del resto nelle mie traduzioni)—F CLX 18, " elle est [si] riche isle que. . . .", conformemente a Z (p. LIX), " ista insula est *tam* dives."

[2] Alla p. 156 della sua trad. il M. ci dà come da Z " is found a *good* vein ", mentre Z ha soltanto, nel passo corrispondente, " quedam vena." Alla p. 190 ci dà come da Z " monasteries *so large* ", mentre F ha *si grant mostier* e Z *tam magna monasteria*. Alla p. 295 dà come da Z uno *slaves* che ha il suo corrispondente in F (esclaus), mentre dà in più come da F uno *slave-girls* che nulla giustifica. Alla p. 420 segna come da Z un *there* : Z ha " et est *ibi* optimum dormire " che è però la traduzione letterale di F " et *hi* a trop buen dormir ". Alla p. 486 : " and will turn *back* to Nogai." Perchè quel *back* sottolineato come da Z ? F ha *torneron a Nogai* e Z *ad Nogay et suos redibimus* (lo zeladiano di Toledo ha *rediemus*, ma è certo errore del copista). Alla p. 488 dà come da Z " dead and wounded *to death* ". Z ha effettivamente " mortui et vulnerati *ad mortem* ", ma anche F, la sua fonte, ha " mors et inavrés *à mors* ".

la veste formale. Che cosa dire poi dei casi in cui Z si permette di precisare, di accentuare, di amplificare un poco, per pedanteria o per vezzo letterario, di esprimere le sue personali reazioni di lettore e di critico? Nessuno può immaginare a quali bizzarrie, a quali incredibili paradossi il M. arrivi nel rastrellare i suoi *addenda*. Anche là dove il traduttore latino è della letteralità più assoluta il M. trova a far la sua messe. È sufficiente che Z metta il nome dove F ha un pronome o un sottinteso; che addossi al toponimo la precisazione di *civitas*, *regnum*, *provincia*, solitamente omessa da F; che adatti alla sua particolare *consecutio* il tempo di un verbo; che leghi una frase all'altra coi tanti mezzi che ha cari il latino (relativo iniziale, *vero*, *quidem*, *insuper*, *enim*, *sed*, *tamen*, *etiam*, *quoque*, *ergo*, *praeterea* etc.); che aggiunga un *predictus* e va dicendo. Ho contato 66 *and* iniziali di cui uno solo può essere aggiunta non oziosa al testo di F. La lingua di F è piena di formole ritornanti, di veri e proprii *clichés* ripetuti con uggiosa frequenza e sono ugualmente costanti in Z le formole corrispondenti. Il M. arriva a non accorgersi che *il sunt idules* e *cuius gentes idola adorant*, *il sunt au grant kaan* e *sunt sub dominio magni can*, *por ce nos en partiron* e *ideo ulterius procedentes*, ecc., sono espressioni assolutamente uguali in cui non c'è proprio nulla da *glaner* per un editore. Uno dei gusti prediletti di Z è l'endiadi: vero *tic* verbale, ma anche mezzo eccellente assai volte per rendere un superlativo o la *nuance* di superlativo ch'egli sente a ragione in certi falsi positivi del suo modello (grant, buen, etc.), mezzo ottimo pure, spesso, per dare una sonorità latina al periodo. Sono numerose nel nostro Z: di aggettivi, di sostantivi, di verbi, di avverbi. Sovente risultano dalla semplice aggiunta di un sinonimo al termine offerto da F, e allora il M. dà come una novità il sinonimo aggiunto. Più sovente sostituiscono al termine del modello una coppia tutta nuova di termini, e allora il M. riproduce, accanto al termine originario, la coppia che ne è la versione. Certo il male non è grosso quando l'integrazione si riduce a qualche pleonasmo o a qualche riempitivo grammaticale.

Non sono, anche se del tutto parassitari, i troppi *also*, *moreover* e simili, di cui il M. infiora le sue pagine, che ci farebbero gridare allo scandalo. La cosa diventa grave quando Z traduce a senso (le sue traduzioni a senso sono spesso delle vere trovate, bellissime): il M. considera come due pezzi marcopoliani indipendenti il testo di F e quello di Z che si equivalgono e li pubblica tutti e due, raddoppiando così di continuo, *à peu de frais*, le dimensioni del libro di Marco. In qualche caso i due pezzi restano semplicemente giustapposti,[1] ma il più delle volte il traduttore inglese li fonde, rabberciando ed enucleando Z quel tanto che basti perchè stia dentro il testo di F.[2] Talvolta li coordina coll'aggiunta di nessi arbitrari.[3]

[1] Darò un solo esempio, tipico nella sua brevità. F: amé de celz de son reigne—Z: a sua gente diligitur (traduzione libera ma esattissima)—Moule: by those *her people* of his realm.

[2] Si può aprire il libro a caso tanto gli esempi abbondano. F: LVII 20–2: "Et plosors foies les font devoier en tel mainere qu'il ne se trevent jamès; et en ceste mainere en sunt ja maint morti e perdu." Z: "sepe faciunt a recto tramite deviare et sic nesciunt reverti. *Et cibo potuque carens decedit.* Hoc vero modo multi homines perierunt." La parte sottolineata di Z è, evidentement, una semplice glossa del traduttore, indipendente anche grammaticalmente dal resto. Le due parti di Z non sottolineate corrispondono assai bene ai due membri della frase di F. Il M procede ad un vero e proprio rimpasto, levando la glossa di Z dal suo posto e inserendola, come può, nella proposizione finale. Ecco la sua frase, da cui tolgo le cose ch'egli desume da fonti diverse da Z e che insacca parimente nella prosa di F, ed in cui sono sottolineate dal M. stesso le cose che riconosce come peculiari a Z: "And many times they make them . . . go out of the right way so that they are never . . . found . . and in this way *they know not how to return, and being without food and drink* many of them are dead in the past and lost." F dice del petrolio del Caucaso: "bon a onger les gamiaus por la rogne et por les farbores." Z: "bonum est ad ungendum homines et quelibet animalia propter scabiem." Checchè si decida sulla paternità di quell'*homines*, è certo che Z traduce a senso, che in *quelibet animalia* sono compresi anche i cammelli e che *scabies* sta per *rogne et farbores*. Il M ci dà due volte le stesse cose cucite alla bell'e meglio. "to anoint *men and any animals for the scab* [and] the camels for the itch and for the mange." Con questo sistema il M. non si accorge che spesso non solo traduce due volte la stessa parola, ma la traduce in modo diverso. In F. "caustiaus asez que sunt homes que vivent . . ." Z, poco felicemente ma senza infedeltà sostanziale: "castra in quibus sunt multi homines de mercimoniis viventes et artibus." Il M.: "Villages enough *in which are many people* for they are men who live. . . ." Non si avvede che ha tradotto due volte il *que* di F, prima con *in which* e poi con *for*. Sono frequenti in Z le esplicazioni di parole col *sive*. Ciò che

La straordinaria indulgenza del M. potrebbe, semmai, trovare una scusa nei casi in cui il traduttore latino arriva alla vera e propria aggiunta, alla glossa. Può essere prudenza critica—visto che il decidere se spetti ad un passo la qualifica di glossa è sempre in qualche misura una questione di apprezzamento soggettivo—non imporre ai lettori come definitivo il nostro gusto. Comunque, alludiamo ad innovazioni il cui carattere personale non può sfuggire a chi si sia famigliarizzato un poco con Z. Parecchie sono in contrasto col resto dell'opera. Di tutte si può facilmente ricostruire la genesi.

Non meno stupisce il vedere dal M. utilizzati come apporti originali di Z dei passi di Z che sono dei semplici fraintendimenti di F. È un peccato doversi limitare a qualche esempio, tanto ricca ed interessante sarebbe la materia. F (CXXVIII, 11): "il se font por toutes lor chars peintures con aguilles a lions et a drag et a ausiaus . . ." Z (pp. XXXIV–XXXV): "quilibet designare facit aquilas, leones, dracones et aves." Il traduttore cui dobbiamo Z ha visto in *aguilles* non il corrispondente dell'ital. *aghi*, ma quello dell'ital. *aguglie* (= aquile). Il M. (p. 296 della trad.) ha anche tra le sue novità questi *eagles*. F (CCII, 15–16): "puis venoit la fille au roi . . . emi la sale." Z (p. CX): "postmodum filia veniebat ad regem." Il M. (p. 454 della trad.) traduce esattamente quell'*au roi*, ma ciò non gl'impedisce di conservare come un che di nuovo lo svarione sfuggito a Z in un momento di sonnolenza: "then came the king's daughter . . . into the middle of

prova che sono glosse di Z e non precisazioni di Marco Polo è che questi ci dà prima il termine proprio, tecnico, e poi lo spiega; Z invece comincia col darci la traduzione latina e poi, per maggior precisione, il termine marcopoliano. F CXCVIII 17: cel soudan—Z: ille rex sive soldanus. Il M. senza rendersi conto del particolare travaglio stilistico di Z ed invertendo: "that sultan *or king*."

[3] Un esempio tra i tanti. F: la boce si grant que bien engloiteroit un home a une fois. Z: os tam magnum quod deglutirent integrum unum bovem. Il traduttore latino aveva dinanzi un testo che aveva *buef* invece di *home*. Il M.: "the mouth so large that it would swallow a man [*or*] *an ox* at one time." Qui e altrove la copula aggiunta è tra parentisi quadre, ma non sempre.

the hall *to the king*." F (CLXXVIII, 91): "il font encore grant astinence de mengier car degeunent tout les anz." Z (p. LXXXIV): "faciunt etiam magnam abstinentiam comedendi carnes." Il M. non si accorge della bellissima gaffe—*car* preso per un sostantivo oggetto di *mengier*—e ci dà come testo cumulativo: "they make great abstinence from eating *flesh* for they fast. . . ." Ci sono una mezza dozzina di casi, particolarmente interessanti, in cui il M. avrebbe dovuto accorgersi che l'errore di Z era un semplice sbaglio di lettura da parte di chi ci diede quella traduzione latina. Sopratutto sarebbe stato opportuno ch'egli si rendesse conto dei casi in cui Z, senza cadere in un vero e proprio abbaglio, è un traduttore disgraziato ed incerto: le sue debolezze di traduttore sono diventure altrettante novità nel testo del M.[1] Invece di darci una edizione diplomatica di Z colle sue centinaia di stupidissimi errori di copiatura, il M. avrebbe fatto bene a sottoporre quel testo a un po' di revisione critica: non ricomparirebbero nella sua traduzione inglese una quantità di errori introdottivi dagli scribi.

Rilievi analoghi a questi che siamo venuti facendo per Z si dovrebbero fare per ognuna delle altre redazioni di cui il M. si è servito per incrementare il suo testo. Particolarmente disgraziato ed inutile, senza eccezioni, l'uso della redazione pipiniana (P), di cui pure sarebbe stato così facile una giusta valutazione, visto che essa si annulla in un'altra redazione che possediamo (VA) e che le sue divergenze da VA non possono mai non interpretarsi che come puri arbitrii di fra Pipino.

[1] Si veda a titolo di esempio il passo corrispondente a F CLXXIX, 21: "Il dit a soi meesme qu'il li fira couse que son filz se rendra. . . ." Z non ha trovato un corrispettivo latino soddisfacente per *dire a soi meesme* e ha tradotto un po' goffamente: "Tunc rex precogitans dixit quod talem medicinan. . . ." Il M. (p. 408 della sua versione) non si accorge che *precogitans dixit* è una cattiva traduzione di *dit a soi meesme* e combina al solito modo: "and then the king *after deep thought* . . . says to himself. . . ." È spesso sorprendente la sottigliezza con cui il M. analizza, quasi dovessero avere un valore secondo l'etimo e come se fossero sempre parole della latinità più classica, le parole di Z. Gli sarebbe stata utile una migliore conoscenza del latino medievale. Gli capita di tradurre *probi* (= valorosi) con *trusty*.

È eccessiva l'indulgenza per redazioni aberranti e malfide e particolarmente per VB. Troppo spesso, come già notammo, il M. inserisce nella stessa frase di F, da redazioni diverse, gli echi che un dato passo di F ha avuti nelle redazioni stesse, senza accorgersi che ci dà, non due, ma tre e anche quattro volte, la stessa cosa. Stupisce profondamente che il traduttore non sia rimasto scoraggiato egli stesso dagli informi illeggibili polpettoni che sono venuti fuori da tanta fatica.

In generale, dal punto di vista del problema del testo, e giudicando il lavoro del M. come un tentativo per avvicinarsi di più che non si fosse fatto finora, partendo dalla base di F, all'originale perduto, siamo costretti a riconoscere che i risultati sono ben lontani dal corrispondere allo sforzo fatto e all'attesa. Non farò un rimprovero al M. di avere oltremodo immiserito e deformato il problema del testo poliano riducendolo praticamente al concetto che tutti i testi poliani, visto lo iato evidente che esiste tra tutti e l'originale perduto, abbiano lo stesso diritto che vi si senta la voce di Marco. Non mi fermerò a deplorare il contrasto tra lo scetticismo implicito in questo concetto e la sua venerazione assoluta per F. Neppure gli farò un torto per averci taciuto i criteri in base ai quali ha scelto, come più rappresentativi di altri, i manoscritti che gli hanno fornito il suo materiale, mentre trattandosi di famiglie il cui capostipite è perduto sarebbe legittimo sapere in ogni caso se quella data variante può attribuirsi all'archetipo. Un autore ha il diritto di darci solo quello che crede bene di darci, anche se al pubblico sia lecito desiderare nella fattispecie, visto che non si fa tutti i giorni una edizione di Marco Polo e con tanta imponenza di mezzi, che una nuova edizione di Marco Polo sia la più bella possibile e segni un progresso su quelle già esistenti. Ci mettiamo volentieri dal punto di vista più ristretto da cui ha voluto mettersi il M. Ma anche così non possiamo non confessare, per quanto rispetto c'ispirino la sua tenace applicazione e la sua indiscussa passione, il nostro vivissimo disappunto. L'errore del libro sta nella meccanicità eccessiva con cui

il M. ha applicato il suo sistema. Tutto ciò che non era decalco materiale e combaciamento esteriore gli è sembrato una novità e lo ha inserito.

Considerata come semplice traduzione di F la traduzione in questione ci obbliga a non men gravi riserve. Non posso e non voglio, essendo straniero, giudicarla come opera letteraria. Certo è che dal punto di vista filologico essa lascia desiderare una maggiore perizia dell'antico francese ed un senso più fine delle particolarità stilistiche per cui la letteralità pedantesca o non basta o è dannosa. Avremmo potuto, parlando di Z, stendere un lunghissimo elenco di casi in cui solo per la sua imperizia d'interprete nei riguardi di F il M. ha potuto vedere una novità là dove Z è unicamente un traduttore fedele. Alcuni pochi esempi non saranno forse inutili. Quali errori più significativi che quelli da cui la versione sola di Z avrebbe potuto salvarlo? Z rende assai bene con *multi*, *magna* o *maxima quantitas* o altre espressioni equivalenti, le centinaia di *assez* di cui è cosparso il testo francese. Il M. traduce sempre *assez* (= ital. *assai*) con *enough* e annota come una novità le parole che gli fa corrispondere Z dando loro, senza mai turbarsi, il suo *enough* per compagno. F: et d'autres espices assez—Z: et alie species multe. Il M.: "and *many* other spices enough." F: cités et chastiaus et casaus assez.—Z: multas civitates et castra. Il M.: "*many* cities and villages and hamlets enough." Z ci dà *multos equos* dove F ha *mout chavaus*, *multi reges* dove F ha *mout rois*. Il M., poco propenso ad accettare un *mout* aggettivo, segna come un particolare di Z il suo *many*. *Viles* è tradotto da Z *civitates*. Per il M. *vile* può significare soltanto *village*: ci dà quindi nel suo testo tutti e due, *villages* e *cities*, quest'ultimo come da Z. F (CLXXVIII, 54): car il usent a mengier ris—Z (con esattezza perfetta): quoniam utuntur in suis comestionibus riso. Il M., fraintendendo il valore di *usent*: "for they are accustomed *in their food* to eat rice." F CLXXVII, 50–51: celui qui est plus noir est plus preciés de les autres—Z (p. LXXX): ille qui nigrior est pluri libet pulcritudine. Il M., non

comprendendo che *de* ha qui il valore di *by* e fondendo insieme arbitrariamente i due testi: "he who is more black is more precious than the others *in beauty*." F: "il a une si grant sale" (*il a* = l'odierno *il y a*)—Z, giustamente: "in eo (cioè nel palazzo) est quedam magna salla." Il M. (p. 338 della sua trad.): "It has a chief hall *in it*." Alla p. 130 della trad. del M. si trova parimente un *he had* dove F ha un *il avoit* nel senso che Z giustamente gli conserva di *erat*. Troviamo in F: "et après il ala le autre" (nel bizzarro franco-italiano di F *il* è un oggetto di *après* e sta per un latino *illum*). Z: "post istum secundus aetate intravit." Il M. (p. 114 della sua trad.) staccando *après* da *il*: "and afterwards goes *in following him* the second." F: adonc s'en alent tuit ensenble devant l'enfant et treuvent de l'image.—Z: et omnes simul intrantes *ipsum* invenerunt. Il costrutto di F è, in vecchio francese, sintatticamente perfetto, e Z non poteva tradurre che in un modo. Il M. (p. 114 della sua trad.) ci dà quell'*ipsum*, *him*, come un apporto di Z. L'espressione di Z "plures centum navibus *piratarum*" è una bellissima traduzione dell'espressione di F "plus de C nes *en cors*", essendo *cors* la parola speciale che designa il pirateggiare. Il M. (p. 418 della sua trad.) crede di dover fondere i due testi come diversi "more than 100 ships *of pirates* come out each year on cruise." Non poco avremmo da dire se ci volessimo sostituire a Z e giudicare personalemente le interpretazioni del M. Non è questione di semplice gusto. In fatto di gusto farò un solo appunto al traduttore. Perchè tradurre *messire Marc Pol* con *master Marc Pol* quando nella stessa linea bisogna adoperare *master* per tradurre *mestre* e quando una tradizione ormai lunga, sanzionata dalla bella e indimenticabile traduzione del Yule, ci ha abituati al bellissimo *Ser Marco Polo*?

Il M. ha cura di far notare che la sua è la prima versione inglese completa di F. Una completa versione inglese di F è anche la versione condotta sotto il mio controllo dal Ricci e pubblicata dalla casa stessa editrice dei due volumi che esaminiamo. Il Ricci si è fondato sulla mia traduzione

italiana—completissima anch'essa—ma ha tenuto presente anche la mia edizione del 1928, che è tra l'altro anche la prima edizione scientifica di F. Gli è che la nostra idea del tradurre non è affatto quella che ha il M. La versione del Ricci non è certo il decalco meccanico e pedantesco del ms. francese 1116, ma la versione libera, viva, moderna del libro di Marco. È Marco Polo che interessa, non il copista ignorante cui dobbiamo uno dei tanti lacerti che ci hanno conservato ma anche sfigurato e mutilato il suo libro. È giusto essere fedeli, ma fedeli al testo genuino che quei lacerti ci permettono d'intravedere. Abbiamo il dovere di correggere, d'interpretare, di espungere. Un Marco Polo per i puri scienziati non può essere che la raccolta documentaria di tutti i passi di sicura o probabile polianità, ciascuno nella sua lingua originaria, ciascuno criticamente vagliato e discusso. È naturale e doveroso che molte questioni vi sieno lasciate in sospeso. Ma un Marco Polo per il pubblico comune, una traduzione, deve avere il coraggio di decidere: risolvendo i problemi, sostituendo ai non sensi un'idea, conciliando le contradizioni; dove non bastino la lente del paleografo e la scaltrezza del filologo è bene soccorra la sensibilità letteraria del critico. C'è qualche raro punto, nella mia traduzione italiana ed in quella inglese, dove mi stacco da F. Ma un marcopolista non può non accorgersi che io affronto in quei punti dei problemi reali non evitabili. In quei punti stessi il M. o è stato infedele a F o ha contribuito a perpetuare un errore.[1]

[1] Non ricordo che due punti in cui sopprimo qualcosa di F. Ho soppresso, influenzato dalla tradizione, nella descrizione della reggia di Quinsai, alcune linee che tutti ritenevano inconciliabili col testo più accettabile de Ramusio. (Dirò in altra sede quali sieno le mie idee attuali su quell'argomento). Al cap. XLV (l. 9) faccio sparire un toponimo che ha dato enormemente del filo da torcere ai commentatori, Dogana, toponimo che il M. conserva sotto la forma Dogava. Più che una soppressione è una correzione poichè gli sostituisco Taican. La correzione mi parve imposta dall'esame stilistico e interno del passo, nonchè dall'esame delle varianti che di quel nome ci dà la tradizione manoscritta. F dice: "Or nos laison de ceste cité e enterron a conter d'un autre pais que s'apelle Dogana." È la consueta formola di chiusa che annuncia il soggetto di un nuovo capitolo. Ora, non segue nessun capitolo su Dogana. Il testo quale

I volumi di cui parliamo sono solo una parte, e la meno importante, di una grande opera di cui deve ancora uscire la parte più attesa. L'opera dovrà essere a suo tempo giudicata nella sua interezza. Siamo convinti fin d'ora che i volumi imminenti permetteranno un giudizio globale ben più caloroso

oggi l'abbiamo continua: "Quant l'en s'en part de ceste cité que je vos ai conté il chevauche bien XII journee . . . et quant l'en a alés ceste doçe jornee il treuve un caustiaus que est apellés Taican." Bisogna identificare Dogana col paese, lungo dodici giornate, tra Balc e Taican? L'espressione *ceste cité* si riferirebbe allora a Balc e mancherebbe solo, per rendere il capitolo stilisticamente poliano, una ripetizione, a l. 13 o 15, *et ceste contree s'apelle Dogana.* O *ceste cité* si riferirebbe invece a Dogana—come pensa il Penzer—e ci sarebbe allora nel testo una lacuna? Ma è poco probabile si tratti di una città: essa dovrebbe trovarsi tra Balc e Taican a una distanza di 12 giornate, distanza già eccessiva per il tratto tra Balc e Taican e che lo diverrebbe anche di più per il tratto fra Taican e una città intermedia (a meno che 12 sia un errore ed abbia ragione il Ramusio che ha 2). La formola di chiusa che abbiamo citata parla del resto di *pais*. Tutto si appianerebbe se si potesse ammettere che quella formola c'introduce ad un nuovo capitolo: su Taican, paese e città. Non ci può stupire nel Polo la confusione della *contree* o *provence* e della *cité* principale che ha con essa comune il nome. (Si veda, nella nostra edizione del 1928, la chiusa dei capitoli CXXXV e CXXXVI e il principio rispettivamente del capitolo successivo). Ad una tale ammissione ci autorizza la critica del testo. *Dogana* è attestato soltanto da F. Il nome e la frase che lo contiene mancano in Z, R, TA, VA. Delle famiglie che ci servono al controllo di F una sola, FG, lo contiene, ma nella forma *Gana* (o *Gava*). La sillaba iniziale può essere benissimo un antico *de*, preposizione (in una rubrica più sintetica: *pais de Gana*). È ovvio, per chi sia un po' pratico di mss. medievali, pensare ad un *Gana* cattiva lettura di *Taica* (per *Taican*, chè l'apice nasale non è raro venga omesso o spostato · troviamo in V, invece di *Taican*, *Tanica*). Non era naturale, per chi non fosse affetto da fanatismo cieco per F, correggere Taican? Non è forse stato costretto il M. stesso, per mettere d'accordo la sua edizione col commento del Pelliot, a modificare molto spesso e molto profondamente la grafia dei toponimi di F? Ci manca lo spazio per esaminare come vorremmo almeno i più tipici tra i dissensi tra la mia traduzione e quella del M., per mostrare praticamente a che cosa si riduca nei punti difficili la pretesa fedeltà del traduttore inglese. Ci permetta il lettore un esempio solo. Leggiamo in F VIII, 15–19: "Il mandoit disant a l'apostoile que il li deust mander jusque a cent sajes homes de la christiene loy . . . que bien seusent despuer et mostrer apertamant a les ydules . . . *que lor loy estoit tout autrament* et toute les ydres qu'il tient in lor maison et adorent sunt coses de diables." Il M. traduce: "that all their *religion was* erroneous." Non badiamo a quell'*all* che passa qui a qualificare *religion* mentre nel testo fa un tutto solo con *autrament*; sorvoliamo sulla sottolineatura di *religion was* e sul rinvio marginale che ci presenta quelle parole come desunte da

che non ci abbia consentito la parte curata dal M. e che si potrà dire anche dal punto di vista scientifico quello che già ci consentono di dire i due primi volumi per la loro magnificenza tipografica e cioè che resta viva nella Gran Brettagna la tradizione nobilissima dei Marsden a dei Yule.

B. 405. LUIGI FOSCOLO BENEDETTO.

BUDDHIST ART IN SIAM: A CONCISE HISTORY. By REGINALD LE MAY. 11½ × 9, pp. xxi + 165, maps 2, figs. 208. Cambridge: University Press, 1938. 42*s.* net.

This fine work, which has earned for its author the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Cambridge, gives proof of those qualities of method and precision which are characteristic of the former labours of Dr. le May. Conceived in Siam while still in direct contact with the objects of its research, and matured in the libraries and museums of Europe, it will rank as one of the best works devoted to Siamese art.

The subject is so vast and has still been so little studied

TA, mentre ci sono tutte e due in F: *loy* = religion). Come fa quell'*erroneous* a tradurre *tout autrament*? Il passo di F è certamente mutilo. Non può contenere soltanto l'idea che cristianesimo e idolatria sono due cose diverse: non erano necessari per rivelare tanta verità dei dotti teologi e degli abili controversisti. Perchè quel *tout autrament* acquisti il suo significato normale bisogna integrare il passo press'a poco così: "que seusent mostrer apertamant . . . que lor loy n'estoit evre de Dieu, mais qu'elle estoit tout autrament," cioè opera diabolica. Si confronti con ciò che Marco stesso dice a proposito appunto degli idolatri (F LXXV, 52–5): "Et ce qu'il font il le font por ars de diable et font croire a les autres jens qu'il le font por grant santeté et por evre de Dieu." Si veda pure il passo peculiare al Ramusio (F LXXXI, pag. 71, nota *a*), passo che riecchеggia visibilmente le linee in questione: "Et dicono questi idolatri che quel che fanno lo fanno per santità e virtù degli Idoli . . . dichinli che loro sanno e possono far tal cose, ma non vogliono perchè si fanno per arte diabolica e di cattivi spiriti. . . ." Siamo evidentemente dinanzi alla tipica concezione medievale della doppia verità religiosa, di origine divina e di origine demoniaca, concezione in cui è implicita la credenza, accettata per tanto tempo anche dagli spiriti più alti, al doppio miracolo, a quello divino e a quello diabolico cioè magico. L'*erroneous* del M. non solo tradisce la lettera di F, ma anche, quel che è più grave, lo spirito.

that several volumes would have been necessary to deal with it exhaustively.

By its clearness of exposition and its prudence in coming to conclusions, Dr. le May's book serves as the best introduction hitherto published to a more detailed study of Siamese art.

Let us now follow him in his treatment of the subject.

In the first chapter, after having explained his own personal conception of the differences between Far Eastern and Western art, the author gives a brief summary of the researches of his predecessors.

In his second chapter, after a broad geographical survey of Siam and its natural divisions, north, centre, north-east, and south, Dr. le May tabulates the nine schools of art into which he divides the different Buddhist sculptures of Siam. In the chronological order followed by the author in his text they are as follows :—

Pure Indian style : up to the fifth century A.D.

Môn-Indian Gupta (Dvāravatī) : fifth to tenth century.

Indo-Javanese (Çrīvijaya) : seventh to twelfth century.

Khmèr and Môn-Khmèr transition (Lŏp'bŭri) : tenth to thirteenth century.

T'ai (C'ieng Sên) : eleventh to fourteenth century.

T'ai (Sŭkhot'ăi) : thirteenth to fourteenth century.

Khmèr-T'ai transition (U T'ong) : thirteenth to fourteenth century.

T'ai (Lŏp'bŭri) : fifteenth to seventeenth century.

T'ai (Ăyŭth'ya) : fourteenth to seventeenth century.

From this it will be seen that the geographical terms used in the above nomenclature, which I myself proposed in *Ars Asiatica* (vol. xii), such as Dvāravatī, Çrīvijaya, etc., are duplicated by terms which tend to lay stress rather on the ethnic groups to which the objects belong.

In this second chapter the author gives a short account, under the heading "Pure Indian Style", of the finds made at P'ŏng Tŭk and of certain related specimens from private collections.

In the following chapters (iii to xi) the author studies the other eight schools in successive order and gives a short historical summary in respect of each.

As concerns the Môn-Indian School of Dvāravatī (chapter iii), Dr. le May rightly prolongs its existence to the eleventh century A.D. (p. 24), whereas I had confined its rather varied productions too rigidly to the sixth and seventh centuries.

In the historical account given of Funan and Cambodia (chapter v) certain minor errors which might be indicated are due to the fact that the author has taken as his guide an article published by M. Parmentier in *Eastern Art* in 1931 under the title of "History of Khmer Architecture". But the chapter ends with an interesting parallel between the architecture of this period and that of the temples at Kharod and Sirpur in the Central Provinces of India. It would be agreeable if Dr. le May would push still further his researches in this direction, and certainly as far as Bhitargaon, which he only mentions in passing (p. 65), but where he will find astonishing similarities to certain towers of the pre-Angkor period.

Chapter vi, devoted to the Khmer period in Siam, is valuable by reason of the influence which he ascribes to the Môn of Dvāravatī in the formation of the Lŏp'bŭri School (p. 68). After a chapter devoted almost exclusively to the early history of the T'ai and their relations with Burma, Dr. le May enters upon a detailed study (chapter viii) of the origins of the C'ieng Sên School, and rightly brings into relief the importance of the Pāla influence from Bengal, which I did no more than suggest in my work on the Bangkok Museum and in *Indian Art and Letters* (1930, pp. 32 and 36).

With regard to the Sŭkhot'ăi School (chapter ix) Dr. le May deals very successfully with the influence exerted by Ceylon on the art of C'ieng Sên inspired by the Pālas. The historical picture of this period is generally correct.

The rather complex question of the formation of the

school which I have, rightly or wrongly, called "School of U T'ong", of its evolution and of its division into successive styles or into contemporary sub-schools, has not been fully resolved by Dr. le May's researches (chapter xi). Images of this type are plentiful, but their exact place of origin is nearly always doubtful, and, failing an inscription, it is by no means easy to determine their date precisely. It would be necessary to examine scrupulously the smallest details, features, head-dress, flame-point, robe, stand, and so forth, in order to lay down a strict classification. If his classification is, chronologically, not very far from the truth, it is not so satisfactory from the ethnic point of view or from that of the artistic make-up of those to whom we owe these statues of Buddha. This question of the School of U T'ong requires much further study. This last chapter concludes with a short study of the School of Āyŭth'ya.

In the foregoing review I have tried to present to the reader some idea of the rich material contained in this work which I have read with as much pleasure as interest, and which marks a period in the history of Siamese Art.

B. 219. G. Coedès.

Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra. By F. M. Schnitger. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 226, pls. 42, figs. 97. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1939. Gulden 6.

This book contains a medley of pre-history, archæology, history, and the people and scenery of Sumatra. To give it literary value, its author would need the picaresque talent of Borrow or the craftsmanship of Somerset Maugham's *Gentleman in the Parlour*; to make it popular would be wanted the pen and camera of Freya Stark or Peter Fleming. Excellent though his English is, Dr. Schnitger lacks style, exhibits enthusiasms too often exaggerated and sentimental, and never gets under the skin of the people he sketches. Nor again are his photos very good, and they are separated

from his text without cross-references. But the book gives a pleasant account of subjects little known and is evidence of the work still required to disentangle elements in Sumatran cultures borrowed from China, India, and elsewhere.

For scientists the most interesting chapters are those on Samosir, Nias, and Prehistoric Monuments. How often an ethnographer is inclined to claim antiquity for tales and beliefs which comparative study will show to have been imported in historical time! Dr. Schnitger omits to notice that the Samosir story of *si galegale's* origin occurs in the Malay *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* from the Persian version of the *Sukasaptati*. It occurs, too, in the Malay *Hikayat Shah-i Mardan*, where also the magic power of rice-mortars (Schnitger, pp. 133 and 227) calls down garudas. The reference (p. 21) to a Sutan Talanai, a ruler of Muara Jambi involved in Siamese wars, recalls two characters in the "Malay Annals", Tun Telanai, a descendant of Demang Lebar Daun, who became ruler of Bentan, and his namesake who (chapter 13) went as an envoy to Siam. Where did this story of Talanai originate?

B. 352. R. O. Winstedt.

The Church of the T'ang Dynasty. By John Foster. pp. xvi + 168, map. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1939.

This book, meant primarily for general readers and students of church history, is nevertheless a serious contribution to a small but interesting branch of sinology—the Chinese Christian literature of the T'ang dynasty. There is inevitably yet one more version of the Hsi-an inscription and of the *Gloria in excelsis*. It is, I hope, not unkind to say that these are not so conspicuously superior to the best of their predecessors as to prevent some regret that the 21 pages which they fill should not have been given to the more recently discovered manuscripts from Tun-huang. These latter, to

which only six or seven pages are devoted, will be to most readers new, are of supreme interest, and have received no other adequate treatment at all in English. The most important and earliest of these are *Hsü t'ing mi shih so ching* and *I shên lun*, which have been published in facsimile in Japan (1931) besides having been printed three or four times, but no serious English version or commentary has yet been attempted; nor will the task be easy. The *I shên lun* consists of three paragraphs which Professor Foster calls "three separate tracts". Further study may show that the long paper roll was found "all tattered and torn", was wrongly pasted up and in part restored by the dealer, who did not offer it for sale until seven years after the probable date of discovery, and that the "three separate tracts" may prove to be the three paragraphs of chapter 3 of the *I shên lun*, namely 一天論第一；四色喻第二；世尊布施論第三； the whole ending with the colophon, 一神論卷第三.

There are a few small slips and misprints, and an uncertainty of transliteration which seems out of place in a book of very real value and scholarship.

B. 397. A. C. MOULE.

SELLING WILTED PEONIES. By GENEVIEVE WIMSATT. Biography and Songs of Yü Hsüan-chi, T'ang Poetess. 10 × 7, pp. xiii + 120, ills. 2. London: Humphrey Milford, 1936. 15*s*.

Yü Hsüan-chi's poems first came under my notice through a small work entitled *Poetesses of the T'ang Dynasty* (*T'ang tai nü shih jên*), by Lu Ch'ang-ch'ing, published in 1931. To speak the truth, there seemed little in her verses to distinguish them from those of others of the hundred or more women included in that little Chinese volume. Nor do I feel, after reading the translations in *Selling Wilted Peonies*, that I must change my opinion. A greater vigour of expression, a wider experience of life may be conceded to Yü than to

poetesses who spent their lives immured in the inner apartments instead of running about freely, as she did, in the cosmopolitan city of Ch'ang-an, but little more. Mrs. Wimsatt has been well served by the Chinese scholar who assisted her in the translations, but it must be confessed that the poetry of Yü is less interesting than the tragedy of her life as unfolded by her American biographer.

This attractive volume is more than the biography of a gifted poetess, however. It is at least a partial reconstruction and interpretation of the period in which she lived. The absence of documents dealing directly with Chinese society makes such a task difficult. Chinese histories are notoriously uninformative on social questions and offer little material for the type of study which Mrs. Wimsatt has undertaken; biographies are frequently accumulations of facts with virtually no background. The authoress is to be congratulated, therefore, on the measure of success with which she has recreated the life in the ninth century A.D. of the Chinese nun-courtesan-poetess whose varied career was ended by decapitation on a charge of murder. That it is less Yü's verses than her extraordinary power of living and the tragedy of her death which hold the interest of the reader is no reflection on her biographer.

Lively as Mrs. Wimsatt's social reconstruction is, it is not quite complete or wholly accurate. A single example must suffice. The suggestion that Yü's tour on the Great River in the company of the depressed scholar whose mistress she became was "an unheard-of caprice" is surely far from being the case. Numerous stories and light prose works of the period indicate that women travellers of all classes by land and water were to be met with at all times and everywhere in the T'ang era. This fact is borne out by the clay equestrienne figures of which an uncommonly charming example was displayed at the Chinese Exhibition in London, and perhaps future tomb-finds in the south of China may produce models of women musicians and dancers in the boats in which they

often travelled hundreds of miles with their masters on pleasure jaunts over the beautiful rivers and lakes of the central and even the wild southern regions of the empire.

A book for the general reader to enjoy, and useful background reading for students specializing in the period.

A. 794. E. D. EDWARDS.

Middle East

GLOSSAR ZU FIRDOSIS SCHAHNAME. By FRITZ WOLFF. 12½ × 9½. pp. xiii + 911 (with Supplement, pp. 109). Berlin: Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft and the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1935. R.M. 50.

This magnificent work—*si monumentum requiris inspice*—was offered as a tribute to Firdausí's memory in connection with the celebrations which marked the thousandth anniversary of his birth. Modestly described as a glossary, it is in fact an almost exhaustive index, lexicon, and concordance to three standard editions of the national epic, namely, those of Mohl (Paris), Vullers (Leiden), and Turner Macan (Calcutta). The Leiden text is incomplete, and in Mohl's, which is the best available and forms the basis of the present work, the verses are not numbered consecutively throughout, while the Calcutta text has no numeration except of pages; but these technical difficulties have been ingeniously overcome, so that after a little practice the reader can quickly lay his finger on any place where a particular word or phrase occurs in one or other of the above-mentioned editions. Moreover, all words are translated and the references, amounting to something like a million, are classified by meaning and construction. To review in detail such an immense collection of material would be impossible; to emphasize its many-sided interest to students of the Persian language and literature and the far-reaching influence it will exert on their

studies, would be superfluous. I have had occasion to test it rather severely and never been disappointed. One very small criticism: خداونده, a form which is queried by Dr. Wolff, rhymes with بنده in *Mathnawi*, v, 471.

A. 876. R. A. NICHOLSON.

FOUILLES DE TELLOH. Sous la direction de H. DE GENOUILLAC. Mission Archéologique du Musée du Louvre et du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. Tome I: Époques Présargoniques. pp. 106, pls. 71 + 12 + 13, 1934. Frs. 300. Tome II: Époques d'Ur, IIIe Dynastie et de Larsa. pp. 170, pls. 121, 1936. Frs. 400. 12 × 9. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

In these two richly illustrated volumes the Abbé de Genouillac gives the results of the excavations carried out by him during the three years 1929–1931 at Telloh, the traditional site of French archæologists in Mesopotamia, which thirty years before had enriched the Louvre with its magnificent series of Gudea statues. It is perhaps to be regretted that a work so full and so detailed should not be the final publication of the later French excavations and should deal with de Genouillac's results alone to the exclusion of those obtained by his successor in the field, M. Parrot, but as an instalment it leaves nothing to be desired.

While the three campaigns in question produced no monuments of art to rival those found by de Sarzec and Cros they have for the first time established the continuous history of this important site. The first volume is concerned wholly with the pre-Sargonid remains. The periods of al 'Ubaid, of Uruk and Jamdat Nasr as well as the later pre-dynastic age are all found to be represented at Lagash; the sequence of objects enables the author to confirm the general historic results obtained from other sites and to supplement them with new detail or to put forward alternative explanations. His most radical suggestion is that al 'Ubaid is older than Susa I,

which he would make contemporary with Uruk V–VII. He cannot admit that the al 'Ubaid culture is properly to be termed Sumerian, emphasizing the differences between this and later periods as strongly as Frankfort has stressed its points of resemblance—perhaps the truth lies between the two views, and it is only after the union of the old Iranian stock with Uruk invaders, whose Anatolian origin de Genouillac recognizes, that we can speak of a Sumerian civilization.

The buildings of Telloh have suffered so terribly from digging of one sort or another that little of them remains to reward the excavator; even their ground-plans are fragmentary. None the less de Genouillac has been able to identify the sites and the character of a number of temples of the time of Gudea and the Third Dynasty of Ur and so to establish a good part of the topography of the ancient city. It was in small objects that the site was rich, and these are catalogued with a meticulous care which brings out all their documentary value; the classification of the terra-cottas is most useful and the notes on burial customs are particularly full and instructive. The book is an admirable example of scientific publication.

A. 371. LEONARD WOOLLEY.

RELIEF UND INSCHRIFT DES KÖNIGS DAREIOS I AM FELSEN VON BAGISTAN. By FRIEDRICH WILHELM KÖNIG. 10 × 6½, pp. xii + 97, chart 1, figs. 5. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938. Gld. 3.

This book is not merely a new translation of the Behistūn inscription: on the contrary the greater part of it is devoted to the relief. This has been examined most minutely, and as a result of his researches the author has been able to draw many surprising conclusions from his data. We learn that the figures on the relief were not hewn out of the rock, but that they were sculptured separately and then attached or

inserted into the stone surface, and that the original monument consisted only of Darius with the captive kings as far as Arakha and the first three columns of the Persian inscription; above these was the solar disc with wings but without the anthropomorphic figure of Ahura Mazda: this, we are told, was a later addition caused by the victory of the religion of Spitama. A table showing by what stages the monument was completed is given on p. 17. It will be noticed that the figure of Frāda is a late addition, and this is borne out by the fact that, whereas in Col. III his capture is not mentioned, in Col. IV Darius speaks of having captured all the kings. These are but a few conclusions drawn from an examination of the relief. It must, however, be pointed out that since the author's research is based on photographs only, his conclusions must lose some of their validity. There follows an appendix on the date of the Scythian campaign. Starting from the one certain letter on the inscription the author arrives at the date 494/3, which may well come as a shock to classical scholars: but his argument deserves serious attention.

On the religious side the author accepts the Zoroastrianism of Darius without question. In Col. IV he detects not only a state of weakness in the later years of Darius' reign, but the triumph of the reformed faith. His injunctions to posterity reflect the basic doctrine of Zoroastrian ethics—good thought, good words, good deeds, or rather the avoidance of their opposite. Yet it is doubtful whether the ingenuous reader will not still see in Col. IV a monarch seeking the perpetuation of his fame rather than a defender of a new faith. Nor can one be expected to accept the identification of the Gāthic Vištāspa and the father of Darius without discussion; even less the statement that "dieser Spantadāta nahm nach seiner Krönung den Thronnamen Dārejawōš an". Perhaps Darius was Isfandiyār, but one can scarcely accept it as a proved hypothesis. In the present state of our evidence we have no means of deciding.

To the translation there are copious notes, some of which read perhaps a shade too much into the text. The statement that Sparda is the Persian pronunciation of the Lydian capital is surprising. The book closes with a discussion of the metrics of the inscription. Unlike Friedrich, the author maintains that only parts are metrical; and these he compares to trochaics in the *Persae* of Æschylus. Here again we are on very thin ice. But despite many controversial points, on which it is hopeless to expect general agreement, the book is valuable and stimulating.

B. 93. R. C. ZAEHNER.

India

DIE METHODEN DES YOGA. By SIGURD LINDQUIST. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. pp. viii + 234. Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Buchdruckerei, 1932.

Lindquist's thesis, written in 1932, is sound in its foundations. The author possesses a good knowledge of the Sanskrit texts and their modern Western interpretations. He is also remarkably versed in the latest methods and results of modern psychotherapy. From these two angles of knowledge he approaches the following problems: (1) Yoga, in comparison with hypnosis and suggestion; (2) the constitutional psychology of Yoga-systems; (3) Psychic and physiological changes as produced by the Yoga-exercises, Western ecstatic sects, and modern psycho-therapeutic methods; (4) the overcoming of physical and psychic disturbances and diversions by means of the exercises of Haṭha-yoga as well as by suggestion and hypnosis; (5) the explanation of the various stages of Siddhi through comparison with cataleptic phenomena, telekinesis, television, clairvoyance, and hallucination; (6) the gradual condensation and final abstraction of divergent ideas from "mono-ideism" into "a-ideism"; lastly, as an aid to concentration, the exercises of fixation in the Yoga as well as in the modern hypnotic methods.

On the other hand, these comparisons result in throwing into relief the characteristic distinctions between Indian Yoga and Western methods of hypnosis and suggestions. The author repeatedly stresses the fact that the Buddhist Śīlas have essentially an ethical-psychological purpose, not the merely physiological-psychological aim of our modern Western therapeutical methods. He rightly observes that the extra-psychological methods of preparation (narcotics and the various kinds of massage), used in the West, were rarely, if ever, applied in ancient India. This leads to a fundamental distinction, the importance of which has apparently not been fully realized by Lindquist. He too readily compares the position of the Indian Guru with that of the Western hypnotist. The Guru is not the road-maker ("Bahner"), as it were, in the preparatory stages nor a colleague and equal helpmate to the finished hypnotist. The Yogi disciple is, even in the initial stages, more than a mere "patient"; the Guru but serves him as a model and initiator in methods which he is left to develop for himself. The notion of self-activity is contained in every shade of the Indian concept of self-salvation. The grace of a Guru or God cannot do more than ease his burdensome task of self-development.

Lindquist's proneness to see the same features in East and West and to explain yogic phenomena from a purely psycho-therapeutic angle leads him to such identifications as, e.g., that of Mudrās with cramps (p. 45, footnote). He overlooks the fact that Mudrās are voluntary fixations of muscles, deliberate symbolic expressions; while cramps are involuntary reactions to mostly pathological irritations. Mudrās are intentional and can be brought to an end at any moment; cramps, on the other hand, are compulsory and mechanical contractions of muscles, the relaxing of which cannot be controlled by the person afflicted.

Lindquist confines himself to purely medico-psychological comparisons. He consciously forgoes mystical (i.e. meta-

physical) treatment of his problems (p. 168). Thus, e.g., he dismisses the explanations of the animal postures in Haṭha-yoga as "uninteresting" (p. 36); while the reviewer has tried to point out the great importance of these Āsanas for grasping India's fundamental idea of cosmic biology.[1] The reason for this omission seems to be the non-existence of any Western analogy. For the same reason he underrates the fact that the breathing-exercises are conceived throughout as a Yajña (p. 55). All poured-out energy has in India the significance of a sacrifice, that is, an action which inevitably attracts the reaction desired. In short, the book has all the advantages, and some of the disadvantages, of an eminently clear-cut statement of the problems.

A. 861. BETTY HEIMANN.

ŚRĪPRAŚASTISAṀGRAHA. By AMRITLAL MAGANLAL. 10 × 7. pp. xxviii + 119 + 18 + 326 + 56, pl. 1. Ahmedabad: Śrī Deśavirati Dharmārādhak Samāj, 1938. Rs. 5.

The riches of the manuscript collections in the Jain Bhaṇḍārs of Western India are well known by repute, however difficult it may sometimes be to obtain access to them, and scholars will welcome this collection of colophons from 163 palm-leaf and 1,276 paper Jain MSS.; the oldest, it may be noted, in these two classes go back to Saṁvat 927 and 1236 respectively. The colophons give many details about the writers and provide a valuable source for a detailed history of later Jain literature, while good indexes add to the utility of the work. It is only to be regretted that the compiler should have seen fit to write his introductory matter in a language so little known generally as Gujarātī.

B. 100. E. H. JOHNSTON.

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[1] Cf. *JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 38, 39.

DE FACTORIJ DER OOSTINDISCHE COMPAGNIE TE PATANI. By Dr. H. TERPSTRA. (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, Deel 1.) 10 × 6. pp. iv + 250, map 1. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938.

Dr. Terpstra is known to students of Indian history by his monographs on the establishment of the Dutch in Surat and on the Coromandel Coast. In this volume he has told in fullest detail the story of the Dutch factory at Patani on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula—a short story, for Dutch ships first visited Patani in 1601, and the factory was finally closed in 1622. Full use has been made of all printed sources, but the book is based essentially on the unpublished records preserved at Amsterdam, and while there are a few gaps in these, the amount of material is astonishing. I have examined minutely that portion of the story with which I am familiar, and apart from a single slip ("Essington" written for "Johnson" on p. 197), I have not a word of criticism to offer: the book can be taken as definitive.

B. 266. †W. H. MORELAND.

BṚHATĪ OF PRABHĀKARA MIŚRA. Edited by S. K. RAMANATHA SASTRI. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 3. Part I: pp. x + 416, 1934, Rs. 5. Part II: pp. 34 + 68 + 80 + 25, 1936, Rs. 2/8. 10 × 6½. Madras: University of Madras.

This work contains in the first part an edition of Prabhākara's commentary on *Mīmāṁsāsūtras*, i, 1, and of Śālikanātha's supercommentary, the *Ṛjuvimalāpañcikā*. As the only available MS. of the *Bṛhatī* was defective, the editor has taken the course of omitting references to it in this part and of reproducing it in the second part exactly as it stands; the number of corrections is, however, far from being so large as might therefore be supposed, and it would have

been more convenient to the reader if readings of the MS. had been entered as footnotes in the first part. The second part contains also an edition, both corrected and as found in the MS., of a supplementary commentary by Śālikanātha called the *Bhāṣyapariśiṣṭa*, the variants of another MS. of the *Bṛhatī* subsequently discovered in the Śṛṅgerī Maṭh, and an introduction discussing the relationship in date and theories between Kumārila and Prabhākara. This last wants reconsideration, as the editor has failed to take into account European research on the subject (e.g. Keith, *JRAS.*, 1916), and the evidence of Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṁgraha*. This work devotes special attention to combating Kumārila's views, and shows that the latter's date can hardly be later than A.D. 700 and may be earlier. On the other hand it takes no notice apparently of the Prābhākara school, a silence which argues either the priority of Śāntarakṣita or the unimportance then attributed to that school. The commentator, Kamalaśīla, however, quotes a certain Uveyaka who seems to be the same as Kumārila's follower, Uṁbeka or Ubbeka, and the passage in question is described by the editor of the *Tattvasaṁgraha* as probably a refutation of Prābhākara doctrines. The value of this evidence and its bearing require careful examination by specialists in Mīmāṁsā literature, and the point should not have been overlooked by an editor of the *Bṛhatī*.

A. 936. E. H. JOHNSTON.

DICTIONARY OF PĀLI PROPER NAMES. By G. P. MALALASEKERA. Vol. I, 9 × 7, pp. xviii + 1164; Vol. II, pp. xii + 1370. Indian Text Series. London: John Murray, 1937–8. 31*s.* 6*d.*

This long expected work is sure of a hearty welcome. It is compiled on the same principles as the *Vedic Index*, but the result is very different. The *Vedic Index* omitted all mythological names, all the names of gods, the most

important for Vedic study, confining itself to "historical material", and then the editors finding the result "too meagre to deserve being gathered in the form of a book" inserted a number of articles on sociological matters, though still as far as possible excluding the domain of religion. The original intention of Rhys Davids was to confine the present work to the proper names in the Pāli Canon, but fortunately the scheme has been extended to include the commentaries and all the important Pāli works down to the *Cūlavaṃsa* and *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā*. Dr. Malalasekera was the editor of the last-named, and it may be said with confidence that no more competent editor of the present work could have been found. As he remarks, it has been a stupendous task, in spite of the conciseness made necessary by the abundance of material. Hence there is no space wasted on etymologies, and the references to Sanskrit literature are few. This is really much the best, as the Sanskrit names could not at present be complete, and they would have raised difficult problems impossible to settle without much discussion. The Sanskrit names, all belonging to other schools and traditions, deserve separate treatment, and for that the present work will be an invaluable aid. Besides the names of persons and places, each concisely described, the titles of all the suttas and other texts are given and their contents summarized. The misprints are very few, but *vinā* for *vīṇā* is more than a printer's error.

A. 929 B 135. E. J. THOMAS.

CATALOGUE OF THE TOD COLLECTION OF INDIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE POSSESSION OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. By L. D. BARNETT. 10 × 7½, pp. 100. Typescript. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1938.

The name of James Tod is revered to this day in Rājpūtānā, not only on account of his researches into the histories and traditions of its princely houses, which were embodied in

his fascinating *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, but also because of his personal character, his warm affection for the country and its peoples, and his unremitting efforts to restore prosperity to lands that had suffered so cruelly from the havoc of wars and the ravages of Piṇḍārī hordes. The existence of the Tod Collection of MSS. in the possession of this Society has been widely known among Indologists, but the want of a catalogue thereof has hitherto been sorely felt. This want has now been supplied through the kind offices of Dr. L. D. Barnett, who has devoted to the task periods of hard-earned leisure during many years past. Dr. Barnett's name is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the catalogue and for the scholarly lines on which it has been prepared. All essential information, such as title, author, subject, place where written, with date, number of folios, language, etc., has been fully noted in respect of each item, and in a large proportion of cases further useful details of the contents have been added, with occasional excerpts and references to known editions, all of which will be of the greatest assistance to students. A full index crowns the work.

The Society must be deeply grateful to Dr. Barnett for this valuable catalogue. It has been clearly typewritten on stout paper; it is to be hoped that when funds permit it will be printed.

B. 286. C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE PRINCIPLE OF TRIDOṢA IN ĀYURVEDA. By KAVIRAJ D. N. RAY. 9 × 6. pp. 16 + 188 + 168. Publ. by the author, 51 Chittaranjan Avenue South, Calcutta, 1937. 8*s*. 6*d*.

YOGA. A SCIENTIFIC EVALUATION. By KOVOOR T. BEHANAN. 8½ × 6. pp. xx + 270, ills. 19. London: Martin Secker and Warburg, 1937. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Both these works are examples of the efforts now being made by Indian scholars to present the actual course of

thought in the Hindu systems of philosophy and natural science. They give what can be expected from no foreigner, and have a solid and independent value, whether the reader is interested merely in tracing the history of ancient theories or whether he hopes to find some still valid truths that have escaped modern thinkers.

Kaviraj Ray writes from the point of view of the Āyurvedic physician, and deals with the *tridoṣa*, a theory parallel to that of the four humours and temperaments. He is well equipped for the task of explaining it in terms of modern physiology, and shows its connection with modern theories of digestion and nutrition. But, as he points out, its real meaning must be reached independently of the vitiating influence of Western ideas. The book should further be of great value for the proper understanding of works like *Suśruta* as well as with regard to the physical theories of the Nyāya-Vaiśeshika system. The value of the exposition increased by the inclusion of a large number of extracts from Sanskrit medical texts, which constitute nearly half the book. The reference to the *Ṛgveda* on p. 45 should evidently be I, 34, 6.

Dr. Behanan, who has studied at Yale, brings all the resources of Western science to the investigation of the very technical subject of an Indian system. He has written from the point of view of the reader who is entirely unacquainted with Eastern thought, but who is very eager to know whether God is a personal being not identical with the world, whether the universe after running down will start again, and what he is to think about spirit-rapping, reincarnation, psycho-analysis, and most of all, about the marvellous powers of the yoga-adept. The fact that the author for over a year has studied yoga-practices at first hand, and received instruction from a professional yogin, gives his work a peculiar value. A number of photographic plates show exactly what the postures are. Although he belongs to South India he has so far freed himself from prepossessions as to conclude

his book with Heine's description of the philosopher as one who "with his night-cap and his night-shirt tatters botches up the loopholes in the structure of the world".

B. 38. A. 943. E. J. THOMAS.

SUVARṆABHĀSOTTAMASŪTRA. Das Goldglanz-Sutra, Ein Sanskrit-text des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. Herausg. von JOHANNES NOBEL. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$. pp. lv + 276, pls. 2. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1937. RM. 30.

It was only a few years ago that the *editio princeps* appeared of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra,* to give the title in the form which Professor Nobel shows to have been the original, and now we are fortunate enough to have it in an elaborate and definitive edition. Enjoying a repute in Buddhist lands that was not equalled by any other Mahāyāna work, the sūtra has been subject to continual elaboration and inflation, and thereby provides textual problems of unusual complexity, which will be obvious enough from the fact that for this edition eight Sanskrit MSS., in addition to fragments found in Central Asia, three Tibetan and three Chinese translations have been used; in consequence the *apparatus criticus* contains variants for almost every word of the text. This mass of detail has been well handled, and the editor has succeeded not only in constituting a sound text but also in working out in the Introduction an instructive scheme showing the gradual accretion of matter on to the original kernel. In general the edition calls for nothing but praise, and the only reserve I feel arises from a few readings suggesting a certain lack of familiarity with Buddhist literature. Thus, p. 41, l. 13, °*vyativṛttāḥ* should, as indicated by the MSS., be the Prākritic form °*vītivṛttāḥ*, which also improves the metre, and p. 163, l. 5, the name of the Yakṣa is given as Satāgiri, following an impossible rendering of Tibetan *bde-ba* as *sat*. The MSS. show *sā* or *śā* in the first syllable, as do all occurrences of the name elsewhere except that occasionally

in Chinese translations it appears corruptly as *vă*, and *bde-ba* therefore must be taken as standing for *śāta*, which is common enough in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit. The suggestion of Haimavanta (n. 11) in the same line for Haimavata is equally opposed to other sources. Of the contents of the text nothing need be said in so brief a notice as this, as they have been familiar for some years now to those interested.

A. 999. E. H. JOHNSTON.

LA VIE DE MARPA LE "TRADUCTEUR", suivie d'un chapitre de l'Avadāna de l'Oiseau Nīlakaṇṭha. Extraits et résumés par JACQUES BACOT. Buddhica, première série, VII. 10 × 7, pp. 116. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1937.

Hagiographical texts have seldom much literary value, but, if the life of Marpa, best known as the master of Milarepa, is no exception to the rule, it does present certain points of interest to the student. He made three journeys to India in search of Tantric spells in the eleventh century A.D., the account of which throws a little, if not very much, light on the contemporary Buddhism of Bihar and Bengal. In addition the life contains some curious information on the process of transferring the spirit from one's own body to someone else's, which is already known to us from medieval India; this side of the biography is supplemented by an extract from the Avadāna of Nīlakaṇṭha, dealing with a similar story. M. Bacot's abridgment does full justice to everything in the work that was worth bringing to notice, and his translation of a not too easy text is sound, though the proof-reading of the Tibetan original leaves something to be desired. I note a few cases where I would prefer a different rendering, as they are not devoid of importance: p. 14, l. 27, "le temple, né de lui-même, de Bhaga le nakha sarvaṇi"; I fancy that the readings are slightly out of order and that the real sense is "the temple of Svayaṁbhū Khasarpaṇa in Bengal",

which I take to be the same as Khasarpaṇa in Puṇḍra-vardhana, visited by Buddhagupta some centuries later (*IHQ.*, vii, pp. 697 and 699). p. 66, l. 9, "À ce moment des signes funestes du peuple des Makaras enveloppèrent Laga ana comme des nuages accumulés"; better, "At that time those who were included in the army of Makaraketu (i.e. Māra) stood behind Laga ana, gathering like a cloud." p. 67, l. 7, "À force de mérites, j'ai obtenu toutes les grâces sans exception"; *dal-ḥbyor* means the eight *kṣaṇas* and ten *vibhavas* by which rebirth as a human being is obtained. Therefore, "By my accumulated merit I have obtained a human body with the (eighteen) blessed conditions," or, reading *ma-lus* for *mi lus*, "I have obtained all the blessed conditions (which lead to rebirth as a human)."

B. 315. E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE MAHAR FOLK. By ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. 7½ × 5, pp. ix + 101. The Religious Life of India Series. London: Oxford University Press, 1938. Price 4*s*. 6*d*.

This little work is the latest in the Religious Life of India Series. Dr. John McKenzie, in a short preface, describes how these untouchables, having come into possession of considerable political power, are beginning to resent their social disabilities under the caste system, and claiming the right to a fuller and freer life. The author of the work, as a missionary in the Poona district and later as Professor of Philosophy in the Hislop College, Nāgpur, came into intimate contact with the Mahars, and writes of them with sympathy and appreciation.

There is perhaps not a great deal in this book which has not previously been published in the existing gazetteers and the ample records of the Ethnographical Survey, where a more systematic account is to be found. It would have been useful if the writer had found time to develop his few

lines on p. 54 dealing with the *devak* system into a more adequate survey of this important subject. The author is puzzled (p. 49) by the odd "half" division of Mahars which exists; but this, as another form of the *akara mase* and *baramase* divisions, is a common expedient for providing a place for mixed descent. On p. 56 Mr. Robertson discusses some anthropological measurements in the Bombay Presidency. It would appear that he is not indisposed to accept the status of the Mahar as one between the Deshastha and Chitpāvan Brahman; though it is certainly not easy to explain by a study of their past history. On p. 9 the writer deals with the *Śūdra* status of the Marāṭhā, and might well have fortified his conclusions by the social nexus binding the Marāṭhā to the Marāṭhā Kunbi and the Kunbi to the Koli, the Dhangar ranking with the Kunbi. Racially these are doubtless the same.

This short study serves a useful purpose; and it is to be hoped that further monographs of a similar nature are likely to be issued shortly by those responsible for the Religious Life of India Series.

B. 354. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

SEVEN COLLECTIONS OF INSCRIBED ORACLE BONE. Drawn by FRANK H. CHALFANT. Edited by ROSWELL S. BRITTON. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 5, pls. 32. New York: Chalfant Publication Fund, 1938.

In this neat, clear, and workmanlike brochure Mr. Roswell S. Britton continues his meritorious labours of publishing the "sketch-plates" made by the late Mr. Frank Chalfant of all those inscribed Bone fragments that had been dug up in the Province of Honan (North China) and had passed through his hands. This particular work concerns a number of these inscribed bones now scattered in various directions and collections, and which but for the present editor would

have been permanently lost or inaccessible. But before the present or any editor could have set to work, it was a fortunate chance that the circumstances of time and place should have concurred in an author with the qualities and qualifications of Mr. Frank Chalfant. Holding a responsible and exacting position in a missionary establishment at Weihsien, in Shuntung Province, the constant calls upon his time and energy were unable to dull or dissipate his vivid interest in Chinese antiquities. With that was combined the gift of accurate draughtsmanship, a union of eye and hand, without which the valuable inscriptions now in course of publication, thanks to the present editor, could not have been reproduced in facsimile as they are in the thirty-two plates of this brochure.

In his preface to the plates, the editor goes fully and carefully into the circumstances in which the numerous parcels of inscribed Bones and "Amulets" came into the hands of Mr. Chalfant, sometimes only for the time needed by the latter to execute the "sketches" (to use his word) of their contents. But he let no opportunity go. The editor also, and appropriately, cites a passage from Mr. Chalfant's manuscript work on Bone Inscriptions, in which the writer gives the reasons (and they are cogent) why he decided to resort to pen and ink for the reproduction of the original inscriptions.

The editor is to be congratulated on his zealous share in the labours of his compatriot on the sterile soil of an epigraphic field which "there are few to see and very few to love".

B. 342. L. C. Hopkins.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1934–5. 13 × 10, pp. vi + 120, pls. 26, figs. 7. Delhi, 1937. 18*s*. 6*d*.

Despite financial stringency and the damage done by the earthquake of 1934 which had to be made good, the year's work was not sterile. A new monastery was unearthed at

Nālandā, a new *stūpa* (with relics and coins of Augustus and Azilises) at Taxila, and a "clay coffin" burial in Madras City. The sections on Burma are among the most interesting; yet an ugly attempt was made in the Legislative Council of that Province to put an end to conservation. Epigraphy is fully handled, the most notable find being a Sanskrit inscription of the early part of the first century B.C., which refers to the worship of the brothers Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva. Dr. Fábri contributes some suggestive comparisons between the bull, bird, and mother cults of Crete and those of the Indus Valley. The outstanding item in the Report, however, is the discovery by Mr. Vats at Rangpur, in Kāṭhiāwāṛ, of an outlier of the Indus Valley ("Proto-Indian") culture. Of the affinities of the objects found there is no shadow of doubt, though to judge by plate xv the pottery looks more like the "Later Prehistoric" of Sir Aurel Stein's earlier reports than the Kulli-Mehī material with which Mr. Vats compares it. It would be well if standard terms were agreed upon for describing the patterns and forms of this pottery. The "loops", e.g. (p. 36), are not loops at all, but hooks; the "chequers" are not chequers, and in the references cited are "cross hatched" or "lattice"; the "deer" (anything but "realistic") is in earlier memoirs an ibex; the "tree", variously described elsewhere, is not a bit like a tree; a "bi-convex vase" is not easily visualized. Correlation is difficult if no two writers use the same descriptive terms.

B. 34. F. J. RICHARDS.

FURTHER EXCAVATIONS AT MOHENJO-DARO. By E. J. H. MACKAY. 13½ × 10½. Vol. I, Text: pp. xvi + 718. Vol. II: pp. ix + 146, pls. cxlvi. New Delhi: Published by the Government of India, 1938. £4 18*s*. 9*d*.

These volumes chronicle in a very detailed manner the excavations undertaken by Dr. Mackay for the Archæological Survey of India during the seasons 1927–1931 and are in

continuation of the three volumes *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, edited by Sir John Marshall.

Dr. Mackay's excavations carried on the preliminary work of Messrs. K. N. Dikshit and A. D. Siddiqi, and his report brings the history of the excavations at Mohenjo-daro up to date, for, owing to financial retrenchment and lack of personnel, no digging of any magnitude has been undertaken at this important site since the year 1931.

In Chapter I the author discusses the city and its environs as also its duration and date. The last chapter is devoted to the question of the relationship of the Indus Valley with other countries, while the intervening chapters consist of very complete and minute descriptions of the excavations (in some places carried down to below water-level), the architecture and masonry, and the numerous objects that were found. The provenance of each object illustrated can easily be found in the plans, and the levels of all are given. In a chapter and appendix at the end of the book Mr. A. S. Hemmy discusses the system of weights in his usual thorough manner, and Dr. B. S. Guha and Mr. P. C. Basu have contributed a chapter on the human remains.

The bath buildings in the S.D. Site are of the structures unearthed, perhaps, the most worthy of notice. Among the interesting objects found mention should be made of the linear measure marked with a decimal system, and of certain peculiar pottery figurines and heads from the lower levels. Many of the seals and amulets, and especially some which depict ceremonies connected with a tree are of value for the light they throw on present-day cults. A bronze saw with undulating edge, which is practically complete, is a valuable find, and the large number of copper and bronze vessels, implements and tools that were unearthed are fully discussed. The proportion of tin used in making bronze was extraordinarily variable; Dr. Desch and Mr. Carey have found it to range from the merest trace to as much as 26·9 per cent, the latter being a very high proportion indeed.

Although there is now much data to show that Elam and Sumer were closely connected by trade with the Indus Valley, no direct association with Egypt has yet come to light at any of the Indus Valley sites, though certain objects, of which Dr. Mackay gives instances, show indirect relationship through other countries.

The 146 plates fill Volume II and fully illustrate the text. They consist of plans and sections, numerous photographs of the excavations, and photographs and line drawings of the finds.

This detailed and well-considered report of Dr. Mackay will be of the utmost value to students of the Indus Valley and contemporary civilizations. There is a very adequate index.

B. 328. J. F. BLAKISTON.

Biblical Archæology

BIBLIA HEBRAICA. Edidit RUD. KITTEL, textum masoreticum curavit P. KAHLE. Editionem tertiam denuo elaboratam ad finem perduxerunt A. ALT et O. EISSFELDT. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xl + 1,434. Stuttgart, 1937. 15*s*.

To review a new edition of a Hebrew Bible is not an easy task unless one wishes to enter into minute details, for which, however, there would be no room in the pages of our *Journal*. Surprising as it may sound, though the Hebrew Bible has been printed ever so many times, there are no two editions that are absolutely identical. The variations may be very small, yet every variation is of importance. Attempts, therefore, have been made from time to time to reach an edition of the text which under existing conditions could be considered as representing the most authentic form.

Ancient manuscripts are exceedingly scarce. Happily, some of the oldest have been preserved, among them one in Leningrad which had been copied by one of the most famous

Massoretes of old, Aaron ben Mosheh ben Asher. This recension has become the "authorized" text of the Hebrew Bible, and the aim and hope of biblical scholars to obtain a Hebrew text based on the most ancient manuscript has now been fulfilled, for the present edition is, in fact, a faithful and critical reproduction of the Leningrad manuscript.

There is another manuscript in Aleppo, but this has proved inaccessible. There are one or two other manuscripts of very high antiquity of which use has also been made in the present edition, and therein lies, in the first place, its pre-eminence. It differs, moreover, in every way from the former edition of the Kittel Bible, in size, in type, and in the arrangement of the materia. Kittel had been working on it for many years, but after his death in 1929 the work was placed in the competent hands of Professor Kahle. No better choice could have been made for the work. Not only has Professor Kahle shown his high scholarship in the study and elucidation of ancient Biblical texts and fragments, but he has also manifested a keen understanding of the value of the *Masorah*, having published some important contributions towards the Masoretic traditions of East and West. A band of scholars has assisted him in the task, among them the English scholar, Th. H. Robinson.

The present edition is the result of many years of indefatigable labour and it is, so far, the most accurate edition of the text of the Hebrew Bible. The Leningrad manuscript contains not only the text but also the *Masorah*, and it was a happy thought to publish here the *Masorah Parva* in the margin of the text. In the various editions of the *Biblia Rabbinica* of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, following that of Jacob ben Chaim of 1525, this Masorah was found on the margin, but it had disappeared from all the subsequent editions. The *Masorah Magna*, which is also found in the *Biblia Rabbinica*, will, it has been promised, be added to the work under review as a second volume, amplified of course and improved with the assistance of the new material that has been accumulating since the first edition in 1525.

The present edition, as stated in the Prolegomena, is intended for scholars. This is, perhaps, not very fortunate since it gives to the book a somewhat peculiar appearance. At the foot of the page there are found two paragraphs containing notes of a critical character. The editors have made a difference between the one and the other, reserving, as it were, the second set of notes to emendations and other subjective changes suggested by the various editors. But there is scarcely any difference. Variations and emendations are mentioned in both and could have been merged into one; but the difference between the two is marked by the use of two interlinear alphabets, one Greek and one Latin, which are placed above the words to which reference is made in the notes. It gives to the page a very chequered character and it prevents the use of this edition of the Bible for devotional purposes. It might have been better if these critical notes and variations could have been relegated to the second volume. They are also much too concise and, to a certain extent, very limited. As the editors have had at their disposal the most ancient available manuscript, they could well have dispensed with the examination of a large number of other Hebrew manuscripts. But for all that, there may be among these some very important variants, which should not be entirely overlooked. There are also some very arbitrary emendations and suggestions by some of the editors who have tried to improve the Hebrew text, in most cases not altogether satisfactorily. It is not always real Hebrew which is substituted.

In connection also with these variations it is surprising that no notice has been taken of the Ben Naphtali variants, especially since some old material has come to light and Professor Kahle is thoroughly familiar with it. Again, as far as the Samaritan is concerned, I have a personal axe to grind. No notice has been taken of the Samaritan Book of Joshua, and one cannot help wondering why Biblical scholars should have allowed themselves to be misled by certain

statements concerning its authority and antiquity which were made by men who were not able even to read the Samaritan MSS. The more I study it, the more convinced I am of its high value, especially as I am preparing a new edition, giving all the variants, not only of the Masoretic, but also of the other ancient versions.

But there is one point that gives rise to strong objection. It is the arbitrary introduction of a second Meteg. As the book is intended for scholars, surely it was unnecessary to introduce a new Masoretic sign in order to facilitate the reading only by one who has no elementary knowledge of Hebrew grammar. The arbitrary introduction into the Prophets and Hagiographa of signs for open or closed sections is also misleading, and in lieu thereof the marking of the traditional sedarim, found also in old MSS., would have been more appropriate. It is to be hoped that these points will be taken into consideration when a new edition is prepared.

These few points, however, do not diminish the high praise which is due to this work on which everyone connected therewith must be most warmly congratulated, including the Priv. Wuertt. Bibelanstalt which has spared no cost in the production of this Bible, even under present conditions. With this edition Professor Kahle and his collaborators have placed Biblical scholars under a great debt of gratitude.

The price of the Bible and of the subsequent second volume is moderate.

B. 22. † M. GASTER.

DAS WIEDERERSTANDENE ASSUR. By W. ANDRAE. 10 × 7, pp. xi + 231, pls. 86, map 1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1938.

Of the two great undertakings of the German Orient-Gesellschaft in pre-War Mesopotamia the excavation of Ashur may be considered in every respect the more fortunate. Despite all the year-long labours of the late Robert Koldewey,

Babylon was upon the whole disappointing in its results, and was far from finished when the interruption came. During the course of his work Koldewey had written an account of its progress for general readers under the title of *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, now in its fourth edition, and Dr. Andrae has every right which piety and association can give to recall this title, while happier fortune has justified him in its more definitive turn. No excavation, perhaps, is ever finished, particularly in the Near East, but that the principal features of Ashur throughout its history have been successfully re-created by the work of the German expedition between 1903 and 1914 is well established by this survey.

The first part of the book is devoted accordingly to an imaginary tour of the city at the period of its greatest development, in the reign of Sennacherib. The city is pictured as it might have appeared to a visiting foreigner, who is introduced with a certain old-fashioned literary conventionality as a " solitary horseman " in the first words. He visits the principal buildings and public places, has friends among the inhabitants, and hears something of the significance of what he sees and of the life which these buildings and monuments had been designed to serve. The modern companion of this visitor, if slightly inconvenienced by the guide's proneness to the cloudy abstractions of German philosophical language, is at any rate assisted by a number of sketches reconstructing some of the most striking scenes which passed before him—a quite justifiable use of the evidence, in the hands of so responsible an authority as Dr. Andrae. Indeed, as it is not difficult to set apart, with rough accuracy, the proportion of the imaginary in these drawings, they are valuable gauges of the information which it is possible to obtain from a carefully conducted exploration of an ancient site such as was that of Ashur.

The main part of the book which follows (" Assur im geschichtlichen Werden ") is an account, in detail suitable to the scope and purpose of the work, of the development and principal buildings of the city in the successive ages

when history and material remains alike show it to have been of most importance. A good deal of this is necessarily an abridgment of what has already appeared in the volumes of the full scientific publication, but there are several subjects (e.g. the temples of the god Ashur, of Sin and Shamash, the palaces, and the separate foundation of Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta) not yet included in the official series, concerning which the first connected account is given in these pages. Illustration takes a fittingly prominent place in the book; besides the numerous sketches and small plans in the text there are eighty-six photographic plates with many familiar, but also a number of new, subjects, the latter including some interesting groups of small finds, pottery, figurines, jewellery, ivories; and the value of the illustrations is much increased by several pages of informative notes upon them. There is also an interesting excursus upon the modern conditions of the neighbourhood, its climate, material resources, and inhabitants. If the instructed public has not lost heart and care for all these things, Dr. Andrae's book should be assured of as much success as his former preceptor's.

B. 262. C. J. GADD.

Islam

CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE, Vol. II, Part 2 (Ṣūfism and Ethics). By A. J. ARBERRY. Part 3 (Fiqh). By R. LEVY. 11 × 8½, pp. 238 (97–198 + 199–336). London, 1936–7.

It is gratifying to receive further evidence that the long-delayed task of continuing and completing O. Loth's *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Library of the India Office* (1877) has been energetically taken in hand and has already made considerable progress. The new volume, which began in 1930 with the publication of a fasciculus on Qur'ānic literature by Professor Storey, now includes two more parts

dealing with mysticism and ethics (Nos. 1218–1421) and jurisprudence (Nos. 1422–1881). One gathers that many, if not most, of the MSS. are badly worm-eaten. So far as I can judge, those described under the heading *fiqh* are seldom of outstanding bibliographical interest. Among the Ṣūfistic MSS. attention may be called to a very old copy of the famous *Risālah* of Qashayrī (No. 1219); a rare work of Rūzbihān al-Baqlī entitled *Sharḥ al-ḥujub wa'l-astār* (No. 1252); a hitherto unknown commentary entitled *Jawāmi' al-kilam* —*al-kalam*, no doubt, is a misprint—*fī kashf Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (No. 1278); several short treatises attributed to Ibnu 'l-'Arabī (Nos. 1261, 1293, 1297, 1301, 1318–1320) and al-Shādhilī (No. 1332); an unrecorded tract on Divine immanence (*qurb*) by Ibn Taimīyah (No. 1343); and other mystical or ethical works of which apparently no second copy has yet been noticed (Nos. 1335, 1337, 1347, 1348, 1352, 1362, 1364, 1365, 1375, 1382, 1388, 1392, 1395–1403, 1413–16, 1420, 1421). It only remains to congratulate Dr. Levy and Dr. Arberry on the excellent result of their collaboration and add some corrigenda on points of detail. P. 97, col. 1, "Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qōnawī (d. 729/1329)." The correct date 672/1273 is given under No. 1322. P. 112, col. 1, for "Ibn Najīd" read Ibn Nujaid and see *Luma'*, Introd., p. xviii. P. 125, col. 1, for "al-Qanūjī" read al-Qannūjī. P. 151, col. 1, for "al-Naḥawī" read al-Naḥwī. P. 157, col. 1, penult., for "al-Dūsī" read al-Dausī. P. 169, col. 1, "Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī." So Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, iii, 444; but I think the more correct form of the *nisbah* is Dawwānī (cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ii, 613). P. 187, col. 1, "Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmulī," read al-'Āmilī. For this error Brockelmann (ii, 414) may be held responsible. On p. 159, col. 2, "al-Āmilī" should be al-Āmulī. آملی and عاملی are easily confused in transliteration.

B. 109. R. A. Nicholson.

Al Ghazali's Boek der Liefde. By H. Dingemans. 9½ × 6½, pp. 163. Leiden: S. C. Van Doesburgh, 1938.

This work is an almost complete translation of the thirty-sixth book of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* from the text of the Cairo edition, A.H. 1334, together with an introduction, a chapter on the orthodox and radical views of God's love in Islam, and a synopsis of al-Ghazālī's own views.

Dingemans' introduction pays tribute to Massignon, Macdonald, Gairdner, Carra de Vaux, and Asin Palacios, who have all made valuable contribution to the study of al-Ghazālī's conception of the love of God. The author tells how much Bar Hebraeus owed to al-Ghazālī in his "Book of the Dove", while both in their turn owe a debt to the Hellenistic currents of early Christian mysticism. Then follow sixteen pages giving a clear account of the contrast between the teaching of orthodox Islam, e.g. Baidhawi, Zamakhshari, and al-Razi, on God's love and that of the mystics; the former are relentlessly hostile to the Ṣūfi familiarity with Allah, who is the Distant and altogether Other. The references are to their comment on Surahs ii, 160 and iii, 29. Al-Ghazālī's conception of the love of God avoids both extremes. Love of God is a sixth sense, it is of the heart and not of the senses.

The author gives an analysis of the *Kitāb al-Maḥabbah*, which includes *amor Dei* as both subjective and objective; although only one brief section is devoted to God's love to man. All the rest is on the believer's love (devotion, obedience, passionate longing) for Allah. And so the whole of book vi of part 4 of the *Iḥyā'* still leaves a great chasm between the highest teaching of the most spiritual-minded Muslim Theologian and the simple categories of John's epistle or of Paul's vindication of the love of God in Jesus Christ on the cross.

B. 294. S. M. Zwemer.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

KITAB AL-SULUK LI-MA'RIFAT DUWAL AL-MULUK : Chronicle of Ahmad ibn 'Ali al-Makrizi. Vol. I, Part 3. Ed. M. MUSTAFA ZIADA. Cairo : Association of Authorship, Translation and Publication Press, 1939.

MYTHOLOGICAL BONDS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. By DOROTHEA CHAPLIN. Copenhagen : Einar Munksgaard, 1938.

A SCIENTIST IN TARTARY. From the Hoang-ho to the Indus. By W. FILCHNER. London : Faber and Faber, 1939.

THE FOUNDATION OF LIVING FAITHS. An Introduction to Comparative Religion. By H. BHATTACHARYYA. Calcutta : University of Calcutta, 1938.

LA RECONSTRUCTION TYPOLOGIQUE DES LANGUES ARCHAIQUES DE L'HUMANITÉ. By J. VAN GINNEKEN. Amsterdam : Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers-Maatschappij, 1939.

FRAGMENTS FROM BABEL. By JOHN D. PRINCE. New York : Columbia University Press, 1939.

L'ORIGINE DES LANGUES, DES RELIGIONS ET DES PEUPLES. By H. DE BARENTON. Études Orientales, 7, 8, and 9. Paris : Librairie Orientale et Américaine, 1933–6.

REICHSTURKISCHE LAUTSTUDIEN. By B. COLLINDER. Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistska, 1939.

MOHAMMED. By D. S. MARGOLIOUTH. London : Blackie and Son, 1939.

TAMIL LEXICON. Vols. I–VI and Supplement. University of Madras. Mylapore : Madras Law Journal Press.

LA FAMILLE IRANIENNE AUX TEMPS ANTÉ-ISLAMIQUES. By A. A. MAZAHÉRI. Paris, Librairie Orientale et Américaine G.P. Maisonneuve, 1938.

CENTRAL ASIA (Personal Narrative of Gen. Josiah Harlan, 1823–1841). By F. E. ROSS. London : Luzac and Co., 1939.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Lantern slides of Assyriological and Babylonian Subjects

Pinches Bequest

The late Dr. T. G. Pinches, a Member of the Society for upwards of fifty years, left directions that a collection of his Assyriological and Babylonian Lantern Slides should be held in trust by the Royal Asiatic Society for the use of Students.

Dr. Pinches bequeathed them in the hope that they may promote an interest in such subjects among Students in this country. The Society has accepted the trust, and will hold the slides available for the use of bona fide Students, Lecturers, or Educational Institutions such as the Victoria Institute. There are nearly 400 slides, which were catalogued by the late Professor S. H. Langdon. Requests from orientalists should be sent to the Secretary, with necessary references for the consideration of the Council.

Dr. Pinches also left nine simple Babylonian Seals, together with the copy, transcription, and translation of each, prepared by himself for the same purpose. These are available for loan under the same conditions as the slides.

Notices

Members and subscribing libraries are reminded that by Rule 24 the annual subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January, without application from the Society. A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

By authority of the Council, the Library and Offices of the Society will be closed for the Christmas Holiday from 25th to 30th December inclusive.

A memorial tablet to the late Rt. Hon. Sir Mortimer Durand, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., a member of the Society from 1907 to 1924, was unveiled at Penmayne House, Rock, Cornwall, where he lived from 1915 to 1924.

Ismaili Research Volume

The editors of the *Ismaili*, a Bombay Anglo-Gujrati weekly devoted to the interests of the Ismaili community, the followers of H.H. the Aga Khan, have decided to publish annually a volume entirely devoted to research in history, theology, philosophy, etc., of all branches of Ismailism, and cognate sects, from the earliest times till the present day. The publication will be edited by W. Ivanow, and will be printed in the best possible style. It will be chiefly intended for those who are specially interested in the subject, and generally in the history of Islamic sects, and will have nothing to do with any religious, political or other propaganda or controversy. Every qualified student, doing research in these matters, is invited to send his contribution—an article, short note, review of a book on Ismaili subjects, etc. Detailed information may be obtained from W. Ivanow, P.O. Box 585, Bombay 1, India.

On the initiative of the India Office Library, a plan has been formulated for building up a collection of rotographs of unique and otherwise important Oriental manuscripts, and the co-operation of several libraries with special Oriental interests has been promised. The object of the scheme is to make available to scholars in this country facsimiles of manuscripts preserved in Turkey, Persia, Egypt, India, and elsewhere, which can only otherwise be consulted by personal visit. The libraries co-operating in the scheme will arrange for a regular exchange of information, so as to prevent duplication, and also for an interchange of loans.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Tijdschrift Voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde. Deel lxxix, Aflevering 2, 1939.

Stutterheim, W. F. De collectie oudheidkundige teekeningen van N. Engelhard te Batavia.

Voorhoeve, P. Enkele Batakse mededlingen over de sigale-gale.

Nooteboom, C. Vesieringen van Manggararaische huizen.

Bousquet, G. H. Quelques sanctuaires sasaks de Lombok.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Heft 4–5, No. 14, 1938.

Bachhofer, L. Zur Geschichte der chinesischen Plastik vom VIII–XIV Jahrhundert. Mit 3 Tafeln.

Loehr, M. Das Rolltier in China. Mit 2 Tafeln.

Rau, H. Untersuchungen z. mittelalterlichen Kunstgeschichte Ostturkestans. Mit 2 Tafeln.

Prip-Møller. Streiflichter auf die Entwicklung des Bauplans chinesischer buddhististischer Klöster in ihrem Verhältnis zum buddhistischen Kultus.

The Illustrated London News. Vol. 194, No. 5218, 22nd April, 1939.

Barger, E. The Pioneer Exploration of the Oxus Territories in Northern Afghanistan by the First British Expedition in that country.

No 5220, 6th May, 1939.

Upham Pope, A. Prehistoric Bronzes of a Hitherto Unknown Type, bearing magic "Moon-Goats" and Sun-Masks, found in Iran.

No. 5221, 13th May, 1939.

Gabra, S. Exploring the Galleries of Hermopolis, The Sacred City of Thoth.

No. 5222, 20th May, 1939.

Mallowan, M. E. L. A City of Masterly Goldsmiths and Carvers in the Syria of 3000 B.C.

No. 5227, 24th June, 1939.

Wales, H. G. Quaritch. Pioneering in the unexplored Field of Malayan Archæology.

No. 5229, 8th July, 1939.

Fürer-Haimendorf, C. von. Konyak Naga Head-Hunters as Agriculturists.

Vol. 195, No. 5233, 5th August, 1939.

King Solomon's Seaport of Eziongeber, on the Gulf of Hqabah. The earliest recorded South Arabic script.

Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. 59, No. 2, June, 1939.

Emeneau, M. B. Was there Cross-Cousin Marriage among the Śākyas.
Howard, H. N. Preliminary Materials for a Survey of the Libraries and Archives of Istanbul.
Müller, V. The Origin of Mosaic.
May, H. G. The Sacred Tree on Palestine Painted Pottery.

Annals of Archæology and Anthropology. Vol. xxvi, Nos. 1–2, June, 1939.

Edwards, I. E. S. The Prudhoe Lions.
Blackman, A. M. A Further Note on the Sacred Heart at Athribis.
Woolley, L. The Iron-Age Graves of Carchemish.
Garstang, J. Explorations in Cilicia. The Neilson Expedition: Fourth Interim Report. Parts I and II (concluded): Excavations at Mersin, 1938–9.
Burkitt, Miles. Explorations in Cilicia. Neilson Expedition, 1938–9. The Earlier Cultures at Mersin (with plates xxviii–xxxix, xli, and xlii).

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology Vol. xii, 1937.

Vats, M. S.: Excavations at Harappa.
Vogel, J. Ph.: Explorations by the French Mission in Afghanistan.
Wales, H. G. Quaritch. Further India: Archæological researches in Malaya.
Coedes, G. Excavations at the Bayon of Angkor Thom.
Kempers, A. J. B.: Archæological work in Netherlands India.

Archiv Orientální. Vol. xi, No. 1, June, 1939.

Hrozný, B. L'inscription "hittite"-hiéroglyphique Messerschmidt, Corpus inscr. Hett. VIII (avec 2 planches).
Menges, K. Einige Bemerkungen zur vergleichenden Grammatik des Türkmenischen.
Lewy, J. The Assyrian Calendar.
Margwelaschwili, T. von. Über Georgische Königsdynastien.
Krámský, J. A study in the phonology of modern Persian.
Bonfante, G. Civilization indo-européenne et civilization hittite.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Vol. xxv, Part 1, March, 1939.

Walsh, E. H. C. Notes on the Punch-Marked Copper Band found at Patna.
Johnston, E. H. The Tridaṇḍamālā of Aśvaghoṣa.

Bijdragen Tot De Taal-land-, En Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch-Indië. Deel, 98, Afl. I–II, 1939.

Ziesenis, A. Studien zur Geschichte des Çivaismus ; die Çivaitischen Systeme in der Altjavanischen Literatur, 1.

Epigrahpia Indica. Vol. xxiv, Part 4, October, 1937.

Majumdar, N. G. Kosam Inscription of the Reign of Maharaja Vaisravana of the year 107.

—— Cuttack Museum Plates of Madhavavarman.

Subrahmanya Aiyar, K. V. Tinnevelly Inscription of Maravarman Sundara-Pandya, 2.

Mirashi, V. V. A Note on the Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Jayabhatta (iii).

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Thiel, J. H. Eudoxus van Cyzicus , een Hoofdstuk uit de Geschiedenis van de Vaart of Indië en de Vaart on de Zuid in de Oudheid.

T'oung Pao Vol. xxxiv. Livr 5, 1939.

Duyvendak, J. J L The true Dates of the Chinese Maritime Expeditions in the early fifteenth century. With 3 plates and 1 facsimile.

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INDEX FOR 1939

Q

R

Reviews of Books:

REVIEWS OF BOOKS :

REVIEWS OF BOOKS :

Reviews of Books:

Reviews of Books:

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

S

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Z

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FOR

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PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
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M DCCCC XXXIX

CONTENTS FOR 1939

ARTICLES

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

Far East

Middle East

PAGE

India

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

Biblical Archæology

Cuneiform

PAGE

Islam

Miscellaneous

LECTURE

OBITUARY NOTICES

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

1939

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF AUTHORS